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ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY

TO THE

SECRETARY OF THE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION

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BY

J. W. POWELL
DIRECTOR



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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION, BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY,
Washington, D. C., July 1, 1890.

SIR: I have the honor to submit my Eleventh Annual Report as Director of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The first part presents an explanation of the plan and operations of the Bureau; the second consists of a series of papers on anthropologic subjects, prepared by my assistants to illustrate the methods and results of the work of the Bureau.

Allow me to express my appreciation of your earnest support and your wise counsel relating to the work under my charge.

I am, with respect, your obedient servant,



Hon. S. P. LANGLEY,
Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution.

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REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR

ELEVENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.

By J. W. Powell, Director.

INTRODUCTION.

The prosecution of research among the North American Indians, as directed by act of Congress, was continued during the fiscal year 1889–'90.

The general plan on which the work has proceeded is that explained in former reports. Briefly expressed, certain lines of investigation are confided to persons selected for and trained in their pursuit, and the results of their labors are presented from time to time in the publications of the Bureau provided for by law. A concise account of the work on which each special student was actively engaged during the fiscal year appears below, but this account does not enumerate all the studies undertaken or services rendered by them, because particular lines of research have been suspended in this, as in former years, in order to complete certain investigations regarded as of paramount importance. From this cause delays have been occasioned in the issue of several treatises and monographs, some of which are partly in type.

The collaboration of explorers, writers, and students who are not and may not desire to be officially connected with the Bureau, is again solicited. Their contributions, whether in the shape of suggestions or of extended communications, will be gratefully acknowledged, and will always receive proper

credit if published either in the series of reports or in monographs or bulletins.

The items of the report are presented in three principal divisions. The first relates to the publications made; the second to the work prosecuted in the field; and the third to the office work, which mainly consists of the preparation for publication of the results of field work, with the corrections and additions obtained from correspondence and from study of the literature relating to the subjects discussed. In addition, the accompanying papers are briefly characterized, and a summary financial statement is appended.

PUBLICATIONS.

The publications actually issued during the year are as follows:

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. It contains the introductory report of the Director, 35 pages, with accompanying papers, as follows:

Ancient Art of the Province of Chiriqui, Colombia, by William H. Holmes; pp. 3–187, Pl. I, Figs. 1–285.

A Study of the Textile Art in its relation to the Development of Form and Ornament, by William H. Holmes; pp. 189–252, Figs. 286–358.

Aids to the Study of the Maya Codices, by Prof. Cyrus Thomas; pp. 253–371, Figs. 359–388.

Osage Traditions, by Rev. J. Owen Dorsey; pp. 373–397, one figure (389).

The Central Eskimo, by Dr. Franz Boas; pp. 399–669, Pls. II–X, Figs. 390–546.

The work forms a royal octavo volume of LVIII+657 pages, including a general index, and is illustrated by 546 figures in the text, 10 plates, and 2 maps in pocket.

Two bulletins, viz:

Bibliography of the Muskhogean languages, by James Constantine Pilling, 8°, pp. I–V, 1–114.

The Circular, Square, and Octagonal Earthworks of Ohio,

by Cyrus Thomas, 8°, pp. 36, with XI plates and 5 figures in the text.

FIELD WORK.

The field work of the year reported on may be divided into (1) mound explorations and (2) general field studies, which during that time were directed chiefly to archeology, linguistics, mythology, and pictography.

MOUND EXPLORATIONS.

The work of exploring the mounds of eastern United States was, as in former years, under the superintendence of Prof. Cyrus Thomas. During this year he was unable to continue explorations in person, being engaged almost the entire time in preparing for publication a final report on the work in his charge and a special bulletin with accompanying maps of archeologic localities.

Mr. Henry L. Reynolds, one of his assistants, was occupied during the summer in exploring the works in Manitoba, North Dakota, and South Dakota with special reference to their types and distribution. The results of this investigation were highly satisfactory, as the types within the area mentioned were found to be unusually well defined in physical structure and contents. While Mr. Reynolds was thus employed he noted other archeologic remains and examined several, including the outlines of circles and animals formed by bowlders, and the ancient village sites on Missouri river. A full report of these investigations is embraced in the final report of Prof. Thomas. Mr. Reynolds also made a visit to certain earthworks in Iowa and Indiana for the purpose of ascertaining their types. In the autumn he explored certain little-known mounds of South Carolina and Georgia. Two mounds—a large one on Wateree river, below Camden, South Carolina, and one on Savannah river, Georgia—proved especially interesting. The contents of the latter showed as fine specimens of every class of primitive art as have ever been found in the mounds of this country.

Mr. James D. Middleton, a regular assistant from the organization of the mound division, was engaged during the month of July, 1889, in surveying and making plats of certain ancient works of Michigan and Ohio. At the end of the month he resigned his position in the Bureau.

Mr. James Mooney, although directly engaged in another line of research, obtained important information for the mound division in reference to the localities, distribution, and character of the ancient works of the Cherokees in western North Carolina and adjoining sections.

GENERAL FIELD STUDIES.

WORK OF MR. W. H. HOLMES.

In the autumn of 1889 Mr. W. H. Holmes was directed to take charge of the archeologic fieldwork of the Bureau. In September he began excavations in the ancient bowlder quarries on Piny branch, a tributary of Rock creek, near Washington. A trench was carried across the principal quarry, which had a width of more than 50 feet and a depth in places of 10 feet. The ancient methods of quarrying and working the bowlders were studied, and several thousand specimens were collected. Work was resumed in the next spring, and five additional trenches were opened across widely separated portions of the ancient quarries. Much additional information was collected, and many specimens were added to the collection. In June work was commenced on another group of ancient quarries situated north of the new Naval Observatory, on the western side of Rock creek. Very extensive quarrying and implement-making had been carried on at this place. The conditions and phenomena were almost identical with those of the Piny branch site. Subsequently an ancient soapstone quarry near Tenleytown was examined. The ancient pitting corresponds quite closely with that of the bowlder quarries, and the condition of the pits indicated equal age.

WORK OF DR. W. J. HOFFMAN.

Dr. W. J. Hoffman proceeded early in July to White Earth reservation, Minnesota, to collect and study the mnemonic and other records relating to the Midē′wiwin or Grand Medicine

Society of the Ojibwa. He had before spent two seasons with this tribe, and had been initiated into the mysteries of the four degrees of the society, by which he was enabled to record its ceremonials, and this was desired by the Indians so that a complete exposition of the traditions of the Ojibwa cosmogony and of the Midē′ Society could be preserved for the information of their descendants. Through intimate acquaintance with, and recognition by the Midē′ priests, Dr. Hoffman obtained all the important texts employed in the ceremony, much of the matter in archaic language, as well as the musical notation of songs sung to him for that purpose; also the birch-bark records of the society and the mnemonic songs on birch bark employed by the Midē′ priests, together with those of the Jĕśsakkid and Wâbĕnō′, two other grades of shamans.

Dr. Hoffman also secured, as having connection with the general subject, a list of plants and other substances constituting the materia medica of the region, the method of their preparation and administration, and their reputed action, the whole being connected with incantation and exorcism.

WORK OF MR. VICTOR MINDELEFF.

Mr. Victor Mindeleff, between December 7 and January 20, examined the ruin of Casa Grande in Arizona, visiting also the localities at which Mr. F. H. Cushing worked while in charge of the Hemenway expedition. Plans and photographs were made during this exploration, and fragments of typical pottery were collected from the principal ruin visited. Casa Grande was ascertained to be almost identical in character with the many ruins scattered over the valleys of the Gila and the Salado.

WORK OF MR. JAMES MOONEY.

On July 3, Mr. James Mooney proceeded on a third journey to the Cherokee reservation in North Carolina, returning November 17. During this time he devoted attention chiefly to the translation and study of the sacred formulas used by the shamans, which had been obtained by him during a previous visit. In this work he employed the most prominent medicine men, among whom were the writers of some of the original formulas, and obtained detailed explanations of the

accompanying ceremonies and the theories on which they were based, together with descriptions of the mode of preparing the medicine and the various articles used in the same connection. He was also permitted to witness a number of these ceremonies, notedly the solemn rite known as "going to water." About 300 specimens of plants used in the medical practice were also collected, with their Indian names and uses, in addition to the 500 previously obtained. These plants were sent to botanists connected with the Smithsonian Institution for identification under systematic names. The study of the Cherokee plant names and medical formulas throws much light on Indian botanic classification and therapeutics.

The study of the botany is a work of peculiar difficulty owing to the absence of any uniform system among the various practitioners. Attention was given also to the ball play, and several photographs of different stages of the ball dance were taken. In addition, one of the oldest men of the tribe was employed to prepare the feather wands used in the Eagle dance, the Pipe dance of the prairie tribes, and the Calumet dance spoken of by the early Jesuit writers, which has been discontinued for about thirty years among the Cherokees. These wands were deposited in the National Museum as a part of the Cherokee collection obtained on various visits to the reservation. Much miscellaneous information in regard to myths, dances, and other ceremonies was obtained.

Mr. Mooney undertook during the year a special study of aboriginal geographic nomenclature for the purpose of preparing an aboriginal map of the old Cherokee country. With this object, a visit was made to the outlying Indian settlements, especially that on Cheowah river in Graham county, North Carolina, and individuals who had come from widely separated districts were questioned. The maps of the United States Geological Survey, on a scale of 2 miles to an inch, were used in the work, and the result is a collection of more than one thousand Cherokee names of localities within the former territory of the tribe, given in the correct form, with the meanings of the names and whatever local legends are connected with them. In North Carolina every local name now known

to the Cherokees, every prominent peak or rock, and every cove and noted bend in a stream having a distinctive name, have now been obtained. For Georgia and a portion of Tennessee the names must be gathered chiefly from old Indians now living in Indian territory. It may be noted that as a rule the Cherokee and some other tribes have no names for rivers or settlements. The name belongs to the district, and is applied alike to the stream and to the town or mountain situated within it. When the Indians of a villiage leave it the old name remains behind, and the village in its new location takes the name attached to the new district. Each district along a river has a distinct name, while the river as a whole has none, the whole tendency in the language being to specialize.

The last six weeks of the field season were spent by Mr. Mooney in visiting various points in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, and Alabama, within the former limits of the Cherokees, for the purpose of locating mounds, graves, and other antiquities for an archeologic map of their territory and to collect from former traders and old residents materials for a historic sketch of the tribe.

WORK OF MR. JEREMIAH CURTIN.

Mr. Jeremiah Curtin spent July and August 1–28, 1889, a various points on Klamath river, from Orleans Bar to Martin Ferry, Humbolt county, California, in collecting myths and reviewing vocabularies of the Weitspekan and Quoratean languages. From August 30 to September 10 he was at Blue lake and Arcata, Humboldt county, California, engaged in taking down a Wishoskan vocabulary and in collecting information concerning the Indians of that region. Arriving in Round Valley, Mendocino county, California, September 16, he remained there till October 16, and took vocabularies of the Yukian and Palaihnihan languages. From Round Valley he went to Niles, Alameda county, California, where he obtained partial vocabularies of three languages formerly spoken in that region. Of these one was spoken at Suisun, another was kindred to the Mariposan, a third was Costanoan. On October 27 he arrived in Redding, Shasta county, California, where he obtained a considerable addition to his material previously col-

lected, in the form of myths and additions to the Palaihnihan vocabulary. During this work he also visited Round mountain. He returned to Washington January 10, 1890.

WORK OF MR. J. N. B. HEWITT.

From July 10 to November 9, 1889, Mr. J. N. B. Hewitt was engaged in field work. Until September 7 he was on the Onondaga reservation near Syracuse, New York, where he collected legends, tales, and myths and recorded them in the Onondaga vernacular. He also obtained accounts of the religious ceremonies and funeral rites; recorded the terms forming the Onondagan scheme of relationships of affinity and consanguinity; and collected valuable matter pertaining to the Iroquois League and its wampum record.

From September 1, to November 9 Mr. Hewitt was engaged on Grand River reservation in Canada, where he succeeded in obtaining the chants and speeches used in the Condolence Council of the League of the Iroquois. The religious beliefs of the Iroquois not converted to Christianity were noted; plant and animal names were collected; many religious and gentile songs were reduced to writing, with accounts of the principal Iroquoian "medicines" in the vernacular of the several tribes. A Wyandot vocabulary was also written.

WORK OF MRS. M. C. STEVENSON.

Mrs. M. C. Stevenson left Washington in March, 1890, to study the Sia, Jemez, and Zuñi Indians. She made Sia her first point of investigation, and found so much of ethnologic interest in that pueblo that she continued her work there to the end of the fiscal year, engaged in making a vocabulary and in studying the habits, customs, mythology, and medicine practices of the people. She was admitted to the ceremonials of the secret societies, and made detailed accounts of their ceremonies, the altars being photographed by her assistant, Miss Clark. Her studies form the basis of her paper in this volume.

OFFICE WORK.

The Director was engaged during the year, as other duties permitted, in preparing a work on the characteristics and

classification of the languages of the North American Indians, published in part in the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau.

Col. GARRICK MALLERY, U. S. Army, was occupied in continued study of sign language and pictography, with the collection and collation of additional material obtained by personal investigation as well as by correspondence and by the examination of all accessible authorities. This work was performed with special reference to the preparation of a monograph on each of those subjects for early publication. That on pictography forms the greater part of the Tenth Annual Report of the Bureau, under the title "Picture-Writing of the American Indians." It is hoped that the monographs on sign language and pictography, having as their text the unequaled attainments of the North American Indians in those directions, may contribute to elucidate the similar exhibitions of evanescent and permanent thought-writing still employed in some other parts of the world, or which now are only described in records or found on material remains.

Mr. H. W. HENSHAW was engaged during the fiscal year, in addition to his administrative duties, in assisting the Director in the final preparation of the linguistic map of North America north of Mexico, with the accompanying text, which are published in the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau. He also commenced a final revision of a synonymy or dictionary of Indian tribal names.

Rev. J. OWEN DORSEY completed his editorial work in connection with the publication of S. R. Riggs' Dakota-English Dictionary, which is now issued as volume VII of the series of Contributions to North American Ethnology. He also wrote articles on the following subjects: Measures and valuing; The Dha-du-ghe Society of the Ponka tribe; Omaha dwellings, furniture and implements; Omaha clothing and personal ornaments; Ponka and Omaha songs; The Places of gentes in Siouan camping circles; Winnebago folklore notes; Teton folklore notes; Omaha folklore notes; The Gentile system of the Siletz tribes; and a Dakota's account of the Sun dance. He revised some of his Omaha and Ponka genealogical tables previously prepared, and began the arrange-

ment of Kansa tables of a similar character. He continued work on a monograph relating to Indian personal names, and completed the following lists, in which the Indian names precede their English meanings: Winnebago, 383 names; Iowa, Oto, and Missouri, 520; Kwapa, 15, and Kansa, 604. He finished the preparation of his texts in the Ɂegiha language, now published as volume VI of Contributions to North American Ethnology, and corrected most of the proofs for the volume. He finished a collection of other Omaha and Ponka letters for publication as a bulletin of the Bureau. He began a paper entitled "A Study of Siouan Cults," for which over forty colored illustrations were prepared by Indians under his direction. It treats of the cults of the Omaha, Ponka, Kansa, Osage, Ɬciwere, Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago, Dakota, Assiniboin, Mandan, Hidatsa, and Sapona tribes. This paper appears in the present volume. From September to December, 1889, he was occupied in procuring from George Miller, an Omaha who came to Washington for the purpose, additional myths, legends, letters, folklore, and sociologic material, grammatic notes, and corrections of dictionary entries, besides genealogical tables arranged according to the sub-gentes as well as the gentes of the Omaha tribe.

Mr. ALBERT S. GATSCHET during the whole year was engaged in office work. He finished his last draft of the "Klamath Grammar," a monograph on a highly interesting aboriginal language of southwestern Oregon, making numerous additions and appendices, as follows: Idioms and dialectic differences in the language; colloquial form of the language; syntactic examples; complex synonymous terms, and roots with their derivatives. The typographic work on the grammar was terminated, the proofs and revises having all been read by the author. The last portion of the entire work, being the "Ethnographic Sketch of the Klamath People," was then rewritten from earlier notes with reference to the best topographic and historical materials obtainable. Mr. Gatschet also drew for publication a map of the headwaters of Klamath river, the home of the tribes, on a scale of 15 miles to the inch, to form the frontispiece to the work. The whole constitutes

volume II, parts 1 and 2 of Contributions to North American Ethnology, entitled "The Klamath Indians of Southwestern Oregon."

Mr. JEREMIAH CURTIN was engaged from January 10 to June 30, 1890, in arranging the myth material collected by him in the field and in copying vocabularies. The Hupa, Quoratean, and Wishoskan vocabularies were finished and the Yanan commenced.

The office work of Dr. W. J. HOFFMAN consisted chiefly in arranging the material gathered by him during the preceding three field seasons, and in preparing for publication the work entitled The Midē'wiwin, or Grand Medicine Society of the Ojibwa, which appears in the Seventh Annual Report of the Bureau. During the first three months of the year 1890 a number of Menomoni Indians were at Washington on business connected with their tribe, and during that time Dr. Hoffman obtained from them a collection of facts relating to their mythology, social organization and government, and the gentile system and division of gens into phratries, together with many facts relating to the Mitä'wit, or Grand Medicine Society of this tribe. These are interesting and valuable, as some portions of the ritual explain doubtful parts of the Ojibwa phraseology, and vice versa, although the two societies of the Ojibwa and the Menomoni differ greatly in the dramatized portion of the forms of initiation.

Mr. JAMES MOONEY, on his return from the field in November, engaged in the elaboration of the Cherokee formulas obtained. Two hundred of these formulas, or about one-third of the whole number, were translated. In each case the transliteration from the original manuscript in Cherokee characters is given first, then follows a translation following the idiom and spirit of the original as closely as possible, and, finally, an explanation of the medicine and ceremonies used and the underlying theory. About half of the whole number relate to medicine. The others deal with love, war, self-protection, the ball play, agriculture, and life conjuring. A preliminary paper on the subject, entitled "The Sacred Formulas of the Cherokees," is incorporated in the Seventh Annual

Report of the Bureau. The whole collection will constitute a unique and interesting contribution to the aboriginal literature of America. All the words occurring in the formulas thus far translated have been glossed, with grammatic notes and references from the original texts, making a glossary of about two thousand words, a great part of which are in the archaic or sacred language. Several weeks were also occupied in the preparation of an archeologic map of the old Cherokee country from materials collected in the field and from other information in possession of the Bureau.

Mr. W. H. HOLMES was chiefly engaged in the preparation of papers on the arts of the mound builders. Four elaborate papers have been undertaken by Mr. Holmes, one on pottery, a second on art in shell and bone, a third on textile fabrics, and a fourth on pipes. Three of these papers were well advanced toward completion at the close of the fiscal year. In addition to this work he has prepared several papers relating to his field explorations. These include a report on excavations in the ancient quartzite bowlder workshops and the soapstone quarries of the District of Columbia, and a rock shelter in West Virginia.

Mr. JAMES C. PILLING continued to devote such time as he could spare from other duties to the preparation of bibliographies of the languages of North America. At the close of the fiscal year 1888-'89 the proof reading of the "Bibliography of the Muskhogean Languages" was completed. Work was also begun on the Algonquian, by far the largest of those yet undertaken. Much of the material for this was already in hand, the collection having been gradually pursued during several preceding years, and the greater part of the work remaining consisted in assembling, arranging, revising, and verifying that material. August 16–22 were profitably spent by Mr. Pilling at the Lenox and Astor libraries and at the New York Historical Society, in New York, and at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston Atheneum, and Boston Public libraries, in Boston, chiefly in verifying and revising the material in hand. The first portion of the manuscript was transmitted to the Public Printer November 15, 1889, and at

the close of the fiscal year final proofs of about half of the volume were revised.

From July 1 to July 10, 1889, Mr. J. N. B. HEWITT was engaged in collating and recording Iroquoian proper names, both of persons and places, as they occur in the narratives of the early explorers of the pristine Iroquoian habitat, and of the historians of the people of that stock. Afterward, up to November 9, he was employed in field work. On his return to the office, and until the end of the fiscal year, he was engaged in translating and annotating the myths, legends, and tales which he had previously collected in the field, and in translating and recording them for easy reference, with the object of verifying and explaining the matter so collected and comparing it with the mythologic, ethnographic, and other anthropologic data found in the early French narratives of the New World, especially in the works of Champlain, Lafitau, Charlevoix, and in the Jesuit Relations. Much linguistic material has been obtained from the translations of the matter which Mr. Hewitt personally collected while engaged in field work.

Prof. CYRUS THOMAS was personally engaged during the entire year in preparing his report on the field work and collections of the preceding seven years. A paper giving the archeologic localities within the mound area, together with a series of accompanying maps, was completed for publication as a bulletin of the Bureau, under the title "Catalogue of Prehistoric Works east of the Rocky Mountains." His final report, which requires much comparison and reference as well as study of the works explored and objects obtained, was written as rapidly as was consistent with proper care and due regard for details. It will be incorporated in the Twelfth Annual Report of the Bureau.

Mr. HENRY L. REYNOLDS, on his return from field duty, assisted Prof. Thomas in the preparation of that part of his report and bulletin which relate to the works of those archeologic districts which he had visited. He then resumed the preparation of a paper on the aboriginal use of metal. In May he made an examination of the metallic specimens in the private and pub-

lic archeologic collections of New York, and in June he visited Providence and Boston in search of certain rare historical data relating to the early life and customs of the North American Indians, in respect to the use of metal and to other particulars.

Mr. VICTOR MINDELEFF spent most of the year in preparing a report on the architecture of Tusayan and Cibola, which forms part of the Eighth Annual Report of the Bureau. He also wrote a report on the repairs and protection of the ruin of Casa Grande in Arizona, on Gila river, which was accompanied by diagrams and plans and a series of photographs, and contained a discussion of the architecture of this ruin, as compared with that of a ruin on Rio Salado excavated by the Hemenway expedition.

During the first four months of the fiscal year, Mr. COSMOS MINDELEFF was occupied in revising manuscript for publication, and otherwise assisting Mr. Victor Mindeleff in the preparation of the paper on Pueblo architecture for the Eighth Annual Report, his own portion of the report having been previously finished. In December, 1889, he commenced to execute a series of maps, on which the location of all known ruins in the ancient Pueblo country will be plotted. The maps were in large part drawn, and the plotting of the ruins was commenced. When completed, the maps will show the distribution of all ruins in that region, which are mentioned in literature or known to explorers, and will be accompanied by a catalogue containing a description of each ruin and references to the literature relating to it, the whole forming an exhaustive record. It is intended to present this work in one of the future publications of the Bureau.

During the year the work of the modeling room was continued, under the direction of Mr. Cosmos Mindeleff, and was confined almost entirely to the enlargement of the "duplicate series," referred to in previous reports. The large model of Peñasco Blanco, one of the Chaco ruins, reported last year as commenced, was completed, cut into sections for convenience of shipment, and boxed. A duplicate of a model of the pueblo of Hano or Tewa, the original of which was made in 1883, was

finished and exchanged for the original in the National Museum. The original was condemned and destroyed, and a copy was made for the duplicate series. A duplicate was also made of a model of Sichumovi, and the original was put in order and added to the series. A duplicate of a model of the pueblo of Shipaulovi was also finished and added to the same series. The original model of Casa Blanca cliff ruin was withdrawn from the Museum, and a number of duplicate casts were made, one of which was finished and deposited in the Museum. Duplicates were also made of models of Great Elephant mound, Great Etowah mound, and two others. In the later half of the fiscal year work was commenced on the duplication of two very large models, one of Walpi and the First mesa, the other of Mummy cave cliff ruin. The original models, being very hurriedly made for the New Orleans Exposition and cast in plaster of Paris, had suffered considerably in transportation. An attempt was made to cast the models in paper, and in both cases the attempt was highly successful. The first duplicate of the Walpi model was completed and deposited in the National Museum in place of the original, which was destroyed. The finished model weighed about 500 pounds, instead of 2,500 pounds, the weight of the original. The model of Mummy cave and a second copy of Walpi, for the duplicate series, were cast, but neither was finished at the close of the year. Toward the end of the year work was commenced on two new models intended to illustrate a report by Mr. W. H. Holmes on his researches concerning the archeology of the District of Columbia.

But one demand upon the duplicate series was made during the year. This was for a number of transparencies, to be exhibited as a part of the display of the United States at the Paris Exposition. Sixty of these large photographs on glass were sent, and two grand prizes were awarded for them. On the conclusion of the Exposition the transparencies were returned, and compensation for some damage suffered in transportation was made by the United States Commission. During the year, nine models, ranging in size from 2 feet square to 14 by 5 feet, were finished; twelve models, including duplicate casts, were finished but not painted; and four addi-

tional models were commenced, though not finished at the end of the year.

Mr. De Lancey W. Gill succeeded Mr. W. H. Holmes in the charge of preparing and editing the illustrations for the publications of the Bureau. The following list shows the number of drawings that were prepared under his supervision during the year for publication:

Architectural drawings, drawings of mounds, earthworks, ancient ruins, etc	102
Maps, diagrams, and sections	64
Objects of stone, wood, shell, bone, etc	377
Total	543

These drawings were prepared from field surveys and sketches, from photographs, and from the objects themselves. No field work has been done directly by the art division during the year, although many valuable drawings and photographs were procured in Arizona by Mr. Victor Mindeleff, and in the District of Columbia by Mr. W. H. Holmes.

The photographic work remains under the able management of Mr. J. K. Hillers. The following statement shows the amount of work done in the laboratory:

NEGATIVES.		PRINTS.	
Size.	Number.	Size.	Number.
28 by 34	12	28 by 34	36
20 by 24	6	20 by 24	26
14 by 17	2	14 by 17	6
11 by 14	20	11 by 14	128
8 by 10	90	8 by 10	529
5 by 8	14	5 by 8	66

Photographs were obtained of Indians from sittings as follows:

Tribe.	Number.
Dakota	32
Sac and Fox	5
Oto	4
Pueblo	5
Umatilla	5

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS.

SUBJECTS TREATED.

Three original contributions to ethnology accompany this report. All treat of the habits and customs, beliefs and institutions of our native races, and thus traverse a large part of the field of ethnology, and their geographic extent is equally broad. One of the papers represents a portion of the results of long-continued researches among a distinctive people dwelling in pueblos amid the barren mesas and arid plains near the Mexican border; and the vivid description of the beliefs and ceremonials of the people is introduced by a general account of their history, habitat, customs, and ethnic relations. The second contribution comprises a full account of the native tribes of the northern portion of the continent in the great Hudson Bay territory; it is a faithful record of painstaking observations on the domestic life, manners, and ideas of a little-known element in our aboriginal population. The third memoir relates primarily to the beliefs and the institutions connected therewith prevailing in early days over the fertile plains of the interior.

The several records, representing as they do a vast geographic area, and covering as they do severally a considerable ethnic range, seem especially significant when brought into juxtaposition and studied in the comparative way. Thus it becomes at once manifest that the diversity in domestic habits and every-day life is largely due to environment, that the mode of life of each people depends on local food supplies and the means of obtaining them, on climate and the means of resisting it, on the local fauna and flora, and on various other conditions residing in physical geography; and further research brings to light suggestive relations between these modes of life and the institutions and beliefs by which the respective peoples are characterized.

THE SIA, BY MATILDA COXE STEVENSON.

The surveys and researches relating to the pueblo of Sia were commenced by the late Col. James Stevenson in 1879 and continued during 1887–'88, his last year of field duty, until

his work was interrupted by failing health and subsequent death. This valued officer of the Bureau left copious notes, together with photographs and sketches, and a unique collection of objective material. While voluminous and detailed, these notes were not reduced to a form adapted to publication.

After Col. Stevenson's death his relict, the present author, undertook the digestion and arrangement of the notes for the press. This arduous task involved the examination of collections and, since the notes were in some respects incomplete and the illustrative material defective, another visit to the field, with attendant exposure and hardship. The work was carried forward with indefatigable energy and zeal, and resulted in the accompanying report, which is a unique and exhaustive account of a decadent and rapidly changing people. Even since the observations were completed the introduction of agricultural arts and the invasion of civilized influences have materially modified the aboriginal condition of the Sia; and this record must accordingly become a standard of reference concerning these people for all future time.

The Sia of the present occupy a pueblo near the confluence of Rio Salado with Jemez river in New Mexico. In physical characteristics they resemble the Indians of neighboring pueblos, though distinctly separated by linguistic peculiarities. The present settlement is but the remnant of a once populous pueblo. The history of the Sia for several centuries may be derived in a general way from their traditions and myths, checked by the records of the early Spanish explorers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the population was considerable, but the people suffered from intertribal warfare, and subsequently from the Spanish invaders. After several vicissitudes, the pueblo was destroyed by Cruzate, as recorded by Vargas, and in 1692 the Sia were brought under the influence of mission rule. This influence is persistent, but it would appear that the imported belief is but a veneer thinly covering a primitive religion which survives to this day.

The aboriginal belief and the cosmogony of which it forms a part represent the theistic concepts so characteristic of primitive peoples throughout this and other countries. Animals

and plants, as well as inorganic objects, are endowed, in the minds of the believers, with supernatural powers; and some animal—in this case the spider—is regarded as the founder or progenitor of the material universe; and about this nucleal concept the minor features of belief and ceremonial cluster.

Several peculiar cult societies exist among the Sia. The ceremonial rites of these societies, which are performed for various purposes—such as healing the sick and bringing rain—are described in detail, and translations of songs and prayers used in connection with theurgic or shamanistic rites are for the first time published. The mortuary customs are set forth fully, and an important part of the work relates to the rites connected with marriage and childbirth, such information being obtainable only by a woman living in friendly sympathy with the Sia women, as Mrs. Stevenson was able to do. The fact that she shared the daily life and habits of the Sia people for long periods gave her indeed the inestimable advantage of fully comprehending their idiosyncracies and esoteric concepts, and enabled her to present details which otherwise would have been unobtainable.

The full statement of belief and ceremonial among the Sia will undoubtedly be found of special interest to students of primitive institutions, and even the casual reader can hardly fail to be impressed by the inherent evidence of accuracy and genuineness of the details now first made known, and both students and laymen will undoubtedly be surprised at the elaborateness of religious and ceremonial detail among a people almost unknown and of whom only a remnant exists, their life rivaling in mystical features that of ancient nations as recorded in sacred and secular literature.

ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, BY LUCIEN M. TURNER.

From May, 1874, to September, 1884, Mr. Lucien M. Turner was engaged, with slight intermissions, under the direction of the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, in the study of the Innuit and the tribes adjoining that people. He commenced with investigations in Alaska, and his later explorations, which were in Hudson Bay territory and which

afforded the material for the present paper, occupied more than two years.

His chief point of observation was at Fort Chimo, in longitude 68° west of Greenwich and latitude 58° north, situated on the right bank of Koksoak river, from which the resident Eskimo are called Koksoagmyut. Fort Chimo is 27 miles by the above-mentioned river from Ungava bay, which gives its name to a large district, of which the eastern boundary is formed by the foothills on the western part of the coast range, this line being the western limit of Labrador.

The author uses a classification, common in literature though not well founded, in which the Innuit are regarded as not Indian. While the term "Indian" is well understood to be an error as applied to any of the pre-Columbian inhabitants of America, it is now too thoroughly established to be abolished; but recognizing the error, it must be used generally as applicable to all the tribes of the continent, and, indeed, of the hemisphere. Both the Innuit and the Aztec are as truly or as falsely North American Indians as are any of the tribes between the Arctic seas and Mexico, and the same designation must be applied to native Peruvians and Patagonians and all neighboring tribes. Disregarding this distinction, the Indians of the Ungava district, other than Innuit, are generally known as Nascopie, or Nascapee, a term of reproach imposed by the Montagnais, who, with them, form part of the great Algonquian linguistic family. The people call themselves Nenenot, a word of their language meaning true or ideal men.

Mr. Turner presents exhaustive details with comparisons and contrasts concerning the Koksoagmyut, who are exclusively littoral, and the Algonquian Nascopie of the interior. The customs of daily life, religious observances, mythology, arts, and folk lore of both peoples are set forth with orderly method, in spirited style and with abundant illustration, so that a vivid picture of the distant hyperborean tribes is shown. It is also important to note that many errors made by earlier writers, which have been repeated in ethnologic text books and have become commonly accepted as facts, are now corrected. Instances of these current errors are that the Eskimo observed

were not dwarfish but rather taller than the average Europeans, only one adult male being under five feet eight inches in height; that they are not dark except when sunburnt, bleaching to white in the winter; also, that they never drink seal oil or whale oil, or indeed any oil uncombined with edible substances, except as laxative medicine, and never eat raw meat when they have the opportunity to cook it. In these respects, as in others, it is shown that they are not an abnormal part of mankind, and that their peculiarities chiefly arise from their environment.

A STUDY OF SIOUAN CULTS, BY J. OWEN DORSEY.

In May, 1871, the Reverend James Owen Dorsey commenced mission work, in the southern part of the region then called Dakota Territory, among the Ponka Indians. Actuated by an earnest desire to acquaint himself fully with primitive modes of thought and aided by a taste for linguistic study, he was led to acquire first the language and afterward the crude philosophy of these Indians. His work was continued until August, 1873, when it was interrupted by illness. In July, 1878, he repaired to the Omaha Reservation in Nebraska for the purpose of increasing his fund of linguistic material; and here again his skill in linguistics and his sympathetic disposition enabled him with signal success to span the chasm separating primitive thought from the ideation of civilized men. Thus he was enabled to enter fully into the spirit of the institutions and customs of the Indians of the plains.

On the organization of the Bureau of Ethnology in 1879, Mr. Dorsey was formally attached to it, and has since been continuously occupied in researches relating to the languages, institutions, and beliefs of the Indians of the interior, chiefly those of the Siouan and Athapascan stocks; and he has become one of the foremost living students of our aboriginal languages, and, retaining in some measure his evangelical functions, he has been peculiarly fortunate in obtaining data relating to aboriginal beliefs.

The term "cult," as used by Mr. Dorsey and most other students of the Indian, has come to include, not simply the

system of beliefs, but also the commonly elaborate system of rites and ceremonials directly connected with and clustering about that belief; for, to the primitive mind, all systems of philosophy find a tangible basis in the material objects of every-day observation, and these objects thus come to play a more important rôle in the system than is the case in civilization; primitive religion involves a philosophy in which mystical meanings are ascribed to common things, and thereby the philosophic importance of the things is magnified. Thus the primitive cult is real and concrete, rather than ideal and abstract, and impinges not only on rules of conduct but on the multiplicity of objects and experiences pertaining to daily life. This materialism of the primitive cult is an essential feature in the life of our aborigines, and is constantly to be borne in mind in dealing with their myths.

The term Siouan has never been used in any form of literation or pronunciation by the tribes to which it is now applied. It was adopted by reason of considerations explained in the Seventh Annual Report of this Bureau. The Siouan stock or family was one of the most extensive of the continent; tribes belonging to it spread over a large area in the interior, stretching from the Rocky mountains to the Mississippi and even to Lake Michigan, and nearly from the Saskatchewan to the Red River of the South. The Siouan peoples were, par excellence, the Indians of the northern plains, whose early habits and habitat were made known by many writers.

The treatise presented herewith relates to the religious beliefs of the several divisions of the great Siouan family, and to the rites and ceremonies connected with these beliefs. These have a setting in the form of such descriptions of civic and other institutions, habits, customs, language, and pictography, designed partly to elucidate the relations of the cults more fully than is possible by abstract statement; and it is believed that the setting will be found not without use in shadowing forth the environment under which the cults were developed.

While certain of the materials were obtained from other authorities, as duly indicated in each case, the greater part

were obtained by Mr. Dorsey in person and at first hand from individual members of the several tribes. His thorough linguistic skill enabled him to take down each Indian's words in the original, and to translate expressions accurately without dependence on the untrustworthy medium of the interpreter; and his long experience in dealing with primitive ideas, together with his conscientious care and full sympathy with the tribesmen, have unquestionably enabled him to reproduce the Indian concepts and expressions with unsurpassed fidelity.

Many important conclusions flowing from Mr. Dorsey's researches stand in the background of his essentially descriptive presentation, and remain for further elaboration in future publications. Some of the most interesting of these relate to the bases of Indian beliefs. In the primitive mind the objective and the subjective, or the physical cosmos and the psychic cosmos, blend; and if separated at all, the dividing line is far from the position assigned to it among ourselves; the natural is small and meager, and the mysterious, or mystic, or supernatural, is large and overspreads most of the domain of experience and thought. Thus animals, plants, and even inorganic objects are supposed to possess mysterious qualities and powers, particularly when action or association is unusual or unexpected; and winds, thunder, and other manifestations of obscure or remote origin are doubly mysterious and sometimes sacred. In this way the supernatural is brought very near to the ego. As Mr. Dorsey expresses the fact, "It is safer to divide phenomena as they appear to the Indian mind into the human and superhuman, as many, if not most natural phenomena are mysterious to the Indian. Nay, even man himself may become mysterious by fasting, prayer, and vision."

The primitive character of Indian belief has long been recognized among students, and early in the history of the Bureau of Ethnology it was classed as the lowest of four theistic stages and designated hecastotheism. Now, hecastotheism stands at one extreme of the course of the development of belief, while the deification of a single omnipotent power is perhaps the highest expression of psychotheism, which stands

at the other extreme of development. Accordingly different ethnologists have perceived the incongruity between the hecastotheistic concepts of the Indian and the monotheistic concept popularly ascribed to him through a curious series of misapprehensions; and some, notably Col. Garrick Mallery, have denied the possibility of the existence of true monotheistic beliefs among the primitive peoples of this and other countries. This conclusion runs counter to the prevailing notion that the Indian recognizes a Great Spirit as a single omnipotent power, a notion crystallized in the literature of three centuries. The error involved in this notion with respect to the American Indian is not without parallel elsewhere; indeed, similar errors have been made in the pioneer study of primitive peoples in nearly all parts of the world. Commonly the misapprehension may be traced to two causes: In the first place, the savage or barbarous belief, and the ceremonial in which the belief finds both root and fruit, are largely esoteric, or taboo to all but initiates, so that they are concealed with religious care from strangers; and, in the second place, the friendly savage or barbarian, stimulated by the desire to conceal his most sacred things, and often aided by mimetic faculty, seeks to ingratiate himself in the favor of the inquirer by making his answers conform to the unconsciously expressed feelings and desires of his interlocutor. For these, and perhaps other reasons, the pioneer student of primitive peoples, not realizing the working of the primitive mind and trammeled by the diversity of tongues, frequently deludes himself with the notion that he has discovered a primitive belief similar to that of civilized man, when in reality he has discovered nothing but a reflection of the highly developed religion that warms his own heart and vivifies his own being; and it remains for later students, familiar with the language and perhaps admitted to the esoteric ceremonials, to set forth the actual character of the religious concepts held by the primitive men.

Mr. Dorsey's conclusion with respect to the alleged belief in the Great Spirit is of special significance in that it is contrary to his predilections and in that it extends to many tribes

of the great Siouan family. While he is unwilling to commit himself to a general denial of the prevailing notion, he has been forced to conclude that it requires considerable modification, at least so far as it relates to the Siouan tribes.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT.

Classification of expenditures made from the appropriation for North American ethnology for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1890.

Amount of appropriation, 1889–'90	$40,000.00	
July 1, 1889, balance from previous appropriations	13,491.22	
		$53,491.22
Services	33,831.17	
Traveling expenses	3,958.34	
Transportation of property	336.43	
Field supplies	752.84	
Goods for distribution to Indians	131.36	
Instruments	5.18	
Laboratory material	51.28	
Books for library	756.12	
Stationery and drawing material	330.45	
Illustrations for Report	637.08	
Office furniture	392.38	
Office supplies and repairs	206.76	
Correspondence	.70	
Specimens	18.00	
Bonded railroad accounts forwarded to Treasury for settlement	50.05	
Balance on hand to meet outstanding liabilities	12,033.08	
Total		53,491.22

ACCOMPANYING PAPERS.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION—BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.

THE SIA.

BY

MATILDA COXE STEVENSON.

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A VIEW OF SIA, SHOWING A PORTION OF VILLAGE IN RUINS.

THE SIA.

By Matilda Coxe Stevenson.[1]

INTRODUCTION.

All that remains of the once populous pueblo of Sia is a small group of houses and a mere handful of people in the midst of one of the most extensive ruins of the Southwest (Pl. 1) the living relic of an almost extinct people and a pathetic tale of the ravages of warfare and pestilence. This picture is even more touching than the infant's cradle or the tiny sandal found buried in the cliff in the canyon walls. The Sia of to-day is in much the same condition as that of the ancient cave and cliff dweller as we restore their villages in imagination.

The cosmogony and myths of the Sia point to the present site as their home before resorting to the mesa, which was not, however, their first mesa home; their legends refer to numerous villages on mountain tops in their journeying from the north to the center of the earth.

The population of this village was originally very large, but from its situation it became a target during intertribal feuds. A time came, however, when intertribal strife ceased, and the pueblo tribes united their strength to oppose a common foe, an adversary who struck terror to the heart of the Indian, inasmuch as he not only took possession of their villages and homes, but was bent upon uprooting the ancestral religion to plant in its stead the Roman Catholic faith. To avoid this result the Sia fled to the mesa and built a village, but the foe was not to be thus easily baffled and the mesa village was brought under subjection. That these people again struggled for their freedom is evident from the report of Vargas of his visit there in 1692:

> The pueblo had been destroyed a few years before by Cruzate, but it had not been rebuilt. The troops entered it the next morning. It was situated upon the mesa of Cerro Colorado, and the only approach to it was up the side of the plateau by a steep and rocky road. The only thing of value found there was the bell of the convent, which was ordered to be buried. The Indians had built a new village near the ruins of the old one. When they saw the Spaniards approach they came forth to meet and bid them welcome, carrying crosses in their hands, and the chiefs marching at their heads. In this manner they escorted Vargas and his troops to the plaza, where arches

[1] The author mentions gratefully the share of this work performed by her late husband, Mr. James Stevenson, whose notes taken during his last year's work in the field have been freely used by her and whose life interest in the North American Indians has been her inspiration.

and crosses were erected, and good quarters provided them. He caused the inhabitants to be assembled, when he explained to them the object of his visit and the manner in which he intended to punish all the rebellious Indians. This concluded, the usual ceremonies of taking possession, baptism and absolution, took place.[1]

And the Sia were again under Spanish thraldom; but though they made this outward show of submitting to the new faith, neither then nor since have they wavered in their devotion to their aboriginal religion.

The ruins upon the mesa, showing well-defined walls of rectangular stone structures northwest of the present village, are of considerable magnitude, covering many acres. (Pl. II.) The Indians, however, declare this to have been the great farming districts of Pó-shai-yän-ne (quasi messiah), each field being divided from the others by a stone wall, and that their village was on the mesa eastward of the present one.

The distance from the water and the field induced the Sia to return to their old home, but wars, pestilence, and oppression seem to have been their heritage. When not contending with the marauding nomad and Mexican, they were suffering the effects of disease, and between murder and epidemic these people have been reduced to small numbers. The Sia declare that this condition of affairs continued, to a greater or less degree, with but short periods of respite, until the murders were arrested by the intervention of our Government. For this they are profoundly grateful, and they are willing to attest their gratitude in every possible way.

The Sia to-day number, according to the census taken in 1890, 106, and though they no longer suffer at the murderous hand of an enemy, they have to contend against such diseases as smallpox and diphtheria, and it will require but a few more scourges to obliterate this remnant of a people. They are still harassed on all sides by depredators, much as they were of old; and long-continued struggle has not only resulted in the depletion of their numbers, but also in mental deterioration.

The Sia resemble the other pueblo Indians; indeed, so strikingly alike are they in physical structure, complexion, and customs that they might be considered one and the same people, had it not been discovered through philological investigation that the languages of the pueblo Indians have been evolved from four distinct stocks.

Sia is situated upon an elevation at the base of which flows the Jemez river. The Rio Salado empties into the Jemez some 4 miles above Sia and so impregnates the waters of the Jemez with salt that while it is at all times most unpalatable, in the summer season when the river is drained above, the water becomes undrinkable, and yet it is this or nothing with the Sia.

For neighbors they have the people of the pueblo of Santa Ana, 6 miles to the southeast, who speak the same language, with but slight variation, and the pueblo of Jemez, 7 miles north, whose language, according to Powell's classification, is of another stock, the Tañoan.

[1] Davis, Spanish Conquest of New Mexico, 1869, pp. 351, 352.



PLAZA, SIA.

The Mexican town of San Ysidro is 5½ miles above Sia, and there are several Mexican settlements north of Jemez. The Mexican town of Bernalillo is on the east bank of the Rio Grande, 17½ miles eastward.

Though Protestant missionaries have been stationed at the pueblo of Jemez since 1878, no attempt has been made to bring the Sia within the pale of Protestantism. The Catholic mission priest who resides at Jemez makes periodical visits to the Sia, when services are held, marriages performed, infants baptized, and prayers offered for the dead.

The missions at Cia and Jemez were founded previous to 1617 and after 1605. They existed without interruption until about 1622, when the Navajos compelled the abandonment of the two churches at San Diego and San Joseph of Jemez. About four years later, through the exertions of Fray Martin de Arvide, these missions were reoccupied, and remained in uninterrupted operation until August 10, 1680. The mission at Cia, as far as I know, suffered no great calamity until that date. After the uprising of 1680 the Cia mission remained vacant until 1694. Thence on it has been always maintained, slight temporary vacancies excepted, up to this day. The mission of San Diego de Jemez was occupied in 1694 by Fray Francisco de Jesus, whom the Indians murdered on the 4th of June of 1696. In consequence of the uprising on that day, the Jemez abandoned their country, and returned, settling on the present site of their pueblo only in 1700. The first resident priest at Jemez became Fray Diego Chabarria, in 1701. Since that date I find no further interruption in the list of missionaries.[1]

The Sia are regarded with contempt by the Santa Ana and the Jemez Indians, who never omit an opportunity to give expression to their scorn, feeling assured that this handful of people must submit to insult without hope of redress. Limited intertribal relations exist, and these principally for the purpose of traffic.

Though the Sia have considerable irrigable lands, they have but a meager supply of water, this being due to the fact that after the Mexican towns above them and the pueblo of Jemez have drawn upon the waters of the Jemez river, little is left for the Sia, and in order to have any success with their crops they must curtail the area to be cultivated. Thus they never raise grain enough to supply their needs, even with the practice of the strictest economy according to Indian understanding, and therefore depend upon their more successful neighbors who labor under no such difficulties. The Jemez people have no lack of water supply, and the Santa Ana have their farming districts on the banks of the Rio Grande. Is it strange, then, that two pueblos are found progressing, however slowly, toward a European civilization, while the Sia, though slightly influenced by the Mexicans, have, through their environment, been led not only to cling to autochthonic culture but to lower their plane of social and mental condition?

The Sia women labor industriously at the ceramic art as soon as their grain supply becomes reduced, and the men carry the wares to their unfriendly neighbors for trade in exchange for wheat and corn. While the Santa Ana and Jemez make a little pottery, it is very coarse in texture and in form; in fact, they can not be classed as pottery-making Indians. (Pl. III.)

[1] The writer is indebted to Mr. A. F. Bandelier for the information regarding the Catholic missions.

As long as the Sia can induce the traders through the country to take their pottery they refrain from barter with their Indian neighbors. (Pl. IV.) The women usually dispose of the articles to the traders (Figs. 1 and 2), but they never venture on expeditions to the Santa Ana and the Jemez.

Each year a period comes, just before the harvest time, when no more pottery is required by their Indian neighbors, and the Sia must deal out their food in such limited portions that the elders go hungry in order to satisfy the children. When starvation threatens there is no thought for the children of the clan, but the head of each household



FIG. 1.—Sia women on their way to the trader's to dispose of pottery.

looks to the wants of its own, and there is apparent indifference to the sufferings of neighbors. When questioned, they reply: "We feel sad for our brothers and our sisters, but we have not enough for our own." Thus, when driven to extremes, nature asserts itself in the nearest ties of consanguinity and the "clan" becomes secondary. At these times there are no expressions of dissatisfaction and no attempt on the part of the stronger to take advantage of the weaker. The expression of the men changes to a stoical resignation, and the women's faces grow a shade paler with the thought that in order to nourish their babes they themselves must be nourished. And yet, such is their code of hospitality that food is always offered to guests as long as a morsel remains.



SISTERS; CLEVEREST ARTISTS IN CERAMICS IN SIA.

So like children are these same stoical and patient people that the tears of sorrow are quickly dispelled by the sunshine of success. When their crops are gathered they hold their saints' day feast, when the Indians from near and far (even a few of the unfriendly Indians lending their unwelcome presence) surfeit at their board. These public dances and feasts of thanksgiving in honor of their patron saint, upon the gathering of their crops, which occur in all the Rio Grande pueblos, present a queer mixture of pagan and Christian religion. The priest owes his success in maintaining a certain influence with these people since the accession of New Mexico to the United States, by non-



FIG. 2.—Sia women returning from trader's with flour and corn in exchange for pottery.

interference with the introduction of their forms and dances into the worship taught by the church. Hence the Rio Grande Indians are professedly Catholics; but the fact that these Indians and the Mission Indians of California have preserved their religions, admitting them to have been more or less influenced by Catholicism, and hold their ceremonials in secret, practicing their occult powers to the present time, under the very eye of the church, is evidence not only of the tenacity with which they cling to their ancient customs, but of their cunning in maintaining perfect seclusion.

When Maj. Powell visited Tusayan, in 1870, he was received with marked kindness by the Indians and permitted to attend the secret

ceremonials of their cult. The writer is of the opinion that he was the first and only white man granted this privilege by any of the pueblo Indians previous to the expedition to Zuñi, in 1879, by Mr. Stevenson, of the Bureau of Ethnology.

The writer accompanied Mr. Stevenson on this occasion and during his succeeding investigations among the Zuñi, Tusayan, and the Rio Grande Pueblos. And whenever the stay was long enough to become acquainted with the people the confidence of the priestly rulers and theurgists was gained, and after this conciliation all efforts to be present at the most secret and sacred performances observed and practiced by these Indians were successful. Their sociology and religion are so intricately woven together that the study of the one can not be pursued without the other, the ritual beginning at birth and closing with death.

While the religion of the Rio Grande Indians bears evidence of contact with Catholicism, they are in fact as non-Catholic as before the Spanish conquest. Their environment by the European civilization of the southwest is, however, slowly but surely effecting a change in the observances of their cabalistic practices. For example, the pueblo of Laguna was so disturbed by the Atlantic and Pacific railroad passing by its village that first one and then another of its families lingered at the ranch houses, reluctant to return to their communal home, where they must come in contact with the hateful innovations of their land; and so additions were made to render the summer house more comfortable for the winter, and after a time a more substantial structure supplanted the temporary abode, and the communal dwelling was rarely visited except to comply with the religious observances. Some of these homes were quite remote from the village, and the men having gradually increased their stock of cattle found constant vigilance necessary to protect them from destruction by the railroad and the hands of the cowboy; and so first one and then another of the younger men ventured to be absent from a ceremonial in order to look up some stray head of cattle, until the aged men cried out in horror that their children were forgetting the religion of their forefathers.

The writer knew of but one like delinquent among the Zuñi when she was there in 1886. A son of one of the most bigoted priests in the village had become so eager to possess an American wagon, and his attention was so absorbed in looking after his cattle with a view to the accumulation of means whereby to purchase a wagon, that he dared to absent himself from a most important and sacred ceremonial, notwithstanding the current belief that for such impiety the offender must die within four days. The father denounced him in the strongest terms, declaring he was no longer his son. And the man told the writer, on his return to the village, "that he was afraid because he staid away, and he guessed he would die within four days, but some of his cattle had strayed off and he feared the cowboy." The fourth day passed



GROUP OF SIA VASES.

and the man still lived, and the scales dropped from his eyes. From that time his religious duties were neglected in his eagerness for the accumulation of wealth.

Thus the railroad, the merchant, and the cowboy, without this purpose in view, are effecting a change which is slowly closing, leaf by leaf, the record of the religious beliefs and practices of the pueblo Indian. With the Sia this record book is being more rapidly closed, but from a different cause. It is not due to the Christianizing of these Indians, for they have nothing of Protestantism among them, and though professedly Catholic, they await only the departure of the priest to return to their secret ceremonials. The Catholic priest baptizes the infant, but the child has previously received the baptismal rite of its ancestors. The Catholic priest marries the betrothed, but they have been previously united according to their ancestral rites. The Romish priest holds mass that the dead may enter heaven, but prayers have already been offered that the soul may be received by Sûś-sĭs-tin-na-ko (their creator) into the lower world whence it came. As an entirety these people are devotees to their religion and its observances, and yet with but few exceptions, they go through their rituals, having but vague understanding of their origin or meaning. Each shadow on the dial brings nearer to a close the lives of those upon whose minds are graven the traditions, mythology, and folklore as indelibly as are the pictographs and monochromes upon the rocky walls.

An aged theurgist whose lore was unquestioned, in fact he was regarded as their oracle (Pl. v), passed away during the summer of 1890. Great were the lamentations that the keeper of their traditions slept, and with him slept much that they would never hear again. There are, now, but five men from whom any connected account of their cosmogony and mythology may be gleaned, and they are no longer young. Two of these men are not natives of Sia, but were adopted into the tribe when young children. One is a Tusayan; the other a San Felipe Indian. The former is the present governor, amiable, brave, and determined, and while deploring that his people have no understanding of American civilization, he stands second only to the oracle in his knowledge of lore of the Sia. The San Felipe Indian is a like character, and if Sia possessed a few more such men there might yet be a future for that pueblo.

While the mythology and cult practices differ in each pueblo there is still a striking analogy between them, the Zuñi and Tusayan furnishing the richer field for the ethnographer, their religion and sociology being virtually free from Catholic influence.

The Indian official is possessed of a character so penetrating, so diplomatic, cunning, and reticent that it is only through the most friendly relations and by a protracted stay that anything can be learned of the myths, legends, and rites with which the lives of these people are so thoroughly imbued and which they so zealously guard.

The theurgists of the several cult societies, upon learning that the object of the writer's second visit to Sia was similar to that of the previous one, graciously received her in their ceremonials, revealing the secrets more precious to them than life itself. When unable to give such information as she sought they would bring forth their oracle (the aged theurgist) whose old wrinkled face brightened with intelligent interest as he related without hesitancy that which was requested.

The form of government of all the pueblos is much the same, they being civil organizations divided into several departments, with an official head for each department.

With the Sia (and likewise with the other pueblos) the ti′ämoni, by virtue of his priestly office, is ex officio chief executive and legislator; the war priest (he and his vicar being the earthly representatives of the twin war heroes) having immediate control and direction of the military and of tribal hunts. Secret cult societies concerning the Indians' relations to anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings are controlled each by a particular theurgist. The war chief, the local governor, and the magistrate as well as the ti′ämoni and theurgists have each a vicar who assists in the official and religious duties.

While the Zuñi priesthood for rain consists of a plurality of priests and a priestess, the priest of the north being the arch ruler, the Sia have but one such priest. With the Zuñi the archruler holds his office through maternal inheritance; with the Sia it is a life appointment. The ti′ämoni of Sia is chosen alternately from three clans—corn, coyote, and a species of cane. Though the first priest was selected by the mother Ût′sĕt, who directed that the office should always be filled by a member of the corn clan, he in time caused dissatisfaction by his action towards infants (see cosmogony), and upon his death the people concluded to choose a ti′ämoni from the coyote clan, but he proved not to have a good heart, for the cloud people refused to send rain and the earth became dry. The third one was appointed from the cane clan, but he, too, causing criticism, the Sia determined they would be obedient to the command of their mother Ût′sĕt, and returned to the corn clan in selecting their fourth ti′ämoni, but his reign brought disappointment. The next ruler was chosen from the coyote clan, and proved more satisfactory; but the people, deciding it was best not to confine the selection of their ti′ämoni to the one clan, appointed the sixth from the cane clan, and since that time this office has been filled alternately from the corn, coyote, and cane clans until the latter became extinct. The present ti′ämoni's clan is the coyote, and that of his vicar, the corn. Their future appointments will necessarily come from these two clans, as practically they are reduced to these.

The ti′ämoni and vicar are appointed by the two war priests, the vicar succeeding to the office of ti′ämoni.

The present ti′ämoni entered his office without having filled the subordinate place, his predecessor, a very aged man, and the vicar, like-



THE ORACLE.

wise old, having died about the same time. When the selection of a younger brother or vicar has been made, the vicar to the war priest calls upon the incoming ruler, who accompanies him to the house of the appointee to fill the office of vicar to the ti'ämoni. The younger war priest, followed by the ti'ämoni elect, who precedes the vicar, goes to the ancestral official chamber of the ti'ämoni, where the elder war priest, the theurgists of the several cult societies, with their vicars, have assembled to be present at the installation of the ti'ämoni. The war priest arises to meet the party, and, with the ti'ämoni immediately before him he says: "This man is now our priest; he is now our father and our mother for all time;" and then addressing the ti'ämoni he continues: "You are no more to work in the fields or to bring wood, the theurgists of the cult and all your other children will labor for you, our ti'ämoni, for all years to come; you are not to work, but to be to us as our father and our mother." "Good! good!" is repeated by the theurgists. The war priest then presents the ti'ämoni with the ensign of his office—a slender staff, crooked at the end and supposed to be the same which was presented to the first ruler by the mother Ût'sĕt—the crook being symbolic of longevity. Upon receiving the crook the ti'ämoni draws the sacred breath from it and the war priest embraces him and sprinkles the cane with meal with a prayer that the thoughts and heart of Û'tsĕt may be conveyed from the staff to the newly-chosen ruler (Ût'sĕt upon presenting this cane to the first ti'ämoni of this world, gave with it all her thoughts and her heart), and now he, too, draws from the cane the sacred breath. The theurgists rise in a body, each one embracing the ti'ämoni and sprinkling meal upon the staff, at the same time drawing from it the sacred breath. The civil authorities next, and then the populace, including the women and children, repeat the embracing, the sprinkling of meal, and the drawing of the sacred breath.

The following day all the members of the pueblo, including the children, collect wood for the ti'ämoni, depositing it by the side of his dwelling.

The Sia are much chagrined that their present ti'ämoni (who is a young man) participates in the hunts, works in the fields, and is ever ready to join in a pleasure ride over the hills. This is not the tribal custom; the ti'ämoni may have a supervision over his herds and fields, but his mind is supposed to be absorbed with religion and the interests of his people, and he never leaves his village for a distance, excepting to make pilgrimages to the shrines or other of their Meccas. This young ruler is a vain fellow, having but little concern for the welfare of his people, but he is most punctilious in his claim to the honors due him.

The theurgists hold office for life, each vicar succeeding to the function of his theurgist, who in turn appoints, with the approbation of the ti'ämoni, the member whom he thinks best fitted to fill the position of vicar.

For the selection of the civil and subordinate military officers the

ti'ämoni meets with his vicar, and the war priest and vicar in the official chamber of the ti'ämoni, in the month of December, to discuss the several appointments to be made; that of war chief and his assistant, the governor and lieutenant-governor, the magistrate and his deputy. After the names have been decided upon the theurgists of the secret cult societies are notified and they join the ti'ämoni and his associates, when they are informed of the decision and their concurrence requested.



FIG. 3.—Pauper.

This is always given, the consultation with the theurgists being but a matter of courtesy. The populace then assemble, when announcement is made of the names of the new appointees. These appointments are annual; the same party, however, may serve any number of terms.

The war chief performs minor duties which would otherwise fall to the war priest. It is the duty of the war chief to patrol the town during the meetings of the cult societies and to surround the village

with mounted guardsmen at the time of a dance of the Ka'-tsu-na. A Mexican, especially, must not look upon one of these anthropomorphic beings. The war chief also directs the hunt under the instruction of the war priest and vicar. It is not obligatory that he participate in the hunt; his vicar, as his representative or other self, may lead the huntsmen. The governor sees that the civil laws are executed, he looking after the more important matters, leaving the minor cases in the hands of the magistrate. He designates the duties of his people for the coming day by crying his commands in the plaza at sunset.

Wizards and witches are tried and punished by the war priest; and it has been but a few years since a man and his wife suffered death for practicing this diabolical craft. Their child, a boy of some twelve years, Fig. 3, is a pauper who at times begs from door to door, and at other times he is taken into some family and made use of until they grow tired of dispensing their charity. The observations of the writer led her to believe that the boy earned all that he received. Socially, held in contempt by his elders, he seems a favorite with the children, though this unfortunate is seldom allowed the joy of childish sport. He is, however, a member of one of the most important cult societies (the knife) belonging to its several divisions.

The clans (há-notc) now existing among these people are the

Yá-ka	Corn	Há-mi	Tobacco
Shurts-ŭn-na	Coyote	Ko-hai	Bear
Tá-ñe	Squash	Ti-ä'-mi	Eagle

There is but one member of the eagle, one of the bear, and one of the squash clan, and these men are advanced in years. There is a second member of the squash clan, but he is a Tusayan by birth. The only clans that are numerically well represented are the corn and coyote. There is but one family of the tobacco clan.

The following are extinct clans:

Shi-kĕ	Star	Ha'-pan-ñi	Oak
'Fa-wac	Moon	Ha'-kan-ñi	Fire
O'-sharts	Sun	Sha'-wi-ti	Parrot
Tä'ñe	Deer	Wa'pon	White shell bead
Kurtz	Antelope	'Zi-i	Ant
Mo'-kaitc	Cougar	Ya'un-ñi	Granite
Hĕn'-na-ti	Cloud	Wash'-pa	Cactus
Shu'ta	Crane		

The writer could not learn that there had ever been more than twenty-one clans, and although the table shows six at the present time, it may be seen from the statement that there are virtually but two.

Marrying into the clan of either parent is in opposition to the old law; but at present there is nothing for the Sia to do but to break these laws, if they would preserve the remnant of their people, and while such marriages are looked upon with disfavor, it is "the inevitable." The young men are watched with a jealous eye by their elders that they do not seek brides among other tribes, and though the beauty

of the Sia maidens is recognized by the other pueblo people, they are rarely sought in marriage, for, according to the tribal custom, the husband makes his home with the wife; and there is little to attract the more progressive Indian of the other pueblos to Sia, where the eagerness to perpetuate a depleted race causes the Sia to rejoice over every birth, especially if it be a female child, regardless whether the child be legitimate or otherwise.

When a girl reaches puberty she informs her mother, who invites the female members of her clan to her house, where an informal feast is enjoyed. The guests congratulate the girl upon having arrived at the state of womanhood, and they say to her, "As yet you are like a child, but you will soon be united with a companion and you will help to increase your people." The only male present is the girl's father. The news, however, soon spreads through the village, and it is not long before offers are made to the mother for the privilege of sexual relations with the girl. The first offers are generally refused, the mother holding her virgin daughter for the highest bidder. These are not necessarily offers of marriage, but are more commonly otherwise, and are frequently made by married men.

Though the Sia are monogamists, it is common for the married, as well as the unmarried, to live promiscuously with one another; the husband being as fond of his wife's children as if he were sure of the paternal parentage. That these people, however, have their share of latent jealously is evident from the secrecy observed on the part of a married man or woman to prevent the anger of the spouse. Parents are quite as fond of their daughters' illegitimate offspring, and as proud of them as if they had been born in wedlock; and the man who marries a woman having one or more illegitimate children apparently feels the same attachment for these children as for those his wife bears him.

Some of the women recount their relations of this character with as much pride as a civilized belle would her honest offers of marriage. One of the most attractive women in Sia, though now a grandmother, once said to the writer:

> When I was young I was pretty and attractive, and when I reached womanhood many offers were made to my mother for me [she did not refer to marriage, however], but my mother knowing my attractions refused several, and the first man I lived with was the richest man in the pueblo. I only lived with three men before I married, one being the present governor of the village; my eldest child is his daughter, and he thinks a great deal of her. He often makes her presents, and she always addresses him as father when his wife is not by. His wife, whom he married sometime after I ceased my relations with him, does not know that her husband once lived with me.

This woman added as an evidence of her great devotion to her husband, that since her marriage she had not lived with any other man.

These loose marriage customs doubtless arise from the fact that the Sia are now numerically few and their increase is desired, and that, as

many of the clans are now extinct, it is impossible to intermarry in obedience to ancient rule.

The Sia are no exception to all the North American aborigines with whom the writer is acquainted, the man being the active party in matrimonial aspirations. If a woman has not before been married, and is young, the man speaks to her parents before breathing a word of his admiration to the girl. If his desire meets with approbation, the following day he makes known to the girl his wish for her. The girl usually answers in the affirmative if it be the will of her parents. Some two months are consumed in the preparations for the wedding. Moccasins, blankets, a dress, a belt, and other parts of the wardrobe are prepared by the groom and the clans of his paternal and maternal parents. The clans of the father and mother of the girl make great preparations for



FIG. 4.—Breaking the earth under tent.

the feast, which occurs after the marriage. The groom goes alone to the house of the girl, his parents having preceded him, and carries his gifts wrapped in a blanket. The girl's mother sits to her right, and to the right of this parent the groom's mother sits; there is space for the groom on the left of the girl, and beyond, the groom's father sits, and next to him the girl's father. When the groom enters the room the girl advances to meet him and receives the bundle; her mother then comes forward and taking it deposits it in some part of the same room, when the girl returns to her seat and the groom sits beside her. The girl's father is the first to speak, and says to the couple, "You must now be as one, your hearts must be as one heart, you must speak no bad words, and one must live for the other; and remember, your two hearts must now be as one heart." The groom's father then repeats

about the same, then the girl's mother, and the mother of the groom speak in turn. After the marriage, which is strictly private, all the invited guests assemble and enjoy a feast, the elaborateness of the feast depending upon the wealth and prominence of the family.

Tribal custom requires the groom to make his home with his wife's family, the couple sleeping in the general living room with the remainder of the family; but with the more progressive pueblos, and with the Sia to a limited extent, the husband, if he be able, after a time provides a house for his family.

The Sia wear the conventional dress of the Pueblos in general. The women have their hair banged across the eyebrows, and the side locks



FIG. 5.—Women and girls bringing clay.

cut even midway the cheek. The back of the hair is left long and done up in a cue, though some of the younger women, at the present time, have adopted the Mexican way of dividing their hair down the back and crossing it in a loop at the neck and wrapping it with yarn. The men cut their hair the same way across the eyebrows, their side locks being brought to the center of the chin and cut, and the back hair done up similar to the manner of the women.

The children are industrious and patient little creatures, the boys assisting their elders in farming and pastoral pursuits, and the girls performing their share of domestic duties. A marked trait is their loving-kindness and care for younger brothers and sisters. Every little



STONE HOUSE, SHOWING PLASTER ON EXTERIOR.

girl has her own water vase as soon as she is old enough to accompany her mother to the river in the capacity of assistant water-carrier, and thus they begin at a very early age to poise the vase, Egyptian fashion, on their heads.

There is no employment in pueblo life that the women and children seem so thoroughly to enjoy as the processes of house building. (Fig. 5.) It is the woman's prerogative to do most of this work. (Fig. 6.) Men make the adobe bricks when these are to be used. In Sia the houses are adobe and small bowlders which are gathered from the ruins among which they live. It is only occasionally that a new house is constructed. The older ones are remodeled, and these are always smoothly plastered



FIG. 6.—Women and girls bringing clay.

on the exterior and interior, so that there is no evidence of a stone wall. (Pl. VI.) The men do all carpenter work, and the Sia are remarkably clever in this branch of mechanism, considering their crude implements and entire absence of foreign instruction. They also lay the heavy beams, and they sometimes assist in other work of the building. When it became known that the writer wished to have the earth hardened under and in front of her tents the entire female population appeared at the camp ready for work, and for a couple of days the winds wafted over the plain the merry chatter and laughter of young and old.

The process of laying the tent floors was the same as the Sia observe in making floors in their houses. A hoe is employed to break the

earth to about eight inches in depth and to loosen all rocks that may be found (Fig. 4). The rocks are then removed and the foreign earth, a kind of clay, is brought by the girls on their backs in blankets or the square pieces of calico which hang from their shoulders (Figs. 5 and 6) and deposited over the ground which has been worked (Fig. 7). The hoe is again employed to combine the clay with the freshly broken earth (Fig. 8); this done, the space is brushed over with brush brooms and sprinkled (Fig. 9) until the earth is thoroughly saturated for several inches deep. Great care is observed in leveling the floor (Fig. 10), and extra quantities of clay must be added here and there. Then begins the stamping process (Fig. 11). When the floor is as smooth



FIG. 7.—Depositing the clay.

as it can be made by stamping (Pl. VII), the pounders go to work, each one with a stone flat on one side and smooth as a polishing stone. (Pl. VIII.) Many such specimens have been obtained from the ruins in the southwest. When this work is completed the floor is allowed to partially dry, when plaster made of the same clay (Fig. 12), which has been long and carefully worked, is spread over the floor with the hand, and when done the whole looks as smooth as a cement floor, but it is not so durable, such floors requiring frequent renovation. The floor may be improved, however, by a coating of beef's or goat's blood, and this process is usually adopted in the houses (Fig. 13), little ones watching their elders at work inside the tent.



STAMPERS AT WORK.

Two men only are possessors of herds of sheep, but a few cattle are owned individually by many of the Sia.

The cattle are not herded collectively, but by each individual owner. Sometimes the boys of different families go together to herd their stock, but it receives no attention whatever from the officials of the village so long as it is unmolested by strangers.

The Sia own about 150 horses, but seldom or never use them as beasts of burden. They are kept in pasture during the week, and every Saturday the war chief designates the six houses which are to furnish herders for the round-up. Should the head of the house have a son sufficiently large the son may be sent in his place. Only such



FIG. 8.—Mixing the clay with the freshly-broken earth.

houses are selected as own horses. The herdsmen start out Saturday morning; their return depends upon their success in rounding up the animals, but they usually get back Sunday morning.

Upon discovering the approach of the herdsmen and horses many of the women and children, too impatient to await the gathering of them in the corral, hasten to the valley to join the cavalcade, and upon reaching the party they at once scramble for the wood rats (*Neotoma*) which hang from the necks of the horses and colts. The men of the village are also much excited, but they may not participate in the frolic. From the time the herders leave the village until their return they are on the lookout for the *Neotoma*, which must be very abundant judging from

the number gathered on these trips. The rats are suspended by a yucca ribbon tied around the necks of the animals. The excitement increases as the horses ascend the hill; and after entering the corral it reaches the highest point, and the women and children run about among the horses, entirely devoid of any fear of the excited animals, in their efforts to snatch the rats from their necks. Many are the narrow escapes, but one is seldom hurt. The women throw the lariat, some of them being quite expert, and drawing the horses near them, pull the rats from their necks. Numbers fail, but there are always the favored few who leave the corral in triumph with as many rats as their two hands can carry. The rats are skinned and cooked in grease and eaten as a great delicacy.



FIG. 9.—Women sprinkling the earth.

COSMOGONY.

The Sia have an elaborate cosmogony, highly colored with the heroic deeds of mythical beings. That which the writer here presents is simply the nucleus of their belief from which spring stories in infinite numbers, in which every phenomenon of nature known to these people is accounted for. Whole chapters could be devoted to the experiences of each mythical being mentioned in the cosmogony.

In the beginning there was but one being in the lower world, Sûs'sĭs-tinnako, a spider. At that time there were no other animals, birds,



POUNDERS COMPLETING WORK.

reptiles, or any living creature but the spider. He drew a line of meal from north to south and crossed it midway from east to west; and he placed two little parcels north of the cross line, one on either side of the line running north and south. These parcels were very valuable and precious, but the people do not know to this day of what they consisted; no one ever knew but the creator, Sûs′sĭstinnako. After placing the parcels in position, Sûs′sĭstinnako sat down on the west side of the line running north and south, and south of the cross line, and began to sing, and in a little while the two parcels accompanied him in the song by shaking, like rattles. The music was low and sweet, and after awhile two women appeared, one evolved from each parcel; and



FIG. 10.—The process of leveling.

in a short time people began walking about; then animals, birds, and all animate objects appeared, and Sûs′sĭstinnako continued to sing until his creation was complete, when he was very happy and contented. There were many people and they kept close together, and did not pass about much, for fear of stepping upon one another; there was no light and they could not see. The two women first created were the mothers of all; the one created on the east side of the line of meal, Sûs′sĭstinnako named Ût′sĕt, and she was the mother of all Indians; he called the other Now′ûtsĕt, she being the mother of other nations. Sûs′sĭstinnako divided the people into clans, saying to certain of the people: "You are of the corn clan, and you are the first of all;" and

to others he said: "You belong to the coyote, the bear, the eagle people," and so on.

After Sûs'sĭstinnako had nearly perfected his creation for Ha'arts (the earth), he thought it would be well to have rain to water the earth, and so he created the cloud, lightning, thunder, and rainbow peoples to work for the people of Ha'arts. This second creation was separated into six divisions, one of which was sent to each of the cardinal points and to the zenith and nadir, each division making its home in a spring in the heart of a great mountain, upon whose summit was a giant tree. The Sha'-ka-ka (spruce) was on the mountain of the north; the Shwi'-ti-ra-wa-na (pine) on the mountain of the west; the



FIG. 11.—Stampers starting to work.

Mai'-chi-na (oak)—*Quercus undulata*, variety Gambelii—on the mountain of the south; the Shwi'-si-ni-ha'-na-we (aspen) on the mountain of the east; the Marsh'-ti-tä-mo (cedar) on the mountain of the zenith, and the Mor'-ri-tä-mo (oak), variety pungens, on the mountain of the nadir. While each division had its home in a spring, Sûs'sĭstinnako gave to these people Ti'-ni-a, the middle plain of the world (the world was divided into three parts: Ha'arts, the earth; Ti'nia, the middle plain, and Hu'-wa-ka, the upper plain), not only for a working field for the benefit of the people of Ha'arts, but also for their pleasure ground.

Not wishing this second creation to be seen by the people of Ha'arts as they passed about over Ti'nia, he commanded the Sia to smoke, that

clouds might ascend and serve as masks to protect the people of Ti′nia from view of the inhabitants of Ha′arts.

The people of Ha′arts made houses for themselves by digging holes in rocks and the earth. They could not build houses as they now do, because they could not see. In a short time the two mothers, Ûtsĕt and Now′ûtsĕt (the latter being the elder and larger, but the former having the best mind and heart), who resided in the north, went into the chita (estufa) and talked much to one another, and they decided that they would make light, and said: "Now we will make light, that our people may see; we can not now tell the people, but to-morrow will be a good day and day after to-morrow will also be a good day"—meaning



FIG. 12.—Mixing clay for plaster.

that their thoughts were good, and they spoke with one tongue, and that their future would be bright, and they added: "Now all is covered with darkness, but after awhile we will have light." These two women, being inspired by Sûs′sĭstinnako, created the sun from white shell, turkis, red stone, and abalone shell. After making the sun they carried him to the east and there made a camp, as there were no houses. The next morning they ascended a high mountain and dropped the sun down behind it, and after a time he began to ascend, and when the people saw the light their hearts rejoiced. When far off his face was blue; as he came nearer the face grew brighter. They, however, did not see the sun himself, but a mask so large that it covered his entire body.

The people saw that the world was large and the country beautiful, and when the women returned to the village they said to the people: "We are the mothers of all."

Though the sun lighted the world in the day, he gave no light at night, as he returned to his home in the west; and so the two mothers created the moon from a slightly black stone, many varieties of a yellow stone, turkis, and a red stone, that the world might be lighted at night, and that the moon might be a companion and a brother to the sun; but the moon traveled slowly, and did not always furnish light, and so they created the star people and made their eyes of beautiful sparkling white crystal, that they might twinkle and brighten the world at night. When the star people lived in the lower world they were gathered into groups, which were very beautiful; they were not scat-



FIG. 13.—Childish curiosity.

tered about as they are in the upper world. Again the two women entered the chita and decided to make four houses—one in the north, one in the west, one in the south, and one in the east—house in this instance meaning pueblo or village. When these houses were completed they said, now we have some beautiful houses; we will go first to that of the north and talk much for all things good. Now'ûtsĕt said to her sister: "Let us make other good things," and the sister asked: "What things do you wish to make?" She answered: "We are the mothers of all peoples, and we must do good work." "Well," replied the younger sister, "to-morrow I will pass around and see my other houses, and you will remain here."

After Ût'sĕt had traveled over the world, visiting the houses of the west, south, and east, she returned to her home in the north and was graciously received by Now'ûtsĕt, who seemed happy to see her younger

sister, and after a warm greeting she invited her to be seated. Now'ûtsĕt had a picture which she did not wish the sisters to see, and she covered it with a blanket, and said, "Guess what I have here?" (pointing to the covered picture) "and when you guess correctly I will show you." "I do not know," said Ût'sĕt and again the elder one asked, "What do you think I have here?" and the other replied, "I do not know." A third time Ût'sĕt was asked, and replied that she did not know, adding, "I wish to speak straight, and I must therefore tell you I do not know what you have there." Then Now'ûtsĕt said, "That is right." After a while the younger sister said, "I think you have under that blanket a picture, to which you will talk when you are alone." "You are right," said the elder sister, "you have a good head to know things." Now'ûtsĕt, however, was much displeased at the wisdom displayed by Ût'sĕt. She showed the picture to Ût'sĕt and in a little while Ût'sĕt left, saying, "I will now return to my house and no longer travel; to-morrow you will come to see me."

After the return of Ût'sĕt to her home she beckoned to the Chas'ka (chaparral cock) to come to her, and said, "You may go early to-morrow morning to the house of the sun in the east, and then follow the road from there to his home in the west, and when you reach the house in the west remain there until my sister comes to my house to talk to me, when I will call you." In the early morning the elder sister called at the house of the younger. "Sit down, my sister," said the younger one, and after a little time she said, "Let us go out and walk about; I saw a beautiful bird pass by, but I do not know where he lives," and she pointed to the footprints of the bird upon the ground. which was soft, and the tracks were very plain, and it could be seen that the footprints were in a straight line from the house of the sun in the east to his house in the west. "I can not tell," said the younger sister, "perhaps the bird came from the house in the east and has gone to the house in the west; perhaps he came from the house in the west and has gone to the house in the east; as the feet of the bird point both ways, it is hard to tell. What do you think, sister?" "I can not say," replied the other. Four times Ût'sĕt asked the question and received the same reply. The fourth time the elder sister added, "How can I tell? I do not know which is the front of the foot and which is the heel, but I think the bird has gone to the house in the east." "Your thoughts are wrong," replied the younger sister; "I know where the bird is, and he will soon be here;" and she gave a call and in a little while the Chas'ka came running to her from the west.

The elder sister was mortified at her lack of knowledge, and said, "Come to my house to-morrow; to-day you are greater than I. I thought the bird had gone to the house in the east, but you knew where he was, and he came at your call; to-morrow you come to me."

On the morrow the younger sister called at the house of the elder and was asked to be seated. Then Now'ûtsĕt said, "Sister, a word

with you; what do you think that is?" pointing to a figure enveloped in a blanket, with only the feet showing, which were crossed. Four times the question was asked, and each time the younger sister said she could not tell, but finally she added, "I think the feet are crossed; the one on the right should be left and the left should be right." "To whom do the feet belong?" inquired the elder sister. The younger sister was prompted by her grandmother, Sûs'sĭstinnako[1], the spider woman, to say, "I do not think it is either man or woman," referring to beings created by Sûs'sĭstinnako, "but something you have made." The elder sister replied, "You are right, my sister." She threw the blanket off, exposing a human figure; the younger sister then left, asking the elder to call at her house on the morrow, and all night Ût'sĕt was busy preparing an altar under the direction, however, of Sûs'sistīnenako. She covered the altar with a blanket, and in the morning when the elder sister called they sat together for a while and talked; then Ût'sét said, pointing to the covered altar, "What do you think I have there?" Now'ûtsĕt replied, "I can not tell; I may have my thoughts about it, but I do not know." Four times Now'ûtsĕt was asked, and each time she gave the same reply. Then the younger sister threw off the blanket, and they both looked at the altar, but neither spoke a word.

When the elder sister left, she said to Ût'sĕt, "To-morrow you come to my house," and all night she was busy arranging things for the morning, and in the morning Ût'sĕt hastened to her sister's house. (She was accompanied by Sûs'sĭstinnako, who followed invisible close to her ear.) Now'ûtsĕt asked, "What have I there?" pointing to a covered object, and Ût'sĕt replied, "I can not tell, but I have thought that you have under that blanket all things that are necessary for all time to come; perhaps I speak wrong." "No," replied Now'ûtsĕt," you speak correctly," and she threw off the blanket, saying, "My sister, I may be the larger and the first, but your head and heart are wise; you know much; I think my head must be weak." The younger sister then said: "To-morrow you come to my house;" and in the morning when the elder sister called at the house of the younger she was received in the front room and asked to be seated, and they talked awhile; then the younger one said: "What do you think I have in the room there?" pointing to the door of an inner room. Four times the question was asked and each time Now'ûtsĕt replied, "I can not tell." "Come with me," said Ût'sét, and she cried as she threw open the door, "All this is mine, when you have looked well we will go away." The room was filled with the Ka'tsuna beings with monster, heads which Ût'sĕt had created, under the direction of Sûs'sĭstinnako.

Sûs'sĭstinnako's creation may be classed in three divisions:

1. Pai'-ä-tä-mo: All men of Ha'arts (the earth), the sun, moon, stars, Ko'-shai-ri and Quer'-rän-na.

[1] Sûs'sĭstinnako is referred to both as father and mother, he being the parent of all, and sometimes as grandmother or the first parent.

2. Ko′-pĭsh-tai-a: The cloud, lightning, thunder, rainbow peoples, and all animal life not included under the first and third heads.
3. Ka′-tsu-na: Beings having human bodies and monster heads, who are personated in Sia by men and women wearing masks.

After a time the younger sister closed the door and they returned to the front room. Not a word had been spoken except by the younger. As the elder sister left she said, "To-morrow you come to my house." Sûs′sĭstinnako whispered in the ear of the younger, "To-morrow you will see fine things in your sister's house, but they will not be good; they will be bad." Now′ûtsĕt then said: "Before the Sun has left his home we will go together to see him; we will each have a wand on our heads made of the long white fluffy feathers of the under tail of the eagle, and we will place them vertically on our heads that they may see the sun when he first comes out;" and the younger sister replied: "You are the elder and must go before, and your plumes will see the sun first; mine can not see him until he has traveled far, because I am so small; you are the greater and must go before." Though she said this she knew better; she knew that though she was smaller in stature she was the greater and more important woman. That night Sûs′sĭstinnako talked much to Ût′sĕt. She said: "Now that you have created the Ka′tsuna you must create a man as messenger between the sun and the Ka′tsuna and another as messenger between the moon and the Ka′tsuna.

The first man created was called Ko′shairi; he not only acts as courier between the sun and the Ka′tsuna, but he is the companion, the jester and musician (the flute being his instrument) of the sun; he is also mediator between the people of the earth and the sun; when acting as courier between the sun and the Ka′tsuna and vice versa and as mediator between the people of the earth and the sun he is chief for the sun; when accompanying the sun in his daily travels he furnishes him with music and amusement; he is then the servant of the sun. The second man created was Quer′rănna, his duties being identical with those of the Ko′shairi, excepting that the moon is his particular chief instead of the sun, both, however, being subordinate to the sun.

After the creation of Ko′shairi and Quer′rănna, Ût′sĕt called Shuah-kai (a small black bird with white wings) to her and said:

"To-morrow my sister and I go to see the sun when he first leaves his house. We will have wands on our heads, we will be side by side; she is much taller than I; the sun will see her face before he sees mine, and that will not be good; you must go to-morrow morning very early near the house of the sun and take a plume from your left wing, but none from your right; spread your wings and rest in front of the sun as he comes from his house." The two women started very early in the morning to greet the rising sun. They were accompanied by all

the men and youths, carrying their bows and arrows. The elder woman, after they halted to await the coming of the sun, said: "We are here to watch for the sun." (The people had divided, some being on the side of Now'ûtsĕt, the others with Ût'sĕt). "If the sun looks first upon me, all the people on my side will be my people and will slay the others, and if the sun looks first upon the face of my sister all the people on her side will be her people and they will destroy my people."

As the sun left his house, the bird Shu'ahkai placed himself so as to obscure the light, excepting where it penetrated through the space left by the plucking of the feather from his wing, and the light shone, not only on the wand on the head of the younger sister, but it covered her face, while it barely touched the top of the plumes of the elder; and so the people of the younger sister destroyed those of the elder. The two women stood still while the men fought. The women remained on the mountain top, but the men descended into a grassy park to fight. After a time the younger sister ran to the park and cried, "This is enough; fight no more." She then returned to the mountain and said to her sister, "Let us descend to the park and fight." And they fought like women—not with arrows—but wrestled. The men formed a circle around them and the women fought hard and long. Some of the men said, "Let us go and part the women;" others said, "No; let them alone." The younger woman grew very tired in her arms, and cried to her people, "I am very tired," and they threw the elder sister upon the ground and tied her hands; the younger woman then commanded her people to leave her, and she struck her sister with her fists about the head and face as she lay upon the ground, and in a little while killed her. She then cut the breast with a stone knife and took out the heart, her people being still in a circle, but the circle was so large that they were some distance off. She held the heart in her hand and cried: "Listen, men and youths! This woman was my sister, but she compelled us to fight; it was she who taught you to fight. The few of her people who escaped are in the mountains and they are the people of the rats;" and she cut the heart into pieces and threw it upon the ground, saying, "Her heart will become rats, for it was very bad," and immediately rats could be seen running in all directions. She found the center of the heart full of cactus, and she said, "The rats for evermore will live with the cacti;" and to this day the rats thus live (referring to the *Neotoma*). She then told her people to return to their homes.

It was about this time that Sûs'sĭstinnako organized the cult societies, instructing all of the societies in the songs for rain, but imparting only to certain ones the secrets whereby disease is extracted through the sucking and brushing processes.

For eight years after the fight (years referring to periods of time) the people were very happy and all things flourished, but the ninth year was very bad, the whole earth being filled with water. The water did

not fall in rain, but came in as rivers between the mesas, and continued flowing from all sides until the people and all animals fled to the mesa. The waters continued to rise until nearly level with the mesa top, and Sûs'sĭstinnako cried, "Where shall my people go? Where is the road to the north, he looking to the north, the road to the west, he facing the west, the road to the south, he turning south, the road to the east, he facing east? Alas, I see the waters are everywhere." And all of his theurgists sang four days and nights before their altars and made many offerings, but still the waters continued to rise as before. Sûs'sĭstinnako said to the sun: "My son, you will ascend and pass over the world above; your course will be from the north to the south, and you will return and tell me what you think of it." On his return the sun said, "Mother, I did as you bade me, and I did not like the road." Again he told him to ascend and pass over the world from the west to the east, and on his return Sûs'sĭstinnako inquired how he liked that road. "It may be good for some, mother, but I did not like it." "You will again ascend and pass over the straight road from east to west," and upon the sun's return the father inquired what he thought of that road. His reply was, "I am much contented; I like the road much." Then Sûs'sĭstinnako said, "My son, you will ascend each day and pass over the world from east to west." Upon each day's journey the sun stops midway from the east to the center of the world to eat his breakfast, in the center to eat his dinner, and midway the center to the west to eat his supper, he never failing to take his three meals daily, stopping at these particular points to obtain them.

The sun wears a shirt of dressed deerskin, and leggings of the same, reaching to his thighs; the shirt and leggings are fringed; his moccasins are also of deerskin and embroidered in yellow, red, and turkis beads; he wears a kilt of deerskin, the kilt having a snake painted upon it; he carries a bow and arrows, the quiver being of cougar skin, hanging over his shoulder, and he holds his bow in his left hand and an arrow in his right; he still wears the mask which protects him from view of the people of the earth. An eagle plume with a parrot plume on either side, ornaments the top of the mask, and an eagle plume is on either side of the mask and one is at the bottom; the hair around the head and face is red like fire, and when it moves and shakes the people can not look closely at the mask; it is not intended that they should observe closely and thereby know that instead of seeing the sun they see only his mask; the heavy line encircling the mask is yellow, and indicates rain. (Fig. 14.)

The moon came to the upper world with the sun and he also wears a mask.

Each night the sun passes by the house of Sûs'sĭstinnako, who asks him: "How are my children above, how many have died to-day, and how many have been born to-day?" He lingers with him only long enough to answer his questions. He then passes on to his house in the east.

Sûs′sĭstinnako placed a huge reed upon the mesa top and said: "My people will pass up through this to the world above." Ût′sĕt led the way, carrying a sack containing many of the star people; she was followed by all the theurgists, who carried their precious articles in sacred blankets, on their backs; then followed the laity and all animals, snakes and birds; the turkey was far behind, and the foam of the waters rose and reached the tip ends of his feathers, and to this day

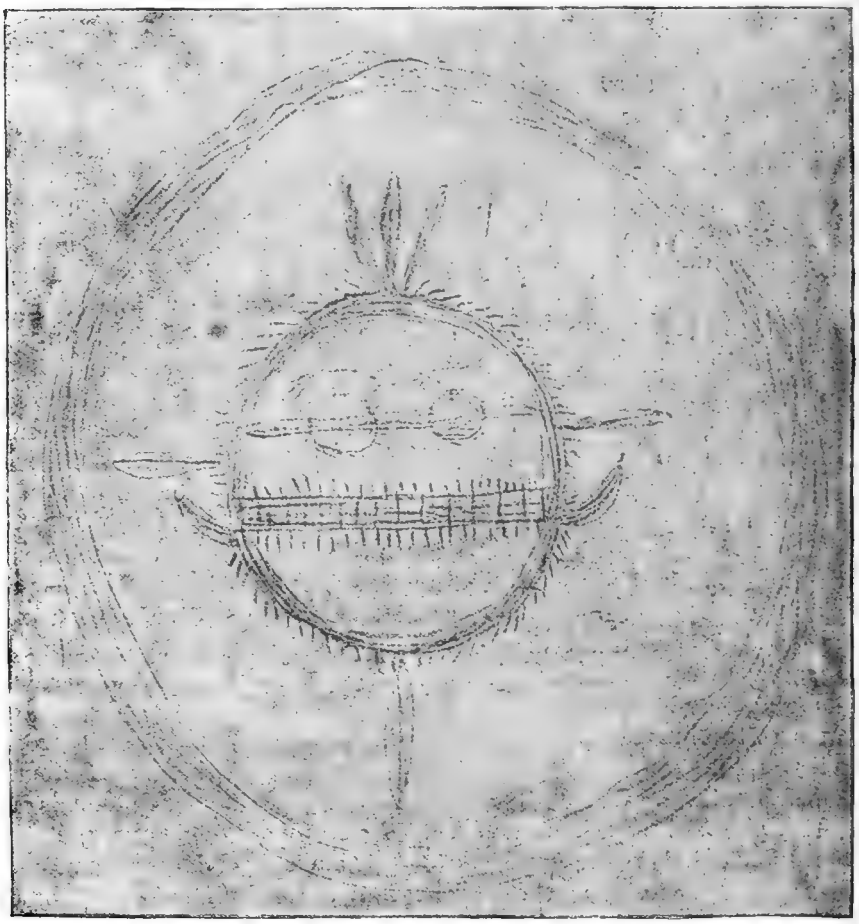


FIG. 14.—Mask of the Sun, drawn by a theurgist.

they bear the mark of the waters. Upon reaching the top of the reed, the solid earth barred their exit, and Ût′sĕt called ʻSi′ka (the locust), saying, "Man, come here." The locust hastened to her, and she told him that the earth prevented their exodus. "You know best how to pass through the earth; go and make a door for us." "Very well, mother," he replied, "I will, and I think I can make a way." He began working with his feet, and after a time he passed through the

earth, entering another world. As soon as he saw the world, he returned to Ût′sĕt saying, "It is good above." Ût′sĕt then called the Tuo′ pi (badger), and said to him, "Make a door for us; the ᵗSi′ka has made one, but it is very small." "Very well, mother; I will," replied the badger; and after much work he passed into the world above, and returning said, "Mother, I have opened the way." Ût′sĕt is appealed to, to the present time, as father and mother, for she acts directly for Sûs′sĭstinnako, the creator. The badger said, "Mother, father, the world above is good." Ût′sĕt then called the deer, saying to him, "You go first, and if you pass through all right, if you can get your head through, others may pass." The deer after ascending returned saying, "Father, it is all right; I passed without trouble." She then called the elk, and told him if he could get his head through the door, all could pass. He returned, saying, "Father, it is good; I passed without trouble." She then had the buffalo try and he returned, saying, "Father, mother, the door is good; I passed without trouble."

Ût′sĕt then called the I-shits (*Scarabæus*) and gave him the sack of stars, telling him to pass out first with the sack. The little animal did not know what the sack contained, but he grew very tired carrying it, and he wondered what could be in the sack. After entering the new world he was very tired, and laying the sack down he thought he would peep into it and see its contents. He cut only a tiny hole, but immediately the stars began flying out and filling the heavens everywhere. The little animal was too tired to return to Ût′sĕt, who, however, soon joined him, followed by all her people, who came in the order above mentioned. After the turkey passed out the door was firmly closed with a great rock so that the waters below could not follow them. When Ût′sĕt looked for her sack she was astonished to find it nearly empty and she could not tell where the contents had gone; the little animal sat by, very scared, and sad, and Ût′sĕt was angry with him and said, "You are very bad and disobedient and from this time forth you shall be blind," (and this is the reason the scarabæus has no eyes, so the old ones say). The little fellow, however, had saved a few of the stars by grabbing the sack and holding it fast; these Ût′sĕt distributed in the heavens. In one group she placed seven stars (the great bear), in another three (part of Orion,) into another group she placed the Pleiades, and throwing the others far off into the heavens, exclaimed, "All is well!"

The cloud, lightning, thunder, and rainbow peoples followed the Sia into the upper world, making their homes in springs similar to those they had occupied in the lower world; these springs are also at the cardinal points, zenith and nadir, and are in the hearts of mountains with trees upon their summits. All of the people of Tínia, however, did not leave the lower world; only a portion were sent by Sûs′sĭstinnako to labor for the people of the upper world. The cloud people are so numerous that, though the demands of the people of the earth are great,

there are always many passing about over Tínia for pleasure; these people ride on wheels, small wheels being used by the children and larger ones by the elders. In speaking of these wheels the Sia add: "The Americans have stolen the secret of the wheels (referring to bicycles) from the cloud people."

The cloud people are careful to keep behind their masks, which assume different forms according to the number of people and the work being done; for instance, Hĕn'nati are white floating clouds behind which the people pass about for pleasure. He'äsh are clouds like the plains, and behind these, the cloud people are laboring to water the earth. The water is brought from the springs at the base of the mountains in gourd jugs and vases, by the men, women, and children, who ascend from these springs to the base of the tree and thence through the heart or trunk to the top of the tree which reaches to Ti'nia; they then pass on to the designated point to be sprinkled. Though the lightning, thunder and rainbow peoples of the six cardinal points[1] have each their priestly rulers and theurgists of their cult societies, these are subordinate to the priest of the cloud people, the cloud people of each cardinal point having their separate religious and civil organizations. Again these rulers are subordinate to Ho'chänni, arch ruler of the cloud people of the world, the cloud people hold ceremonials similar to the Sia; and the figures of the slat altars of the Sia are supposed to be arranged just as the cloud people sit in their ceremonies, the figures of the altars representing members of the cult societies of the cloud and lightning peoples. The Sia in performing their rites assume relatively similar positions back of the altars.

When a priest of the cloud people wishes assistance from the thunder and lightning peoples he commands their ti'ämonis to notify the theurgists to see that the labor is performed, he placing his cloud people under the direction of certain of his theurgists, keeping a general supervision himself over all. The people of Ti'nia are compensated by those of Ha'arts for their services. These offerings are placed at shrines, of which there are many, no longer left in view but buried from sight. Cigarettes are made of delicate reeds and filled with down from humming birds and others, minute quantities of precious beads and corn pollen, and are offered to the priestly rulers and theurgists of Ti'nia.

The lightning people shoot their arrows to make it rain the harder, the smaller flashes coming from the bows of the children. The thunder people have human forms, with wings of knives, and by flapping these wings they make a great noise, thus frightening the cloud and lightning peoples into working the harder. The rainbow people were created to work in Ti'nia to make it more beautiful for the people of Ha'arts to look upon; not only the elders making the beautiful bows,

[1] In this paper the words "cardinal points" are used to signify north, west, south, east, zenith, and nadir.

but the children assisting in this work. The Sia have no idea how or of what the bows are made. They do, however, know that the war heroes traveled upon these bows.

The Sia entered this world in the far north, and the opening through which they emerged is known as Shí-pa-po. They gathered into camps, for they had no houses, but they soon moved on a short distance and built a village. Their only food was seeds of certain grasses, and Ût'sĕt desiring that her children should have other food made fields north, west, south, and east of the village and planted bits of her heart, and corn was evolved (though Ût'sĕt had always known the name of corn, corn itself was not known until it originated in these fields),and Ût'sĕt declared: "This corn is my heart and it shall be to my people as milk from my breasts."

After the Sia had remained at this village a year (referring to a time period) they desired to pass on to the center of the earth, but the earth was very moist and Ût'sĕt was puzzled to know how to harden it.

She commanded the presence of the cougar, and asked him if he had any medicine to harden the road that they might pass over it. The cougar replied, "I will try, mother;" but after going a short distance over the road, he sank to his shoulders in the wet earth, and he returned much afraid, and told Ût'sĕt that he could go no farther. She then sent for the bear and asked him what he could do; and he, like the cougar, made an attempt to harden the earth; he had passed but a short distance when he too sank to his shoulders, and being afraid to go farther returned, saying, "I can do nothing." The badger then made the attempt, with the same result; then the shrew (*Sorex*) and afterward the wolf, but they also failed. Then Ut'sĕt returned to the lower world and asked Sûs'sĭstinnako what she could do to harden the earth so that her people might travel over it. Sûs'sĭstinnako inquired, "Have you no medicine to make the earth firm? Have you asked the cougar and the bear, the wolf, the badger and the shrew to use their medicines to harden the earth?" And she replied, "I have tried all these." Then, said Sûs'sĭstinnako, "Others will understand;" and he told Ût'sĕt to have a woman of the Ka'pĭna (spider) society to use her medicine for this purpose. Upon the return of Ût'sĕt to the upper world, she commanded the presence of a female member of this society. Upon the arrival of this woman Ût'sĕt said, "My mother, Sûs'sĭstinnako, tells me the Ka'pĭna society understands the secret how to make the earth strong." The woman replied, "I do not know how to make the earth firm." Three times Ût'sĕt questioned the woman regarding the hardening of the earth, and each time the woman replied, "I do not know." The fourth time the question was put the woman said, "Well, I guess I know; I will try;" and she called together the members of the society of the Ka'pĭna and said to them, "Our mother, Sûs'sĭstinnako bids us work for her and harden the earth so that the people may pass over

it." The woman first made a road of fine cotton which she produced from her body (it will be remembered that the Ka'pina society was composed of the spider people), suspending it a few feet above the earth, and told the people they could now move on; but when they saw the road it looked so fragile that they were afraid to trust themselves upon it. Then Ût'sĕt said: "I wish a man and not a woman of the Ka'pĭna to work for me." A male member of the society then appeared and threw out the serpent (a fetich of latticed wood so put together that it can be expanded and contracted); and when it was extended it reached to the middle of the earth. He first threw it to the south, then to the east, then to the west. The Na'pakatsa (a fetich composed of slender sticks radiating from a center held together by a fine web of cotton; eagle down is attached to the cotton; when opened it is in the form of an umbrella, and when closed it has also the same form minus the handle) was then thrown upon the ground and stamped upon (the original Na'pakatsa was composed of cotton from the spider's body); it was placed first to the south, then east, west and north. The people being in the far north, the Na'pakatsa was deposited close to their backs.

The earth now being firm so that the people could travel, Ût'sĕt selected for the ti'ämoni who was to take her place with the people and lead them to the center of the earth, a man of the corn clan, saying to him, "I, Ût'sĕt, will soon leave you; I will return to the home whence I came. You will be to my people as myself; you will pass with them over the straight road. I will remain in my house below and will hear all that you say to me. I give to you all my wisdom, my thoughts, my heart, and all. I fill your head with my mind." She then gave to her newly appointed representative a crooked staff as insignia of his office, saying, "It is as myself; keep it always." "Thank you, mother," he replied, and all the people clasped the staff and drew a breath from it. "I give to you all the precious things which I brought to this world [Ût'sĕt having brought these things in a sacred blanket on her back]. Be sure to follow the one straight road for all years and for all time to come. You will be known as Ti'ämoni [meaning the arch-ruler]. I bid you listen to all things good, and work for all things good, and turn from all things bad." He replied: "It is well, mother; I will do as you say." She then instructed this ruler to make the I'ärriko[1] (Pl. IX) which was to

[1]The I'ärriko or ya'ya (mother) is an ear of corn which may be any color but must be symmetrically perfect, and not a grain must be missing. Eagle and parrot plumes are placed in pyramidal form around the corn. In order that the center feathers may be sufficiently long they are each attached to a very delicate splint. The base of this pyramid is formed of splints woven together with native cotton cord and ornamented at the top with shells and precious beads. A pad of native cotton is attached to the lower end of the corn. When the ya'ya is completed there is no evidence of the corn, which is renewed every four years when the old corn is planted. The ya'ya is made only by the theurgists of the cult societies, and continency must be practiced four days previous to the making of the I'ärriko, and an emetic taken each of the four mornings before breaking fast for purification from conjugal relations. A ya'ya is presented by the theurgist to each official member, the little ones being apparently as appreciative and proud as their elders of the honor conferred upon them. The I'ärriko is the Sia's supreme idol. The one given to the writer by the theurgist of the knife society is now in the National Museum.



Drawn by J. L. Ridgway

Ī-ÄR-RI-KO.

A SIA FETICH

represent herself that they might have herself always with them and know her always. Again Ût'sĕt said: "When you wish for anything make hä'chamoni and plant them, and they will bear your messages to your mother in the world below."

Before Ût'sĕt left this world she selected six Sia women, sending one to the north, one to the west, one to the south, one to the east, one to the zenith, and one to the nadir, to make their homes at these points for all time to come, that they might be near the cloud rulers of the cardinal points and intercede for the people of Ha'arts; and Ût'sĕt enjoined her people to remember to ask these women, in times of need, to appeal to the cloud people for them.

The Sia alone followed the command of Ût'sĕt and took the straight road, while all other pueblos advanced by various routes to the center of the earth. After Ût'sĕt's departure the Sia traveled some distance and built a village of beautiful white stone, where they lived four years (years referring to time periods). The Sia declare that their stay at the white house was of long duration. Here parents suffered great distress at the hand of the tïämoni, who, objecting to the increase of his people, for a time caused all children to be put to death. The Sia had scarcely recovered from this calamity when a serious difficulty arose between the men and women. Many women sat grinding meal and singing; they had worked hard all day, and at sundown, when the men returned to the houses, the women began abusing them, saying: "You are no good; you do not care to work; you wish to be with women all the time. If you would allow four days to pass between, the women would care more for you." The men replied: "You women care to be with us all day and all night; if you women could have the men only every four days you would be very unhappy." The women retorted: "It is you men who would be unhappy if you could be with the women only every four days."

And the men and women grew very angry with one another. The men cried: "Were it ten days, twenty days, thirty days, we could remain apart from you and not be unhappy." The women replied: "We think not, but we women would be very contented to remain away from you men for sixty days." And the men said: "We men would be happy to remain apart from you women for five moons." The women, growing more excited, cried: "You do not speak the truth; we women would be contented to be separated from you ten moons." The men retorted: "We men could remain away from you women twenty moons and be very happy." "You do not speak the truth," said the women, "for you wish to be with us all the time, day and night."

Three days they quarreled and on the fourth day the women separated from the men, going on one side of the pueblo, the men and boys gathering on the other side. All the women went into one chí-ta, the men into another. The women had a great talk and the men held a council. The men and women were very angry with one another.

The tíämoni, who presided over the council, said: "I think if you and the women live apart you will each be contented." And on the following morning he had all the men and male children who were not being nourished by their mothers cross the great river which ran by the village, the women remaining in the village. The men departed at sunrise, and the women were delighted. They said: "We can do all the work; we understand the men's work and we can work like them." The men said to each other: "We can do the things the women did for us." As they left the village the men called to the women: "We leave you to yourselves, perhaps for one year, perhaps for two, and perhaps longer. For one year you may be happy to be apart from us. Perhaps we will be happy to be separated from you; perhaps not; we can not tell. We men are more amorous than you."

Some time was required for the men to cross the river, as it was very wide. The tíämoni led the men and remained with them. The women were compelled by the tíämoni to send their male infants over the river as soon as they ceased nourishing them. For ten moons the men and women were very happy. The men hunted a great deal and had much game for food, but the women had no animal food. At the expiration of the ten moons some of the women were sad away from the men. The men grew stout and the women very thin. As the second year passed more of the women wanted the men, but the men were perfectly satisfied away from the women. After three years the women more and more wished for the men, but the men were but slightly desirous of the women. When the fourth year was half gone the women called to the tíämoni, saying: "We want the men to come to us." The female children had grown up like reeds; they had no flesh on them. The morning after the women begged the tíämoni for the return of the men they recrossed the river to live again with the women, and in four days after their return the women had recovered their flesh.

Children were born to the women while they were separated from the men, and when born they were entirely unlike the Sia, and were a different people. The mothers, seeing their children were not like themselves, did not care for them and drove them from their homes. These unnatural children matured in a short time, becoming the skóyo (giant cannibals). As soon as they were grown they began eating the Sia. They caught the children just as the coyote catches his prey. They made large fires between great rocks, and throwing the children in, roasted them alive, and afterward ate them. When parents went to the woods to look for their lost children, they too were caught by the giants and roasted. No one ever returned to the village to tell the tale. The Sia were not only devoured by the skóyo, but by those animals who quarreled with their people at the time of the rupture between the Sia men and women, the angry animals joining the skóyo in their attacks upon the Sia.

Although the children were destroyed whenever they ventured from

their homes the vigilance of some of the parents saved the race, and in spite of the numerous deaths the people increased, and they built many houses. Four years (referring to periods of time) the Skóyo and animals captured and ate the Sia whenever they left their villages, but the Sia were not always to suffer this great evil.

The sun father determined to relieve the people of their trouble and so he became the father of twin boys.

Ko'chinako, a virgin (the yellow woman of the north), when journeying to visit the center of the earth, lay down to rest. She was embraced by the Sun, and from this embrace she became pregnant. In four days she gave evident signs of her condition, and in eight days it was still more perceptible, and in twelve days she gave birth to male twins. During her condition of gestation her mother, the spider woman, was very angry, and insisted upon knowing the father of the child, but the daughter could not tell her; and when the mother asked when she became pregnant, she could not reply to the question, and the mother said: "I do not care to see the child when it is born; I wish to be far away." And as soon as the daughter complained of approaching labor the mother left, but her heart softened toward her child and she soon returned. In four days from the birth of the boys they were able to walk. When twins are born, the first-born is called Kat'saya and the second Kat'che.

Ko'chinako named her first born Ma'-a-se-we and the second U'-yuu-yewĕ. These children grew rapidly in intelligence, but they always remained small in stature. One day they inquired of their mother, "Where is our father?" The mother replied, "He is far away; ask no more questions." But again they asked, "Where is our father?" And they received the same reply from the mother. The third time they asked, and a fourth time, when the mother said, "Poor children, your father lives far away to the east." They declared they would go to him, but she insisted they could not; that to reach him they would have to go to the center of a great river. The boys were so earnest in their entreaties to be allowed to visit their father, that the mother finally consented. Their grandmother (the spider woman) made them each a bow and arrows, and the boys started off on their journey, traveling a long way. Upon reaching the river they were puzzled to know how to enter their father's house. While they stood thinking, their grandmother (the spider woman) appeared and said, "I will make a bridge for you." She spun a web back and forth, but when the bridge was completed the boys feared to cross it; it appeared so frail. Then the grandmother tested the bridge to show them it was safe. They, being now satisfied, crossed the bridge and descended to the center of the river, and there found their father's house. The wife of their father inquired of the boys, "Who are you, and where did you come from?" "We come to find our father." The woman then asked, "Who is your father?" and they answered, "The Sun is our father;" and the

wife was angry and said, "You tell an untruth." She gave them a bowl of food, which was, however, only the scraps left by her children.

In a little while the Sun returned home. His wife was very indignant; "I thought you traveled only for the world, but these children say you are their father." The Sun replied, "They are my children, because all people are my children under my arm." This satisfied the wife, even though the children appealed directly to the Sun as father. When he saw the boys were eating scraps, he took the bowl, threw out the contents, and had his wife give them proper food. He then called one of his men who labored for him, and said, "Build me a large fire in the house," designating a sweat-house, "lined with turkis, and heat it with hot rocks," the rocks being also turkis. He sent the children into this house and had the door closed upon them. The Sun then ordered water poured upon the hot rocks through an opening in the roof, but the children cooled the sweat-house by spitting out tiny shells from their mouths.

When the Sun ordered the door of the sweat-house opened he was surprised to find the children still alive. He then had them cast into another house, which was very large and filled with elk, deer, antelope, and buffalo; he peeped through an opening in the wall and saw the boys riding on the backs of the elk and deer apparently very happy and contented. He then had them placed in a house filled with bear, cougar, and rattlesnakes, and he peeped in and saw the children riding on the backs of the bear and cougar and they were happy and not afraid, and he said, "Surely they are my children," and he opened the doors and let them out, and asked, "My children, what do you wish of me?" "Nothing, father," they replied, "We came only to find our father." He gave to each of them a bow and arrows, and to each three sticks (the rabbit stick), which he told them not to use until they reached home for if they threw one, intending it only to go a little way it would go very far. When they had proceeded on their journey but a short distance Ma′asewe said to U′yuuyewĕ, "Let us try our sticks and see how far they will go;" but U′yuuyewĕ refused, saying, "No; our father told us not to use them until our return home." Ma′asewe continued to plead with his younger brother, but he was wise and would not yield. Finally Ma′asewe threw one of his, and it was going a great distance off, but he stopped it by throwing shells from his mouth.

The mother and grandmother were delighted to see the boys again, and happy for all to be under one roof, but the boys, particularly Ma′asewe, were soon anxious to travel. They wished to try the bows their father had given them, and after they had been home four days they started on a hunt. The mother said to the boys: "Children, I do not wish you to go far; listen attentively to what I have to say. Away to the east is a lake where many skoyo and their animal companions live and when the sun is over the middle of the world these people go to the lake to get water. They are very bad people and you

must not go near the lake." Ma'asewe replied, "Very well, mother; I do not care to go that way and I will look about near home." But when the boys had gone a little distance Ma'asewe said to his younger brother, "Let us go to the lake that mother talked of." U'yuuyewĕ replied: "I do not care to go there, because our mother told us not to go that way;" but Ma'asewe importuned his younger brother to go, and U'yuuyewĕ replied, "Very well." They then followed the road indicated by their mother until the lake was discovered.

It was now about the middle of the day, and Ma'asewe said "There are no people here, none at all; I guess mother told us a story;" but in a little while he saw a great wolf approach the lake; then they saw him enter the lake; he was thirsty, and drank; both boys saw him at the bottom of the lake and they exclaimed: "See! he looks pretty in the bottom of the lake." Ma'asewe said: "I guess he will drink all the water; see, the water grows less and less." And when all the water was gone there was no wolf in the bottom of the lake and then the boys discovered the wolf on a low mesa, it having been only his reflection they had seen in the lake. The boys aimed their arrows at him, but they did not hit him and the wolf threw a large stick at them, but they bowed their heads and it passed over them. Ma'asewe said to U'yuuyewĕ: "I guess these people are those of whom mother spoke; see," said he, "this stick is the same as those given us by our father." The boys carried their rabbit sticks of great size and Ma'asewe aimed one of his at the wolf, who wore a shirt of stone which could be penetrated only at certain points. The wolf again threw a stick, but the boys jumped high from the ground and the stick passed under them. Ma'asewe said to U'yuuyewĕ, "Now, younger brother, you try." U'yuuyewĕ had not used his arrows or sticks up to this time. He replied, "All right," and throwing one of his sticks he struck the wolf in the side, and the protective shirt was destroyed for the moment. Then Ma'asewe threw a stick, but the shirt of stone again appeared protecting the wolf. U'yuuyewĕ, throwing a second stick killed the wolf. Then Ma'asewe said, "Younger brother, the wolf is destroyed; let us return; but we will first secure his heart;" and with a stone knife he cut the wolf down the breast in a straight line, and took out the heart, which he preserved, saying: "Now we will return to our home."

Upon their reaching home, their mother inquired: "Where have you been, where have you been?" "We have been to the lake," said the boys. "My boys, you are fooling me." "No, we are speaking the truth." "Why did you go there?" Ma'asewe replied, "We wished very much to see the lake." The mother asked: "Did you not see any Sko'yo?" "Yes," said Ma'asewe, "we saw one; at least we saw a great wolf;" and the mother cried, "Oh, my boys, you are not good boys to go there." Then Ma'asewe told his mother that they had killed the wolf. At first, she refused to believe him; but when Ma'asewe de-

clared he spoke the truth, the mother took the boys to her breast and said: "It is well, my children." In a short time the boys started out on another tour. Before leaving home, they inquired of their mother where good wood for arrow shafts could be procured. "Far off to the north in a canyon is good wood for shafts, but a bad man sits in the road near by; this path is very narrow, and when one passes by he is kicked into the canyon by this bad man, and killed." Ma'asewe declared to his mother he did not care to go there, but he was not far from her eyes before he prevailed upon U'yuuyewĕ to accompany him to this canyon, saying: "Let us go where we can find the best wood."

It required some persuasion from Ma'asewe, as U'yuuyewĕ at first declared he would not disobey his mother. They traveled a long way ere reaching the bad old man, the cougar, but when they saw him they approached very cautiously, and Ma'asewe asked him if he could tell him "where to find good wood for arrow shafts." "Yes, I know," replied the cougar; "down there is much," pointing to the canyon below. Ma'asewe inquired, "How can I reach the canyon?" The cougar said, "Pass by me; this is the best way." Ma'asewe declared he must not walk before his elders, but the cougar insisted that the boys should pass in front of him. They were, however, determined to pass behind. Finally the cougar said, "All right." Ma'asewe asked him to rise while they passed, but he only bent a little forward; then Ma'asewe said, "Lean a little farther forward, the path is narrow;" and the cougar bent his body a little more, when Ma'asewe placed his hands on the cougar's shoulders, pressing him forward, saying, "Oh! the way is so narrow; lean just a little more; see, I can not pass." U'yuuyewĕ, who was close to Ma'asewe, put both his hands on the cougar's right shoulder, while his brother placed his on the left, they saying to him, "Just a little farther forward," and, with their combined effort, they threw him to the canyon below, Ma'asewe crying out, "This is the way you have served others." The cougar was killed by the fall.

The boys then descended into the canyon and gathered a quantity of wood for their arrow shafts. When their mother saw the wood she cried, "You naughty boys! where have you been?" They replied, "We have killed the cougar." The mother refused to believe them, but Ma'asewe declared they spoke the truth. She then embraced her children with pride and joy.

Two days the boys were busy making shafts, to which they attached their arrows. Then Ma'asewe desired plumes for the shafts. "Mother," said he, "do you know where we can find eagle plumes?" "Yes, I know where they are to be found. Away on the brink of a canyon in the west there are many plumes, but there is a very bad man there." Ma'asewe said, "Well, I do not care to go there. We will look elsewhere for plumes." But he had scarcely left the house when he urged U'yuuyewĕ to accompany him to the brink of the canyon. "No," said U'yuuyewĕ, "I do not care to go there. Besides the bad man mother

spoke of, there are many other bears;" but Ma′asewe finally persuaded U′yuuyewĕ to accompany him.

After a time Ma′asewe cried; "See, there is the house; younger brother, you remain a little way back of me, and when the bear passes by you aim your arrow at him." Ma′asewe approached the house, and when the bear discovered the boy he started after him. Just as the bear was passing U′yuuyewĕ he shot him through the heart. Ma′asewe drew his knife down the breast of the bear, and took out his heart, cutting it into pieces, preserving the bits. "Now," said Ma′asewe, "let us hasten and secure the plumes."

They found many beautiful feathers. Then, returning to the bear, they flayed him, preserving the lower skin of the legs with the claws, separate from the remainder of the skin. They filled the body with grass and tied a rope around the neck and body, and Ma′asewe led the way, holding one end of the rope, he drawing the bear and U′yuuyewĕ holding the other end of the rope to steady the animal. As they approached their home they cried, "Mother, mother, see!" Their mother, hearing the cry, called, "What is it my children?" as she advanced to meet them, but when she discovered the bear she returned quickly to the house, exclaiming: "Let the bear go; do not bring him here; why do you bring the bad bear here?" The boys, following their mother, said, "Mother, the bear is dead."

The boys remained at home two days completing their arrows. Then Ma′asewe said to his mother, "Mother, we wish to hunt for deer. Our arrows are good and we must have meat." "That is good, my children, but listen. Away to the south lives an eagle in a high rock. She has two children. The father also lives there, and these parents are very large, and they eat all the little ones they find. Ma′asewe replied, "We will not go there." But he was no sooner out of his mother's sight than he declared they must go to the home of the eagle. After they had proceeded a little way they saw a deer, and Ma′asewe drew his bow and shot him through the heart. They cut the deer down the breast, drew the intestines, and, after cleansing them from blood, the boys wrapped them around their necks, arms, and breast, over their right shoulders, and around their waists. "Now," said Ma′asewe, "we can approach the house of the eagle." When the boys drew near the eagles flew to the earth. One eagle, catching Ma′asewe and flying far above the house, dropped him on a sharp stone ledge in front of his house. The stone was sharp, like the blade of a knife, and it broke the intestines of the deer, which protected him from the rock, and the blood fell like rain. Ma′asewe lay still and the eagle thought he was dead. The mate then descended and caught Û′yuuyewĕ and, flying above her house, dropped him also upon the rock. He, too, lay perfectly still, and the eagles thought he was dead. "Now," said the eagles, "our children will be happy and contented, for they have abundance of meat." In a little while these birds started off on a long journey.

The young ones, having been informed by their parents that they were well provided with food, which would be found in front of their door when hungry, went out for the meat. Ma′asewe and Û′yuuyewĕ astonished them by speaking to them. They asked, "When will your mother return?" The children replied, "Our mother will return in the forenoon." "When your mother returns will she come to this house?" "No," replied the young eagles, "she will go to the one above and come here later." "When will your father arrive?" "He will come a little later." "Will he come here?" they asked. "No; he will go to the house above." Ma′asewe then destroyed the young eagles. After killing them he dropped them to the earth below. Upon the return of the mother she stood upon the rock above, and Ma′asewe aimed his arrow at her and shot her through the heart, and she fell to the earth dead; and later, when the father returned, he met with the same fate.

Now, the boys had destroyed the bad eagles of the world. Then Ma′asewe said, "Younger brother, how will we get down from here? The road to the earth is very long," and, looking up, he said, "The road to the rock above is also very long." Presently Ma′asewe saw a little Ké-ow-uch, or ground squirrel (*Tamias striatus*), and he called to him, saying, "My little brother, we can not get down from here. If you will help us we will pay you; we will give you beautiful eagle plumes."

The squirrel planted a piñon nut directly below the boys, and in a short time—almost immediately—for the squirrel knew much of medicine, a tall tree was the result. "Now," said the squirrel, "you have a good road. This is all right; see?" And the little animal ran up the tree and then down again, when the boys followed him.

Upon their return home their mother inquired, "Where have you been?" and when they told her they had visited the house of the eagle she said, "You have been very foolish." At first she disbelieved their statement that they had destroyed the eagles; but they finally convinced her and she embraced her boys with pride. The grandmother was also highly pleased.

The boys remained at home only two days, Ma′asewe being impatient to be gone, and he said to his brother, "Let us go travel again." The home of the boys was near the center of the earth, Ko′chinako remaining here for a time after their birth. When the mother found they were going to travel and hunt again, she begged of them not to go far, for there were still bad people about, and Ma′asewe promised that they would keep near their home. They had gone but a short distance when they saw a woman (a sko′yo) approaching, carrying a large pack which was secured to her back by strings passing around her arms near the shoulder. Ma′asewe whispered to his brother: "See! there comes a sko′yo." The boys stood side by side, when she approached and said, "What are you children doing here?" Ma′asewe replied, "We are just looking about; nothing more." The sko′yo passing her hands over the boys said, "What pretty boys! What pretty children!

Come with me to my house." "All right, we will go," Ma'asewe being the spokesman. "Get into the pack on my back and I will carry you." When the boys were tucked away the sko'yo started for her home.

After a time she came to a broad, level, grassy country and Ma'asewe called: "Woman! do not go far in this country where there are no trees, for the sun is hot and when there is no shade I get very sick in my head. See, woman," he continued, "there in the mountains are trees and the best road is there." The sko'yo called out, "All right," and started toward the mountains. She came to a point where she must stoop to pass under drooping limbs upon which rested branches, which had fallen from other trees. Ma'asewe whispered to Úyuuyewĕ, "When she stoops to pass under we will catch hold of the tree and hang there until she is gone." The boys caught on to the fallen timber which rested across the branches of the tree, and the sko'yo traveled on unconscious of their escape. When she had gone some distance she wondered that she heard not a sound and she called, "Children!" and no answer; and again she called, "Children," and receiving no answer she cried, "Do not go to sleep," and she continued to call, "Do not go to sleep." Hearing not a word from the boys she shook the pack in order to awaken them, as she thought they were sleeping soundly. This bringing no reply she placed the pack upon the ground and to her surprise the boys were not there. "The bad boys! the bad boys!" she cried, as she retraced her steps to look for them. "Where can they be? where can they be?"

When she discovered them hanging from a tree she called, "You bad boys! why are you there?" Ma'asewe said, "No! woman; we are not bad. We only wished to stop here and see this timber; it is very beautiful." She compelled them to get into the pack and again started off, saying to the children, "You must not go to sleep." The journey was long ere the house of the sko'yo was reached. She said, "I am glad to be home again," and she placed the pack on the floor, telling the boys to get out. "My children, I am very tired and hungry. Run out and get me some wood for fire." Ma'asewe whispered to his younger brother, "Let us go for the wood."

In a little while the boys returned with loads of wood on their backs. Pointing to a small conical house near by, she said, "Children, carry the wood there," and the sko'yo built a fire in the house and called the boys to look at it saying, "Children, come here and see the fire; it is good and warm." Ma'asewe whispered to his younger brother, "What does the woman want?" Upon their approach the sko'yo said, "See! I have made a great fire and it is good and warm; look in;" and as the children passed in front of her she pushed them into the house and closed the door. She wished to cook the boys for her supper, and she smacked her lips with satisfaction in anticipation of the feast in store for her. But she was to be disappointed, as the boys threw shells from their mouths which instantly protected them from the heat.

After closing the door on the boys the woman went into her house and bathed all over in a very large bowl of yucca suds, washing her head first, and taking a seat she said to herself, "All is well. I am most contented and happy." The boys were also contented. The woman, thinking it was about time her supper was cooked, removed the stone which she had placed in the doorway and secured with plaster. The boys had secreted themselves in one side of the house, where they kept quiet. What she supposed to be their flesh was i'isa (excrement) which the boys had deposited there. The woman removed this with great care and began eating it. (This woman had no husband and lived alone.) She said to herself, "This is delicious food and cooked so well," and again and again she remarked to herself the delicious flavor of the flesh of the boys. Finally Ma'asewe cried, "You are not eating our flesh but our i'isa," and she looked around but could see no one. Then U'yuuyewĕ called, "You are eating our i'isa," and again she listened and looked about, but could see no one. The boys continued to call to her, but it was sometime before she discovered them sitting in the far end of the room. "What bad boys you are," she cried, "I thought I was eating your flesh." The woman hastened out of the house and tickling her throat with her finger vomited up the offal.

She again sent the boys for wood, telling them to bring much, and they returned with large loads on their backs, and she sent them a second time and they returned with another quantity. Then she again built a fire in the small house and left it, and the two boys exclaimed, "What a great fire!" and Ma'asewe called to the woman, "Come here and see this fire; see what a hothouse; I guess this time my brother and I will die;" and the woman stooped to look at the fire, and Ma'asewe said to her, "Look away in there. See, we will surely die this time. Look! there is the hottest point!" he standing behind the woman and pointing over her shoulder, the woman bending her head still lower to see the better, said, "Yes; the fire is best off there." "Yes," said Ma'asewe, "it is very hot there;" and the Sko'yo was filled with interest, and looked intently into the house. The boys, finally, inducing her to stoop very low so that her face was near the doorway, pushed her into the hot bed of coals, and she was burned to death.

The boys rejoiced, and Ma'asewe said, "Now that the woman is dead, let us go to her house." They found the house very large, with many rooms and doors. In the middle of the floor there was a small circular door which Ma'asewe raised, and looking in, discovered that below it was very dark. Pointing downward, he said, "Though I can not see, I guess this is the most beautiful room. I think I will go below; perhaps we will find many good things." As soon as he entered the door he disappeared from sight and vanished from hearing. U'yuuyewĕ, receiving no reply to his calls, said to himself, "Ma'asewe has found many beautiful things below, and he will not answer me; I will go and see for myself." After entering the door, he knew nothing until he

found himself by the side of his elder brother, and, passing through the doorway, the boys tumbled over and over into a lower world.

When Ma′asewe reached this new world he was unconscious from the fall, but after a time he revived sufficiently to sit up, when he beheld U′yuuyewĕ tumbling down, and he fell by the side of Ma′asewe, who was almost dead, and Ma′asewe said, "Younger brother, why did you follow me?" After a while U′yuuyewĕ was able to sit up and Ma′asewe remarked: "Younger brother, I think we are in another world. I do not know where we are, and I do not know what hour it is. I guess it is about the middle of the day. What do you think?" U′yuuyewĕ replied, "You know best, elder brother; whatever you think is right," and Ma′asewe said, "All right. Let us go now over the road to the house where the sun enters in the evening, for I think this is the world where our father, the sun, returns at night."

A little after the middle of the day Ma′asewe was walking ahead of U′yuuyewĕ, who was following close behind, and he said to his younger brother as he listened to some noise, "I believe we are coming to a village." When they drew a little nearer they heard a drum, and supposed a feast was going on in the plaza, and in a little while they came in sight of the village and saw that there was a great feast there. All the people were gathered in the plaza. The chi′ta was a little way from the village and there was no one in it, as the boys discovered when they approached it, and they ascended the ladder. Ma′asewe said, "This is the chi′ta. Let us enter." The mode of entering shows this chi′ta to have been built above ground. Upon invading the chi′ta they found it very large and very pretty, and there were many fine bows and arrows hanging on the walls. They took the bows and examining them said to one another, "What fine bows and arrows! They are all fine. Look," and they were eager to possess them. Ma′asewe proposed that they should each take a bow and arrows and hurry away, saying: "All the people are in the plaza looking at the dance, and no one will see us;" and they hastened from the chi′ta with their treasures. Ma′asewe said, "Younger brother, let us return over the road whence we came."

But a short time elapsed when a man had occasion to visit the chi′ta, and he at once discovered footprints, and entering, found that bows and arrows had been stolen; hurrying to the plaza he informed the people of the theft, saying, "Two men have entered the chi′ta. I saw their footprints," and the people cried out, "Let us follow them," and ran over the road which the boys had taken. The boys had nearly reached the point where they had lighted when they entered this lower world when the people were close upon them.

The little fellows had to run hard, but they held fast to their bows and arrows, and just as they stepped upon the spot where they had fallen when they descended, their pursuers being close upon them, a whirlwind carried them up and through the door and back into the

house of the sko'yo. Ma'asewe said, "Younger brother, let us hurry to our mother. She must be sad. What do you think she imagines has become of us?" U'yuuyewĕ replied, "I guess she thinks we have been killed." The boys started for their home. When they were still far from their house Ma'asewe asked, "Younger brother, where do you think these bows and arrows were made?" Holding them up before his eyes as he spoke, he said, "I think they are very fine." U'yuuyewĕ remarked, "Yes, they are fine."

Ma'asewe then shot one of the arrows a great distance and it made much noise, and it was very beautiful and red. U'yuuyewĕ also shot one of his. "Younger brother," said Ma'asewe, "these are fine arrows, but they have gone a great way." When they were near their mother's house, they again used their bows and were so delighted with the light made by the arrows that each shot another and another. The mother and grandmother, hearing the noise, ran out of their house, and became much alarmed when they looked to Ti'nia and saw the flashes of light and then they both fell as dead. Previous to this time the lightning arrows were not known on this earth, as the lightning people had not, to the present time, let any of their arrows fall to the earth. When the mother was restored she was very angry, and inquired of the boys where they had found such arrows, and why they had brought them home. "Oh, mother," cried the boys, "they are so beautiful, and we like them very much."

The boys remained at home three days, and on the fourth day they saw many he'äsh (clouds, like the plains) coming and bringing the arrows the boys had shot toward Ti'nia, and when the cloud people were over the house of the boys they began watering the earth; it rained very hard, and presently the arrows began falling. Ma'asewe cried with delight, "See, younger brother, the lightning people have brought our arrows back to us, let us go and gather them." The cloud people worked two days sending rain and then returned to their home.

Ma'asewe said to his mother, "We will go now and pass about the country." She begged of them not to go any great distance. "In the west," said she, "there is a very bad antelope. He will eat you." Ma'asewe promised the mother that they would not go far, but when at a short distance from home he said to his younger brother, "Why does not mother wish us to go there?" pointing to the west. "Let us go." U'yuuyewĕ replied, "No, mother does not wish it." He was finally persuaded by Ma'asewe, and when near the house of the antelope the boys discovered him. There was neither grass nor vegetation, but only a sandy plain without trees or stones. "I guess he is one of the people who, mother said, would eat us." U'yuuyewĕ replied, "I guess so." Then Ma'asewe said, "Let us go a little nearer, younger brother." "You know what is best," replied U'yuuyewĕ, "I will do whatever you say, but I think that if you go nearer he will run off." They counciled for a time and while they were talking the little Chi'na (mole) came up

out of his house and said, "Boys, come down into my house." "No," said they, "we wish to kill the antelope," and Ma'asewe added, "I think you know all about him." "Yes," said the mole, "I have been near him and passed around him." Then Ma'asewe requested him to go into his house and prepare a road for them that the antelope might not discover their approach. And the mole made an underground road to the point where the antelope stood (the antelope facing west) and bored a wee hole in the earth over this tunnel, and peeping through he looked directly upon the heart of the antelope; he could see its pulsations. "Ah, that is good, I think," he exclaimed, and returning, he hastened to inform the boys. "Now, all is well," said the mole; "you can enter my house and approach the antelope." When they reached the tiny opening in the earth Ma'asewe looked up and said, "See, younger brother, there is the heart of the antelope directly above us; I will shoot first;" and pointing his arrow to the heart of the antelope and drawing his bow strongly he pierced the heart, the shaft being buried almost to its end in the body. "We have killed the antelope," cried Ma'asewe, "now let us return quickly over the underground road." While the boys were still in this tunnel, the antelope, who was not killed immediately by the shot, was mad with rage and he ran first to the west to look for his enemy, but he could see no one; then he ran to the south and found no one; then he turned to the east with the same result, and then to the north and saw no one, and he returned to the spot where he had been shot, and looking to the earth discovered the diminutive opening. "Ah," said he, "I think there is some one below who tried to kill me." By this time the boys were quite a distance from the hole through which the arrow had passed. The antelope thrust his left horn into the opening and tore up the earth as he ran along above the tunnel. It was like inserting a knife under a piece of hide; but he had advanced only a short distance when he fell dead. The youths then came up from the house of the mole and cried out, "See! the antelope is dead."

Ma'asewe said, "Younger brother! let us go and get the flesh of the antelope." U'yuuyewĕ remarked, "perhaps he is not yet dead." The mole said, "you boys wait here; I will go and see if he still lives," and after examining and passing around him, he found that the body was quite cold, and returning to the boys said, "Yes, boys, the antelope is dead." "Perhaps you do not speak the truth," said Ma'asewe, but the mole repeated "The antelope is dead." Ma'asewe insisted, however, that the mole should again examine him and the little animal made a second visit. This time he dipped his hands into the heart's blood of the animal and rubbed it all over his face, head, body, arms, and legs, for Ma'asewe had accused him of lying and he wished this time to carry proof of the death of the antelope; and returning to the boys he cried, "See, boys, I am covered with the blood, and I did not lie." Then Ma'asewe proposed that the three should go together; and when they

reached the antelope, Ma′asewe cut the breast with his stone knife, passing the knife from the throat downwards. The boys then flayed the antelope; Ma′asewe cut the heart and the flesh into bits, throwing the pieces to the north, west, south, and east, declaring that hereafter the antelope should not be an enemy to his people, saying, "His flesh shall furnish food for my people." Addressing the antelope he commanded, "From this time forth you will eat only vegetation and not flesh, for my people are to have your flesh for food." He then said to the mole, "The intestines of the antelope will be food for you," and the mole was much pleased, and promptly replied, "Thank you; thank you, boys."

The boys now returned to their home and their mother, who, on meeting them, inquired, "Where have you been? You have been gone a long time; I thought you were dead; where have you been?" Ma′asewe answered, "We have been to the house of the antelope who eats people." The mother said, "You are very disobedient boys." Ma′asewe continued, "We have killed the antelope, and now all the giants who devoured our people are destroyed, and all the people of the villages will be happy, and the times will be good."

After Ma′asewe and U′yuuyewĕ had destroyed the giant enemies of the world the people were happy and were not afraid to travel about; even the little children could go anywhere over the earth, and there was continual feasting and rejoicing among all the villages.

The Oraibi held a great feast (at that time the Oraibi did not live in their present pueblo); Ma′asewe and U′yuuyewĕ desired to attend the feast, and telling their mother of their wish, she consented to their going. When they were near the village of the Oraibi they discovered the home of the bee, and Ma′asewe said, "See, brother, the house of the bee; let us go in; I guess there is much honey." They found a large comb full of honey, and Ma′asewe proposed to his brother that they cover their whole bodies with the honey, so that the Oraibi would not know them and would take them for poor, dirty boys; "for, as we now are, all the world knows us, and to-day let us be unknown." "All right!" said U′yuuyewĕ, and they smeared themselves with honey. "Now," said the boys, "we are ready for the feast. It will be good, for the Oraibi are very good people." Upon visiting the plaza they found a large gathering, and the housetops were crowded with those looking at the dance. The boys, who approached the plaza from a narrow street in the village, stood for a time at the entrance. Ma′asewe remarked, "I guess all the people are looking at us and thinking we are very poor boys; see how they pass back and forth and do not speak to us;" but after awhile he said, "We are a little hungry; let us walk around and see where we can find something to eat." They looked in all the houses facing upon the plaza and saw feasting within, but no one invited them to enter and eat, and though they inspected every house in the village, they were invited into but one. At this house the woman said, "Boys, come in and eat; I guess you are hungry."

After the repast they thanked her, saying, "It was very good." Then Ma′asewe said, "You, woman, and you, man," addressing her husband, "you and all your family are good. We have eaten at your house; we give you many thanks; and now listen to what I have to say. I wish you and all of your children to go off a distance to another house; to a house which stands alone; the round house off from the village. All of you stay there for awhile." The boys then left. After they had gone the woman drank from the bowl which they had used, and, smacking her lips, said to her husband, "There is something very sweet in this bowl." Then all the children drank from it, and they found the water sweet, and the woman said, "Let us do the will of these boys; let us go to the house;" and, the husband consenting, they, with their children, went to the round house and remained for a time.

Ma′asewe and U′yuuyewĕ lingered near the village, and the people were dancing in the plaza and feasting in their houses, when suddenly they were all transformed into stone. Those who were dancing, and those who sat feasting, and mothers nourishing infants, all were alike petrified; and the beings, leaving these bodies, immediately ascended, and at once became the piñonero (Canada jay). The boys, returning to their home, said, "Mother, we wish food; we are hungry." Their mother inquired, "Why are you hungry; did you not get enough at the feast?" "No; we are very hungry and wish something to eat." The mother again asked if it was not a good feast. "Yes," said Ma′asewe, "but we are hungry." The mother, suspecting something wrong, remarked, "I am afraid you have been bad boys; I fear you destroyed that village before you left." Ma′asewe answered "No." Four times the mother expressed her fears of their having destroyed the village. Ma′asewe then confessed, "Yes; we did destroy the village. When we went to the feast at Oraibi we were all day with hungry stomachs, and we were not asked to eat anywhere except in one house." And when the mother heard this she was angry, and Ma′asewe continued, "And this is the reason that I destroyed the villlage," and the mother cried, "It is good! I am glad you destroyed the people, for they were mean and bad."

When the boys had been home but two days their hearts told them that there was to be a great dance of the Ka′tsuna at a village located at a ruin some 18 miles north of the present pueblo of Sia. The Ti′ämoni of this village had, through his officials, invited all the people of all the villages near and far to come to the great dance. Ma′asewe said to his mother and grandmother (the spider woman), "We are going to the village to see the dance of the Ka′tsuna." They replied, "We do not care much to have you go, because you, Ma′asewe and U′yuuyewĕ, are both disobedient boys. When you go off to the villages you do bad things. At Oraibi you converted the people into stone, and perhaps you will behave at this village as you did at Oraibi." Ma′asewe replied, "No, mother, no! We go only to see the Ka′tsuna, and we wish to go, for we know it is to be a great dance; we wish very

much to see it, and will not do as we did at Oraibi." Finally, the mother and grandmother said, "If you are satisfied to go and behave like good boys we will consent." It was a long way off, and the boys carried their bows and arrows that their father, the sun, had given them. They had proceeded but a short distance from their home, when the sun told them each to get on an arrow, and the father drew his bow, shooting both arrows simultaneously, the arrows striking the earth near where the dance was to occur. The boys alighted from their arrows and walked to the village. Every one wondered how they could have reached the village in so short a time. The boys stopped at the door of a house and, looking in, saw many people eating. They stood there awhile but were not asked in, and they passed on from door to door, as they had done at Oraibi, and no one invited them to eat. It was a very large village, and the boys walked about all day, and they were very angry. Discovering a house a little apart from the village, Ma′asewe said, "Let us go there," pointing to the house; "perhaps there we may get food," and upon reaching the door they were greeted by the man, woman, and children of the house, and were invited to eat. The boys were, as before, disguised with the honey spread over their bodies. After the meal Ma′asewe, addressing the man and woman, said: "You and your children are the first and only ones to invite us to enter a house and eat, and we are happy, and we give you thanks. We have been in this village all day and, until now, have had nothing to eat. I guess the people do not care to have us eat with them. Why did your ti′ämoni invite people from all villages to come here? He was certainly not pleased to see us. You (addressing the man and woman) and your children must leave this village and go a little way off. It will be well for you to do so."

And this family had no sooner obeyed the commands of the boys than the people of the village were converted into stone, just as they were passing about, the Ka′tsuna as they stood in line of the dance, some of them with their hands raised. It was never known what became of the beings of the Ka′tsuna. Ma′asewe then said: "Younger brother, now what do you think?" U′yuuyewĕ replied, "I do not think at all; you know." "Yes," said Ma′asewe, "and I think perhaps I will not return to my house, the house of my mother and grandmother. I think we will not return there; we have converted the people of two villages into stone, and I guess our mother will be very unhappy." And again Ma′asewe said: "What do you think?" and U′yuuyewĕ replied, "I do not think at all; you, Ma′asewe, you think well." Then Ma′asewe said, "All right; I think now I should like to go to see our father." "Well," said U′yuuyewĕ, "let us go to him."

There was a great rainbow (Kash′-ti-arts) in ti′nia; the feet of the bow were on the earth and the head touched the heavens. "Let us be off," said the boys. They stepped upon the rainbow, and in a short space of time the boys reached their father, the sun, who was in mid-heavens. The bow traveled fast. The sun saw the boys approaching

on the bow and knew them to be his children. He always kept watch over them, and when they drew near the father said, "My children, I am very happy to see you. You have destroyed all the giants of the earth who ate my people, and I am contented that they are no more; and it was well you converted the people of the two villages into stone. They were not good people." Then Ma'asewe said: "Father, listen to me while I speak. We wish you to tell us where to go." "Yes," said the father, "I will; I know where it is best for you to make your home. Now, all the people of the earth are good and will be good from this time forth (referring to the destruction of the Sia by the cannibals). I think it will be well for you to make your home there high above the earth," pointing to the Sandia mountain, "and not return to the people of the earth." "All right, my father," replied Ma'asewe; "we are contented and happy to do as you say."

Before leaving their people Ma'asewe organized the cult societies of the upper world. These tiny heroes then made their home in the Sandia mountain, where they have since remained, traveling, as before, on the rainbow.

The diminutive footprints of these boys are to be seen at the entrance of their house (the crater of the mountain) by the good of heart, but such privilege is afforded only to the ti'ämoni and certain theurgists, they alone having perfect hearts; and they claim that on looking through the door down into the house they have seen melons, corn, and other things which had been freshly gathered.

After the expiration of four years the ti'ämoni desired to travel on toward the center of the earth, but before they had gone far they found, to their dismay, that the waters began to rise as in the lower world, and the whole earth became one vast river. The waters reached nearly to the edge of the mesa, which they ascended for safety. The ti'ämoni made many offerings of plumes and other precious articles to propitiate the flood, but this did not stay the angry waters, and so he dressed a youth and maiden in their best blankets, and adorned them with many precious beeds and cast them from the mesa top; and immediately the waters began to recede. When the earth was again visible it was very soft, so that when the animals went from the mesa they would sink to their shoulders. The earth was angry. The ti'ämoni called the Ka'pĭna Society together and said, "I think you know how to make the earth solid, so we can pass over it," and the theurgist of that order replied, "I think I know." The same means was used as on the previous occasion to harden the earth. The theurgist of the Ka'pĭna returning said, "Father, I have been working all over the earth and it is now hardened." "That is well," said the ti'ämoni, "I am content. In four days we will travel toward the center of the earth."

During the journey of the Sia from the white-house in the north they built many villages. Those villages were close together, as the Sia did not wish to travel far at any one time. Finally, having concluded they had about reached the center of the earth, they determined to build a

permanent home. The ti'ämoni, desiring that it should be an exact model of their house of white stone in the north, held a council, that he might gain information regarding the construction, etc., of the white village. "I wish," said the ti'ämoni, "to build a village here, after our white-house of the north, but I can not remember clearly the construction of the house," and no one could be found in the group to give a detailed account of the plan. The council was held during the night, and the ti'ämoni said, "To-morrow I shall have some one return to the white-house, and carefully examine it. I think the Si'sika (swallow) is a good man; he has a good head; and I think I will send him to the white-house," and calling the Si'sika he said: "Listen attentively; I wish you to go and study the structure of the white-house in the north; learn all about it, and bring me all the details of the buildings; how one house joins another." The Si'sika replied, "Very well, father; I will go early in the morning." Though the distance was great, the Si'sika visited the white-house, and returned to the ti'ämoni a little after the sun had eaten (noon). "Father," said the Si'sika, "I have examined

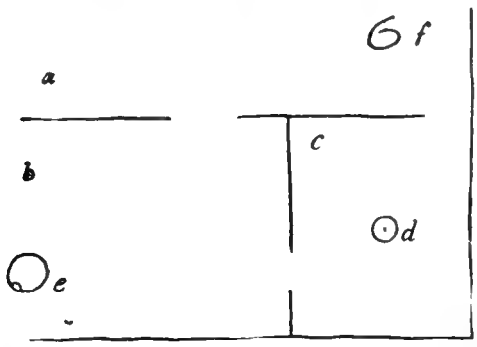


FIG. 15. Diagram of the white house of the north, drawn by a theurgist.

Lines indicate houses.

a, Street.
b, Plaza.
c, Plaza.
d, Doorway of the north wind.
e, The great chita.
f, Cougar, mother of the north village.

the white-house in the north carefully, flying all over it and about it. I examined it well and can tell you all about it." The ti'ämoni was pleased, for he had thought much concerning the white house, which was very beautiful.

He at once ordered all hands to work, great labor being required in the construction of the village after the plan laid down by the Si'sika. Upon the completion of this village, the ti'ämoni named it Kóasaia. It is located at the ruin some 2½ miles north of the present site of Sia. (Fig. 15.) It is an accurate copy of a plan drawn by the theurgist who first related the cosmogony to the writer.

The theurgist explained that the cougar could not leave her post at the white stone village of the north; therefore, the lynx was selected as her representative at this village. And no such opening as shown in *d* existed in the duplicated village, as the doorway of the north wind was ever in the north village. And the ti′ämoni, with all his people, entered the large chita and held services of thanksgiving. Great was the rejoicing upon the completion of the village, and the people planted corn and soon had fine fields.

The Sia occupied this village at the time of their visit from Po′shaiyänne, the quasi messiah, after he had attained his greatness, and when he made a tour of the pueblos before going into Mexico.

Po′shaiyänne was born of a virgin at the pueblo of Pecos, New Mexico, who became pregnant from eating two piñon nuts. The writer learned through Dr. Shields, of Archuleta, New Mexico, that the Jemez Indians have a similar legend. When want and starvation drove the Pecos Indians from their pueblo they sought refuge with the Jemez. Philologists claim that the languages of the Pecos and Jemez belong to the same stock. The woman was very much chagrined at the birth of her child, and when he was very young she cast him off and closed her doors upon him. He obtained food and shelter as best he could; of clothing he had none but the rags cast off by others. While still a little boy he would follow the ti′ämoni and theurgists into the chita and sit apart by the ladder, and listen to their wise talk, and when they wished a light for their cigarettes Po′shaiyänne would pass a brand from one to another. But no one ever spoke to him or thanked him, but he continued to follow the wise men into the chita and to light their cigarettes. Even when he reached years when other youths were invited to sit with the ti′ämoni and theurgists and learn of them, he was never spoken to or invited to leave his seat by the entrance.

Upon arriving at the state of manhood he, as usual, sat in the chita and passed the light to those present. Great was the surprise when it was discovered that a string of the rarest turkis encircled his right wrist. After he had lighted each cigarette and had returned to his seat by the entrance, the ti′ämoni called one of his men to him and said, "What is it I see upon the wrist of the boy Po′shaiyänne; it looks like the richest turkis, but surely it can not be. Go and examine it." The man did as he was bid, and, returning, told the ti′ämoni that it was indeed as he had supposed. The ti′ämoni requested the man to say to the youth that he wished to know where he obtained the turkis and that he desired to buy the bracelet of him. When the man repeated the message, Po′shaiyänne said, "I can not tell him how it came upon my wrist, and I do not wish to sell it." The reply being delivered to the ti′ämoni, he said to his messenger, "Return to the youth and tell him I have a fine house in the north. It and all its contents shall be his in exchange for the bracelet." The people present, hearing the words of the ti′ämoni, regretted that he offered his house and all therein

for the bracelet, but they did not say anything as they thought he knew best. The message being delivered to Po'shaiyänne, he said, "Very well, I will give the bracelet for the house and all it contains." The ti'ämoni then called Po'shaiyänne to him and examined the bracelet, and his heart was glad because he was to have the jewels. He then begged Po'shaiyänne to be seated, saying, "We will play the game Wash'kasi.[1]

In playing the favorite game of Wash'kasi (Fig. 16), forty pebbles form a square, ten pebbles on a side, with a flat stone in the center of the square. Four flat sticks, painted black on one side and unpainted on the other, are held vertically and dropped upon the stone. The ti'ämoni threw first. Two black and two unpainted sides faced up. Two of the painted sides being up entitled the player to

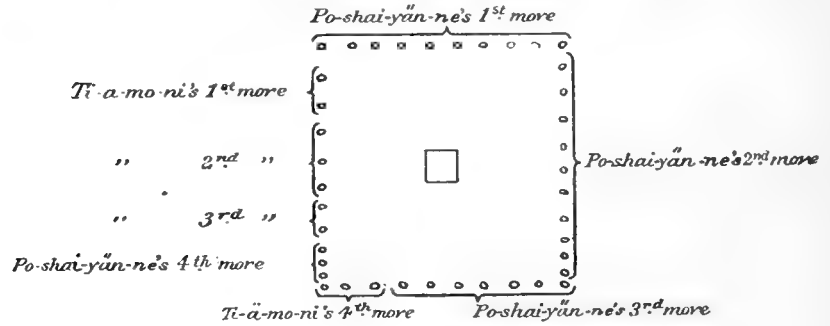


FIG. 16. The game of Wash'kasi.

move two stones to the right. Po'shaiyänne then threw, turning up the four painted sides. This entitled him to move ten to the left. The ti'ämoni threw and three painted sides faced up. This entitled him to move three stones to the right. Again Po'shaiyänne threw and all the colored sides faced up, entitling him to move ten more. The next throw of the ti'ämoni showed two colored sides and he moved two more. Po'shaiyänne threw again, all the colored sides being up; then he moved ten. The ti'ämoni then threw and all four unpainted sides turned up; this entitled him to move six. Po'shaiyänne threw and again all the painted sides were up, entitling him to move ten, which brought him to the starting point, and won him the game.

The following morning, after the ti'ämoni had eaten, they went into the chita as usual; Po'shaiyänne, following, took his seat near the entrance, with a blanket wrapped around him. When he approached the ti'ämoni to hold the lighted stick to his cigarette, the ti'ämoni's astonishment was great to find a second bracelet, of ko-ha-qua,[2] upon the wrist of Po'shaiyänne. Each bead was large and beautiful. The

[1] Though it is not mentioned in the story, it seems to be understood that these games were played for the houses, for had Po'shaiyänne lost the games he would have lost the houses

[2] Ancient flat shell beads as thin as paper.

ti'ämoni urged Po'shaiyänne not to return to his seat by the ladder, but to sit with them; but he declined, and then a messenger was sent to examine the bracelet, and the man's report excited a great desire in the ti'ämoni to secure to himself this second bracelet, and his house in the west, with all that it contained, was offered in exchange for the bracelet. This house was even finer than the one in the north. Po'shaiyänne replied that if the ti'ämoni wished the bracelet, he would exchange it for the house in the west. Then he was invited to be seated near the ti'ämoni, who placed between them a large bowl containing six 2-inch cubes, which were highly polished and painted on one side. The ti'ämoni said to Po'shaiyänne, "Hold the bowl with each hand, and toss up the six cubes. When three painted sides are up the game is won; with only two painted sides up the game is lost. Six painted sides up is equivalent to a march in euchre." Po'shaiyänne replied, "You first, not I. You are the ti'ämoni; I am no one." "No," said the ti'ämoni, "you play first;" but Po'shaiyänne refused, and the ti'ämoni tossed up the blocks. Only two painted sides were up; Po'shaiyänne, then taking the bowl, tossed the blocks, and all the painted sides turned up. Again the ti'ämoni tried his hand, and three painted sides faced up; then Po'shaiyänne threw and the six painted sides were up. The ti'ämoni again threw, turning up two painted sides only; then Po'shaiyänne threw, with his previous success. The ti'ämoni threw, and again two painted sides were up. Po'shaiyänne threw, and six painted sides faced up as before, and so a second house went to him. The ti'ämoni said, "We will go to our homes and sleep, and return to the chita in the morning, after we have eaten."

The following morning Po'shaiyänne took his seat at the usual place, but the ti'ämoni said to him: "Come and sit among us; you are now more than an ordinary man, for you have two houses that belonged to the ti'ämoni," but Po'shaiyänne refused and proceeded to light the stick to pass around for the lighting of the cigarettes. When he extended his hand to touch the stick to the cigarettes it was discovered that he wore a most beautiful bracelet, which was red, but not coral. The ti'ämoni again sent an emissary to negotiate for the bracelet, offering Po'shaiyänne his house in the south in exchange for the red bracelet. Po'shaiyänne consented and again a game was played. Four circular sticks some 8 inches long, with hollow ends, were stood in line and a blanket thrown over them; the ti'ämoni then put a round pebble into the end of one, and removing the blanket asked Po'shaiyänne to choose the stick containing the pebble. "No, my father," said Po'shaiyänne, "you first. What am I that I should choose before you?" but the ti'ämoni replied, "I placed the stone; I know where it is." Then Po'shaiyänne selected a stick and raising it the pebble was visible. Po'shaiyänne then threw the blanket over the sticks and placed the stone in one of them, after which the ti'ämoni selected a stick and raised it, but no stone was visible. This was repeated four times. Each

time the ti'ämoni failed and Po'shaiyänne succeeded, and again the house in the south went to Po'shaiyänne.

The next day when all had assembled in the chita and Po'shaiyänne advanced to light the cigarettes a bracelet of rare black stone beads was noticed on his wrist. This made the ti'ämoni's heart beat with envy and he determined to have the bracelet though he must part with his house in the east; and he offered it in exchange for the bracelet, and Po'shaiyänne accepted the offer. The ti'ämoni then made four little mounds of sand and throwing a blanket over them placed in one a small, round stone. Then raising the blanket he requested Po'shaiyänne to select the mound in which he had placed the stone. Po'shaiyänne said: "My father, what am I that I should choose before you?" The ti'ämoni replied, "I placed the stone and know where it is." Then Po'shaiyänne selected a mound, and the one of his selection contained the stone. The placing of the stone was repeated four times, and each time the ti'ämoni failed, and Poshaiyänne was successful; and the hearts of all the people were sad when they knew that this house was gone, but they said nothing, for they believed their ti'ämoni knew best. The ti'ämoni said: "We will now go to our homes and sleep, and on the morrow, when we have eaten, we will assemble here."

In the morning Po'shaiyänne took his accustomed place, entering after the others. Upon his offering the lighted stick for the cigarettes the people were struck with amazement, for on the wrist of Po'shaiyänne was another bracelet of turkis of marvelous beauty, and when the ti'ämoni discovered it his heart grew hungry for it and he sent one of his men to offer his house of the zenith. Po'shaiyänne replied that he would give the bracelet for the house. This house contained many precious things. The ti'ämoni requested Po'shaiyänne to come and sit by him; and they played the game Wash'kasi and, as before, Po'shaiyänne was successful and the house of the zenith fell to him.

The following morning, when the people had assembled in the chita and as Po'shaiyänne passed the stick to light the cigarettes, the ti'ämoni and all the people saw upon his wrist another bracelet of large white beads. They were not like the heart of a shell, but white and translucent. The ti'ämoni could not resist the wish to have this rare string of beads, and he sent one of his men to offer his house of the nadir for it. When Po'shaiyänne agreed to the exchange, all the people were sad, that the ti'ämoni should part with his house, but they said nothing and the ti'ämoni was too much pleased with the beautiful treasure to be regretful. He had Po'shaiyänne come and sit by him and again play the game with the six blocks in the large bowl. The game was played with success on the part of Po'shaiyänne and he became the owner of the sixth house.

On the following day when all were gathered in the chita the ti'ämoni said to Po'shaiyänne: "Come and sit with us; surely you are now equal with me, and you are rich indeed, for you have all my houses,"

but he refused, only passing among theurgists and people to offer the lighted stick for the cigarettes. When he extended his hand a bracelet was discovered more beautiful than any of the others. It was pink and the stones were very large. The ti'ämoni upon seeing it cried, "Alas! alas! This is more beautiful and precious than all the others, but all my houses and treasures are gone. I have nothing left but my people; my old men and old women; young men and maidens and little ones." Addressing the people, he said: "My children, what would you think of your ti'ämoni should he wish to give you to this youth for the beautiful beads?" They replied, "You are our father and ruler; you are wise and know all things that are best for us;" but their hearts were heavy and sad, and the ti'ämoni hesitated, for his heart was touched with the thought of giving up his people whom he loved; but the more he thought of the bracelet the greater became his desire to secure it, and he appealed a second time to his people and they answered: "You know best, our father," and the people were very sad, but the heart of the ti'ämoni though touched was eager to possess the bracelet. He sent one of his men to offer in exchange for the bracelet all his people, and Po'shaiyänne replied that he would give the bracelet for the people. Then the ti'ämoni called the youth to him, and they repeated the game of the four sticks, hollowed at the ends. Po'shaiyänne was successful, and the ti'ämoni said: "Take all my people; they are yours; my heart is sad to give them up, and you must be a good father to them. Take all the things I have, I am no longer of any consequence." "No," said Po'shaiyänne; "I will not, for should I do so I would lose my power over game." The two remained in the chita and talked for a long time, the ti'ämoni addressing Po'shaiyänne as father and Po'shaiyänne calling the ti'ämoni father.

After a time Po'shaiyänne determined to visit all the pueblos, and then go into Mexico.

He was recognized by the Sia at once upon his arrival, for they had known of him and sung of him, and they looked for him. He entered the chita in company with the ti'ämoni (the one appointed by Ût'sĕt) and the theurgists. It was not until Po'shaiyänne's visit to the Sia that they possessed the power to capture game. The men were often sent out by the ti'ämoni to look for game, but always returned without it, saying they could see the animals and many tracks but could catch none; and their ruler would reply: "Alas! my children, you go for the deer and return without any;" and thus they hunted all over the earth but without success.

After Po'shaiyänne's talk with the ti'ämoni, and learning his wish for game, he said: "Father, what have you for me to do?" And the ti'ämoni replied: "My children have looked everywhere for deer, and they can find none; they see many tracks, but they can not catch the deer."[1] "Well," replied Po'shaiyänne, "I will go and look for game." He visited a high mountain in the west, from whose summit he could see all over the earth, and looking to the north, he saw on the top of a

great mountain a white deer. The deer was passing toward the south, and he said to himself, "Why can not the Sia catch deer?" And looking to the west, he saw a yellow antelope on the summit of a high mountain. He, too, was passing to the south, and Po'shaiyänne said to himself, "Why can they not catch antelope?" And he looked to the south, and saw on the great mountain of the south a sheep, which was also passing to the south, and he looked to the east, and there, on a high peak, he saw the buffalo, who was passing to the south; and then, looking all over the earth, he saw that it was covered with rabbits, rats, and all kinds of small animals, and that the air was filled with birds of every description. Then, returning to the ti'ämoni, he said: "My mother, my father, why do your children say they can catch no game? When I first looked to the mountain of the north I saw the deer, and to the west I saw the antelope, and to the south the mountain sheep, and to the east the buffalo, and the earth and air were filled with animals and birds." The ti'ämoni inquired how he could see all over the earth. He doubted Po'shaiyänne's word. Then Po'shaiyänne said: "In four days I will go and catch deer for you." "Well," said the ti'ämoni, "when you bring the deer I will believe. Until then I must think, perhaps, you do not speak the truth."

For three days the men were busy making bows and arrows, and during these days they observed a strict fast and practiced continency. On the fourth morning at sunrise Po'shaiyänne, accompanied by Ma'asewe and Úyuuyewĕ, who came to the earth to greet Po'shaiyänne, and the men of the village, started on the hunt. They ate before leaving the village, and after the meal Po'shaiyänne asked: "Are you all ready for the hunt?" And they replied: "Yes; we are ready." Po'shaiyänne, Ma'asewe, and Úyuuyewĕ started in advance of the others, and when some distance ahead Po'shaiyänne made a fire and sprinkled meal to the north, the west, the south, and the east, that the deer might come to him over the roads of meal. He then made a circle of meal, leaving an opening through which the game and hunters might pass, and when this was done all of the men of the village formed into a group a short distance from Po'shaiyänne, who then played on his flute, and, holding it upward, he played first to the north, then west, then south, and then east. The deer came over the four roads to him and entered the great circle of meal. Ma'asewe and Úyuuyewĕ called to all the people to come and kill the deer. It was now before the middle of the day. There were many deer in the circle, and as the people approached they said one to another: "Perhaps the deer are large; perhaps they are small."

(The deer found by the Sia in this world are quite different from those in the lower world. Those in the lower world did not come to this world; they are called sits' tä-ñe, water deer. These deer lived in the water, but they grazed over the mountains. They were very large, with great antlers. The deer in this world are much smaller and have smaller antlers.)

The circle was entered at the southeast, Ma′asewe passing around the circle to the left was followed by half of the people, Ûyuuyewĕ passing to the right around the circle, preceded the remainder. As soon as they had all entered Po′shaiyänne closed the opening; he did not go into the circle but stood by the entrance. The deer were gradually gathered into a close group and were then shot with arrows. When all the deer had been killed they were flayed, and the flesh and skins carried to the village. As they passed from the circle Po′shaiyänne said, "Now carry your meat home. Give your largest deer to the ti′ämoni and the smaller ones to the people of your houses." After the Sia had started for their village Po′shaiyänne destroyed the circle of meal and then returned to the ti′ämoni, who said: "You, indeed, spoke the truth, for my people have brought many deer, and I am much pleased. On the morrow we will kill rabbits." The ti′ämoni informed the coyote of his wish for the rabbits, and in the morning a large fire was made, and the coyote spoke to the fire, saying: "We desire many rabbits but we do not wish to go far." He then threw meal to the cardinal points, zenith, and nadir, and prayed that the sun father would cause the small and large rabbits to gather together that they might not have to go a great distance to find them, for as he, the father, wished, so it would be, and Ma′asewe and the coyote sat down while the people gathered around the fire and passed their rabbit sticks through the flames. Then Ma′asewe directed them to start on the hunt. They formed into an extensive circle surrounding the rabbits, and a great number were secured. Some were killed by being struck immediately over their hearts. It was very late when the people returned to the village laden with rabbits.

The ti′ämoni said: "Day after to-morrow we will have a feast." Po′shaiyänne agreeing, said: "It is well, father." All the women worked hard for the feast. Half of their number worked for the ti′ämoni and half for Po′shaiyänne. The ti′ämoni going alone to the house of Po′shaiyänne, said: "Listen: to-morrow you will have the great feast at your house." Po′shaiyänne replied: "No, father; you are the elder, and you must have it at your house." The ti′ämoni answered: "Very well, my house is good and large; I will have it there."

In the morning, when the sun was still new, the ti′ämoni had the feast spread—bowls of mush, bread, and meat; and he said to Po′shaiyänne, who was present: "Father, if you have food bring it to my house and we will have our feast together." Po′shaiyänne replied: "It is well, father;" and, to the astonishment of all, Po′shaiyänne's food immediately appeared. It was spread on tables;[1] the bowls holding the food being very beautiful, such as had never before been seen. The ti′ämoni told Ma′asewe to bid the people come to the feast; and all, including the most aged men and women and youngest children, were present. Upon entering the house they were surprised with the things

[1] This reference to tables appears to evidence the fact that this portion of the cosmogony is of later date, and the whole paragraph savors of a coloring from Christian or biblical teaching.

they saw on Po'shaiyänne's table, and all who could went to his table in preference to sitting before the ti'ämoni's. Even the water upon Po'shaiyänne's table was far better than that furnished by the ti'ämoni; and those who drank of this water and ate Po'shaiyänne's food immediately became changed, their skins becoming whiter than before; but all could not eat from Po'shaiyänne's board and many had to take the food of the ti'ämoni, and they remained in appearance as before.

After this feast, Po'shaiyänne visited all the pueblos and then passed on to Chihuahua in Mexico. Before Po'shaiyänne left the Sia, he said to them: "I leave you, but another day I will return to you, for this village is mine for all time, and I will return first to this village." To the ti'ämoni he said: "Father, you are a ti'ämoni, and I also am one; we are as brothers. All the people, the men, the women, and the children are mine, and they are yours; and I will return to them again. Watch for me. I will return;" and he added, "In a short time another people will come; but before that time, such time as you may choose, I wish you to leave this village, for my heart is here and it is not well for another people to come here; therefore depart from this village before they come near."

Upon entering the plaza in Chihuahua Po'shaiyänne met the great chief, who invited him to his home, where he became acquainted with his daughter. She was very beautiful, and Po'shaiyänne told the chief that he was much pleased with his daughter and wished to make her his wife. The chief replied: "If you desire to marry my daughter and she wishes to marry you, it is well." Upon the father questioning the daughter the girl replied in the affirmative. Then the father and mother talked much to the daughter and said: "To-morrow you will be married." The chief sent one of his officials to let it be known to all the people that Po'shaiyänne and his daughter were to be united in marriage in the morning, and many assembled, and there was a great feast in the house of the chief. Many men were pleased with the chief's daughter, and looked with envy upon Po'shaiyänne; and they talked together of killing him, and finally warriors came to the house of Po'shaiyänne and carried him off to their camp and pierced his heart with a spear, and his enemies were contented, but the wife and her father were sad. The day after Po'shaiyänne's death he returned to his wife's home, and when he was seen alive those who had tried to destroy him were not only angry but much alarmed; and again he was captured, and they bound gold and silver to his feet, that after casting him into the lake his body should not rise; but a white fluffy feather of the eagle fell to him, and as he touched the feather the feather rose, and Po'shaiyänne with it, and he lived again, and he still lives, and some time he will come to us. So say the Sia. Po'shaiyänne's name is held in the greatest reverence; in fact, he is regarded as their culture hero[1],

[1] The culture hero of the Sia bears a name similar to that of the corresponding prodigy among the Zuñi. The same is true of other of their mythological beings.

and he is appealed to in daily prayers, and the people have no doubt of his return. They say: "He may come to-day, to-morrow, or perhaps not in our lifetime."

Soon after Po'shaiyänne's departure from Sia the ti'ämoni decided to leave his present village, though it pained him much to give up his beautiful house. And they moved and built the present pueblo of Sia, which village was very extensive. The ti'ämoni had first a square of stone laid, which is to be seen at the present day, emblematic of the heart of the village (for a heart must be, before a thing can exist). After the building of this village the aged ti'ämoni continued to live many years, and at his death he was buried in the ground, in a reclining position. His head was covered with raw cotton, with an eagle plume attached; his face was painted with corn pollen, and cotton was placed at the soles of his feet and laid over the heart. A bowl of food was deposited in the grave, and many hä'chamoni were planted over the road to the north, the one which is traveled after death. A bowl of food was also placed on the road. All night they sang and prayed in the house of the departed ti'ämoni, and early in the morning all those who sung were bathed in suds of yucca made of cold water.

There are two rudely carved stone animals at the ruined village supposed to have been visited by Po'shaiyänne. These the Sia always speak of as the cougar, but they say, "In reality they are not the cougar, but the lynx, for the cougar remained at the white-house in the north."

This cosmogony exhibits a chapter of the Sia philosophy, and though this philosophy is fraught with absurdities and contradictions, as is the case with all aboriginal reasoning, it scintillates with poetic conceptions. They continue:

"The hour is too solemn for spoken words; a new life is to be given to us."

Theirs is not a religion mainly of propitiation, but rather of supplication for favors and payment for the same, and to do the will of and thereby please the beings to whom they pray. It is the paramount occupation of their life; all other desirable things come through its practice. It is the foundation of their moral and social laws. Children are taught from infancy that in order to please the pantheon of their mythical beings they must speak with one tongue as straight as the line of prayer over which these beings pass to enter the images of themselves.

It will be understood from the cosmogony that the Sia did not derive their clan names from animal *ancestors*, nor do they believe that their people evolved from animals, other than the Sia themselves. The Zuñi hold a similar belief. The Zuñi's reference to the tortoise and other animals as ancestors is explained in the "Religious Life of the Zuñi Child."[1]

I am of opinion that closer investigation of the North American In-

[1] Fifth Ann. Rept. Bu. Eth., pp. 539–553.

dian will reveal that the belief in the descent of a people from beasts, plants, or heavenly bodies is not common, though their mythological heroes were frequently the offspring of the union of some mortal with the sun or other object of reverence. There is no mystery in such unions in the philosophy of the Indian, for, as not only animate but inanimate objects and the elements are endowed with personality, such beings are not only brothers to one another, but hold the same kinship to the Sia, from the fact, according to their philosophy, that all are living beings and, therefore, all are brothers. This is as clearly defined in the Indian mind as our recognition of the African as a brother man.

The spider is an important actor in Sia, Zuñi, and Tusayan mythology. Sia cosmogony tells us the spider was the primus, the creator of all. Sûs'sĭstinnako is referred to as a man, or, more properly, a being possessing all power; and as Sûs'sĭstinnako created first man and then other beings to serve his first creation, these beings, although endowed with attributes superior to man in order to serve him, can hardly be termed gods, but rather agents to execute the will of Sûs'sĭstinnako in serving the people of his first creation.

Sûs'sĭstinnako must be supplicated through the mediator Ûtsĕt, who is present at such times in the fetich I'ärriko. Ko'shairi and Quer'ränna appear for the sun and moon. The war heroes and the warriors of the six mountains of the world, the women of the cardinal points, and animals, insects, and birds holding the secrets of medicine, are present, when invoked, in images of themselves. The Sia can not be said to practice ancestor worship. While the road to Shipapo (entrance to the lower world) is crowded with spirits of peoples returning to the lower world, and spirits of unborn infants coming from the lower world, the Sia do not believe in the return of ancestors when once they have entered Shipapo. While many of the kokko (personated by persons wearing masks) are the immediate ancestors of the Zuñi, the Ka'tsuna of the Sia, also personated by men and women wearing masks, are altogether a distinct creation, and can not be considered to bear any relation to ancestor worship.

The Sia, however, have something as appalling to them as the return of the dead, in their belief in witchcraft, those possessing this craft being able to assume the form of dogs and other beasts; and they are ever on the alert when traveling about on dark nights, especially if the traveler is a man of wealth, as witches are always envious of the financial success of others. They create disease by casting into the body snakes, worms, stones, bits of fabric, etc. Hair must be burned that it may not be found by wizards or witches, who, combining it with other things, would cast it into the person from whose head it was cut, causing illness and perhaps death. There is, however, a panacea for such afflictions in the esoteric power of the theurgists of the secret cult societies. A man was relieved of pain in the chest by a snake being drawn from the body by an eminent theurgist during the stay of the

writer at Sia. Such is the effect of faith cure in Sia that, though the man was actually suffering from a severe cold, his improvement dated from the hour the snake was supposed to have been extracted.

CULT SOCIETIES.

Ût′sĕt, being directed in all things by Sûs′sĭstinnako, originated the cult societies of the lower world, giving to certain of them the secrets for the healing of the sick.

The societies are mentioned in their line of succession, most of them having been named for the animals of which they were composed.

The first society organized was the Ka′pĭna, which included only the spider people, its ho′-na-ai-te,[1] or theurgist, being Sûs′sĭstinnako himself; and as the members of this society were directly associated with Sûs′sĭstinnako, they knew his medicine secrets.

Then followed the societies of the bear, cougar, badger, wolf, and shrew (*Sorex*).

The hĭs′tiän[2] (knife) was composed of the cougar and the bear, these two societies being consolidated. Sûs′sĭstinnako finding that the bear was always dissatisfied and inclined to growl and run from the people when they approached, decided to make the cougar first and the bear second, giving as his reason that when the people drew near the cougar he sat still and looked at them; he neither growled nor ran, and the people were not afraid; he commanded their respect, but not their fear, and for this reason Sûs′sĭstinnako united these societies that the bear might be second, and under the direction of the cougar.

The next six societies organized were the snakes, composed of the snakes of the cardinal points, the snake of the north being Ska′towe (Plumed Serpent), the west Ka′spanna, the south Ko′quaira, the east Quĭs′sĕra, the heavens Hu′waka, the earth Ya′ai. The Ska′towe (Serpent of the North) and Ko′quaira (Serpent of the South) having special influence over the cloud people, have their bodies marked with cloud emblems; the Ka′spanna (Serpent of the West) and the Quĭs′sĕra (Serpent of the East) hold esoteric relations with the sun and moon; hence their bodies are painted with the crescent. Hu′waka (Serpent of the Heavens) has a body like crystal, and it is so brilliant that one's eyes can not rest upon him; he is very closely allied to the sun. The Ya′ai (Serpent of the Earth) has special relations with Ha′arts (the earth). His body is spotted over like the earth, and he passes about over Ha′arts until someone approaches, when he hastens into his house in the earth.

The seven ant societies followed the snakes. The five animal societies, the six snake societies, the first three ant societies, and the

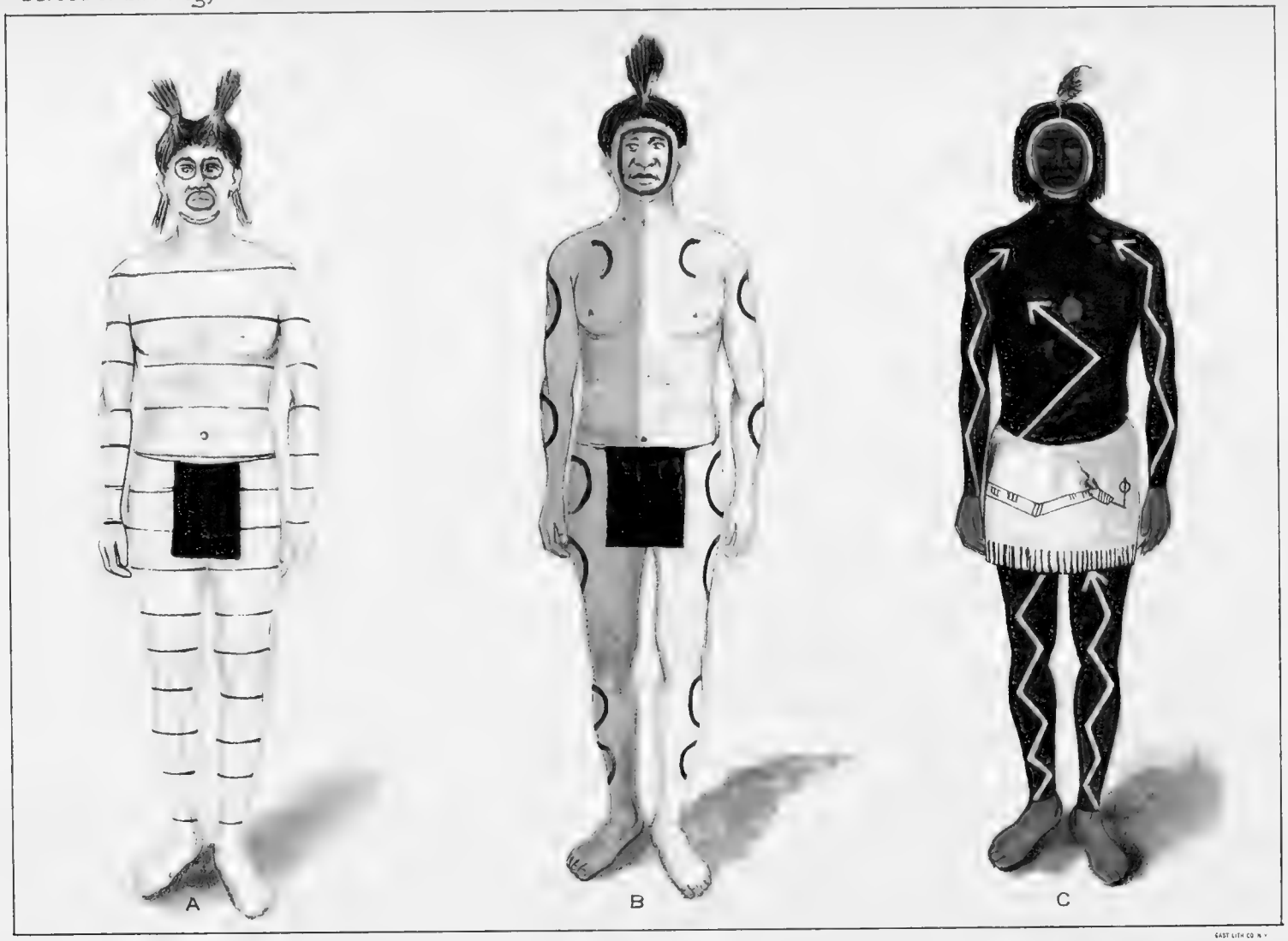
[1] Presiding officer of a cult society.

[2] This society differed from the one of the same name afterwards organized in the upper world; knife in the former referring to the implement used for domestic and other purposes, while the word in the latter indicates the arrows presented to Ma′asewe and U′yuuyewĕ, the two war heroes, sons of the sun, by their father.

society of the eagle were given the secrets of the medicine for healing the sick, through the process of sucking, the ant alone receiving the secret of the medicine by brushing; the last four societies of ants were instructed in the songs for rain only. The reason given for this division is that only the first three ants produced irritation or swelling from their bites, the last four being peaceable ants. (Fig. 18).

The next six societies were those of the birds of the cardinal points, zenith and nadir.—The Ha′-te-e, Bird of the North; Shas′-to, Bird of the West; Ma′-pe-un, Bird of the South; Shu-wa-kai′, Bird of the East; Tiä′mi, Bird of the Heavens (the eagle); Chas′-ka, Bird of the Earth (chaparral cock). While these six societies were instructed in the songs for rain, the eagle alone learned the medicine songs. It will be noticed that only such animals as were regarded as virulent were given the secrets of the medicine for healing the sick. All of the animals of the world were subordinate to the animal societies; all of the snakes of the world were submissive to the six snake societies; all the ants and other insects were subject to the seven ant societies, and all the birds of the world to the six bird societies.

The next society organized was the Ha′kan, fire. Sûs′sĭstinnako, desiring to have fire that their food might be cooked, placed a round flat stone on the floor and attached a small sharpened stone to one end of a slender round stick; he then called together the ho′naaites of the cult societies, and the priestly rulers of the Sia and other Indians, requesting each one in proper succession to produce fire by rubbing the circular stick between the hands upon the round flat stone. As each one attempted to make the fire, a blanket was thrown over him and the stone that he might work in perfect seclusion. All failing in their efforts (this work being performed in the daytime) Sûs′sĭstinnako dismissed them. He then passed through three chambers, carrying the fire stone with him, and entering the fourth sat down and thought a long while, and after a time he attempted to make the fire and was successful. Sûs′sĭstinnako then called in Ût′sĕt and her principal officer (a man of the Sia people), and handing her an ignited fire brand of cedar told her to light a fire, and this fire burned four days and nights. Ût′sĕt, obeying the command of Sûs′sĭstinnako, requested her officer to place a ho′naaite of a snake society at the first door, the ho′naaite of the Hĭs′tiän and his vice (the cougar and a bear) at the second and third doors, and to guard the inner door himself, that no one might enter and see the fire. On the fifth day all the people discovered the smoke, which escaped from the chamber, and they wondered what it could be, for as yet they did not know fire. On the sixth morning Sûs′sĭstinnako said to the officer of Ût′sĕt, "I will now organize a fire society and I appoint you the ho′naaite of the society." On this same morning the ho′naaites of the cult societies and the priestly rulers of the Indians were called to the chamber to see the fire and to understand it. Then the ho′naaite of the fire society carried some of the fire to the house of the ruler of the Sia.



PERSONAL ADORNMENT WHEN RECEIVED INTO THE THIRD DEGREE
OF OFFICIAL MEMBERSHIP CULT, SOCIETY.

Ko'shairi received directly from the sun valuable medicine for rain, and so the songs of the Ko'shairi are principally invocations for rain to fructify the earth.

Quer'rännа's office is similar to that of the Ko'shairi, though his dress is different, as he comes from the house of the moon and not the sun. Besides the songs for rain the sun gave him the secret of the medicine, which would not only make ha'arts but women pregnant.

After the Sia, animals and Ka'tsuna entered this world, they being led by the mother Ût'sĕt, the Ka'tsuna were directed by Ût'sĕt to go to the west and there make their homes. Before their departure, however, masks were made to represent them. Ût'sĕt sent Ko'shairi and Quer'rännа to the east, telling the former to make his home near the house of the sun and the latter to make his house a little to the north of the sun's. It will be remembered that Sûs'sĭstinnako sent the sun to this world before the advent of the Sia. Ko'shairi performs not only the office of courier between the sun and Ka'tsuna, but is also mediator between the Sia and the sun. (See Pl. x.)

Upon the departure of Ko'shairi and Quer'rännа, Ût'sĕt organized two orders bearing their names, to wait upon the personators of the Ka'tsuna whenever they should appear. The representatives of Koshai'ri and Quer'rännа are supposed to be the exact reproductions of the originals. The body of Ko'shairi is painted white and striped in black; that of Quer'rännа is half yellow and half white, dotted with black crescents. Thus we see stripes and particolors as indicative of the harlequin is of prehistoric origin. The hair of Ko'shairi is brought to the front and tied with painted black and white corn husks. The breech cloth is black cotton (Pl. x A). Quer'rännа's hair is brought forward and tied to stand erect (Pl. x B).

Whenever the Ka'tsuna appear in Sia they are attended by the Ko'shairi and Quer'rännа, they waiting upon the Ka'tsuna, adjusting any of their wearing apparel which becomes disarranged, etc. They also play the fool, their buffoonery causing great merriment among the spectators.

After ridding the world of the destroyers of the people, Ma'asewe said to the ti'ämoni of Sia (the Sia were still living at the white house), "Now that I have killed the bad people of the world it is well to organize societies similar to those instituted by Ût'sĕt in the lower world, and learn from the animals the secrets of medicine." It must be understood that all the animals were not bad.

The first society originated by Ma'asewe was the Hĭs'tiän or Knife. This society being first, because it was through the power of the knives or arrows given to the boys by the sun father that the enemies were destroyed; Hĭs'tiän, in this case, meaning the knife or arrow of lightning.

The next society originated was that of the cougar, then followed the societies of the bear, the skoyo (giant), the snake, and the ant. The

ho′naaite of each society was furnished with medicine by the two warriors, this medicine being bits of the hearts of the enemies destroyed; a portion of each heart being given to each ho′naaite.

Ma′asewe then organized the Ope Society (Warriors), designating himself as the ho′naaite[1] of the society and his brother as its vicar. He then appointed six men members of the society, to reside for all time in the six high mountains of the world, that they might look from the six cardinal points and discover bad people, and inform the Sia of an approaching enemy. These six men, in conjunction with Ma′asewe and U′yuuyewĕ, guide the arrows of the Sia when contending with the enemy. It will be remembered it was stated in the "Sia Cosmogony" that Ma′asewe and U′yuuyewĕ went to reside in the interior of the Sandia mountain.

When these societies had been formed, the animal societies assembled at the white house and taught the ho′naaites their medicine songs; previous to this, when the Sia were ill, they received their medicine direct from the animals, the animals officiating and singing. After instructing the Sia in their songs, they told them to make stone images of themselves, that passing over the road of meal they might enter these images; and so the Indians are sure of the presence of the animals. The beings pass over the line of meal, entering the fetiches, where they remain until the close of a ceremonial, and then depart over the line.

The secret of the fire was not brought to this world, and the fire society was originated here in this way. The people grew tired of feeding about on grass, like the deer and other animals, and they consulted together as to how fire might be obtained. It was finally decided by the ti′ämoni that a coyote was the best person to steal the fire from the world below, and he dispatched a messenger for the coyote. Upon making his appearance the ti′ämoni told of the wish of himself and his people for fire, and that he wanted him to return to the world below and bring the fire, and the coyote replied, "It is well, father; I will go." Upon reaching the first entrance of the house of Sûs′sĭstinnako (it was the middle of the night), the coyote found the snake who guarded the door asleep, and he quickly and quietly slipped by; the cougar who guarded the second door was also asleep, and the bear who guarded the third door was sleeping. Upon reaching the fourth door he found the ho′naaite of the fire asleep, and, slipping through, he entered the room and found Sûs′sĭstinnako also soundly sleeping; he hastened to the

[1] The ho′naaite, in this instance, is not, strictly speaking, the theurgist, for the priest-doctor of the society of warriors practices surgery exclusively, such as extracting balls and arrows, while the theurgist has to deal with afflictions caused by witchcraft and the anger of certain animals and insects, he acting simply as the agent of the prey animals. The functions of the ho′naaites of the Koshai′ri and Quer′ränna also differ from those of the other societies. As these two societies received their songs and medicine directly from the sun, they are not entitled to the slat altars used in ceremonials and given by Ût′sĕt to the societies in the lower world; only those ho′naaites who practice through the power of the prey animals possess the sand paintings. The Warriors, Koshai′ri and Quer′ränna, make their cloud emblems of meal.

fire, and, lighting the cedar brand which was attached to his tail, hurried out. Sûs'sĭstinnako awoke, rubbing his eyes, just in time to be conscious that some one was leaving the room. "Who is there?" he cried; "some one has been here," but before he could arouse those who guarded the entrance the coyote was far on his way to the upper world.

After the organization of the cult societies the ti'ämoni, influenced by Ût'sĕt, commanded the cougar to make his home for all time in the north; the bear was likewise sent to the west, the badger to the south, the wolf to the east, the eagle to the heavens, and the shrew to the earth.

THEURGISTIC RITES.

It is only upon acquaintance with the secret cult societies that one may glean something of the Indians' conception of disease, its cause and cure. It is supposed to be produced almost wholly through one or two agencies—the occult powers of wizards and witches, and the anger of certain animals, often insects. Therefore, though some plant medicines are known to these Indians, their materia medica may be said to be purely fetichistic; for when anything of a medicinal character is used by the theurgist it must be supplemented with fetich medicine and magical craft.

While there are thirteen secret cult societies with the Zuñi, there are but eight in Sia, some of these being reduced to a membership of two, and in one instance to one. While the Zuñi and Sia each has its society of warriors, the functions of these societies are somewhat different.

The cult societies of the Sia, as well as those of Zuñi, have their altars and sand paintings; but while each Zuñi altar, with its medicines and fetiches, is guarded during ceremonials by two members of the Society of Warriors, this entitling the members of this society to be present at the meetings of all the cult societies, the Sia have no such customs. Their altars and fetiches are not protected by others than the theurgists and vice-theurgists of their respective societies. At the present time, owing to the depleted numbers of the Society of Warriors of the Zuñi, some of their altars have but one guardian.

The Society of Warriors has for its director and vicar, like the Zuñi and the other pueblos, the representatives of the mythologic war heroes, who, though small in stature, are invulnerable. "Their hearts are large, for they have the heart of the sun." The head or director of a society is termed the elder brother; the vicar, younger brother.

When the cult societies invoke the cloud people to water the earth, the presence of certain anthropomorphic and zoomorphic beings having potent influence over the cloud people is assured by the drawing of a line of meal from the altar to the entrance of the ceremonial chamber,

over which these beings pass, temporarily abiding in the stone images of themselves which stand before the altar. These beings are exhorted to use their mystic powers with the cloud people to water the mother earth, that she may become pregnant and bear to the people of Ha'arts (the earth) the fruits of her being.

In order to obtain their services the Sia compensate them. The hä'chamoni (notched stick), which is deposited to convey the message, invariably has plumes attached to it, these plume offerings being actual compensation for that which is desired. Other offerings are made, among which are gaming blocks, hoops for the cloud people to ride upon, and cigarettes filled with the down of humming birds, corn pollen, and bits of precious beads. (See Plate XI).

Eagles are kept caged, and turkeys are domesticated for the purpose of obtaining plumes for these offerings.

It is the prerogative of the ti'ämoni to specify the time for the meetings of the cult societies, excepting ceremonials for the healing of the sick by the request of the patient or his friend. These meetings being entirely under the jurisdiction of the theurgist, who does not possess within himself the power of healing, he is simply the agent acting under the influence of those beings who are present in the stone images.

The gala time is the beginning of the new year in December, when the cult societies hold synchronal ceremonials extending through a period of four days and nights, at which time the fetich medicines are prepared; and those possessing real or imaginary disease gather in the chamber of the society of which they are members, when the theurgists and their followers elaborate their practices of mysticism upon their subjects.

The cult societies have two ways of retaining their complement of members. An adult or child joins a society after being restored to health by a theurgist, and a parent may enter a child into a society, or a boy or girl having arrived at years of discretion, may declare a desire to join a society.

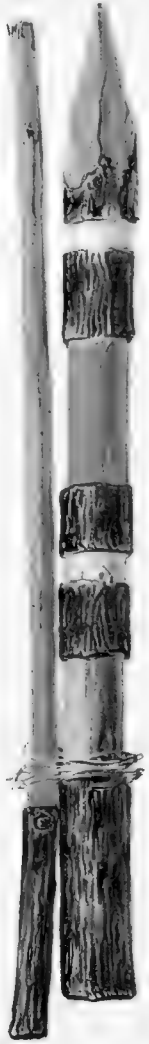
In the case of a young child the paternal or maternal parent calls upon the theurgist and, making known his wish, presents him with a handful of shell mixture,[1] saying, "I wish my child to become a member of your society that his mind and heart may be strong." In the case of an elder boy or girl the clan is first notified, and the applicant then calls upon the theurgist and, presenting him a handful of the shell mixture, makes known his wish.

Most of the societies are divided into two or more orders, the more important order being that in which the members are endowed with the anagogics of medicine, except in the Snake Society, when the snake

[1] The sacred meal, or shell mixture as it is often called by the Sia, may be prepared by an adult of either sex; it is composed of coarsely ground meal, powdered shells, and turkis.



a



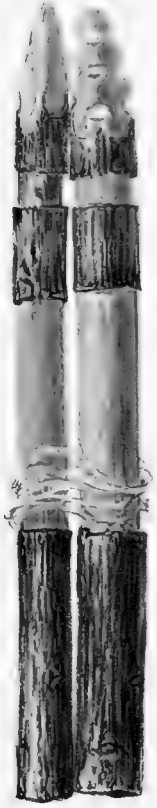
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e

Drawn by Mary Irvin Wright.

order is essential. One must pass through three degrees before being permitted to handle the snakes. In the case of minors they can not be initiated into the third degree until, in the ho'naaite's judgment, they are amenable to the rigid rules. A person may belong to two or more of these societies.

Women may be members of the various orders, excepting in the societies of the Snake, Cougar, or Hunters and Warriors. The Snake division of the Snake Society has no female members, and the societies of the Cougar or Hunters and Warriors are composed entirely of men. When one makes known his desire to enter a society he states to the theurgist which division he wishes to join.

The objection to handling the snakes keeps the Snake division of this society limited, though the honor is much greater in belonging to this division. Upon entering the medicine order of any society the new member is presented with the fetich ya'ya by the theurgist, who must practice continency four days previous to preparing the fetich.

The cult societies observe two modes in curing disease: One is by sucking, and the other by brushing the body with straws and eagle plumes. The former mode is practiced when Ka-nat-kai-ya (witches) have caused the malady by casting into the body worms, stones, yarn, etc.; the latter mode is observed when one is afflicted through angry ants or other insects, which are thus drawn to the surface and brushed off.

The medicine ceremonials of the cult societies are quite distinct from their ceremonials for rain.

The only compensation made the theurgist for his practice upon invalids either in the ceremonial chamber or dwelling is the sacred shell mixture. It is quite the reverse with all other Indians with whom the writer is acquainted. The healing of the sick in the ceremonial chamber is with some of the peublos gratuitous, but generous compensation is required when the theurgist visits the house of the invalid.

Continency is observed four days previous to a ceremonial, and an emetic is taken each morning for purification from conjugal relations. On the fourth day the married members bathe (the men going into the river) and have their heads washed in yucca suds. This is for physical purification. The exempting of those who have not been married and those who have lost a spouse seems a strange and unreasonable edict in a community where there is an indiscriminate living together of the people.

The ceremonials here noted occurred after the planting of the grain. Several of the ordinances had been held previous to the arrival of the writer. She collected sufficient data, however, to demonstrate the analogy between the rain ceremonials of the secret cult societies, their songs bearing the one burden—supplication for rain.

RAIN CEREMONIAL OF THE SNAKE SOCIETY.

The morning was spent by the ho'naaite (theurgist) and his vicar in the preparation of hä'chamoni[1] and plume offerings. The hä'chamoni are symbolic of the beings to whom they are offered, the messages or prayers being conveyed through the notches upon the sticks. These symbols frequently have hĕr'rotuma (more slender sticks representing the official staff) bound to them with threads of yucca; Pls. XI and XII show an incomplete set of hä'chamoni before the plume offerings are appended, which the Snake Society deposits when rain is desired; Pl. XIII, specimens of hä'chamoni with plume offerings attached.

About 4 o'clock p. m. the ho'naaite and his younger brother were joined by the third member of the society, when the ho'naaite began the sand painting,[2] the first one being laid immediately before the ä'tchĭn (slat altar), which had been erected earlier in the day, and the second in front of the former (Pl. XIV).

Upon the completion of the paintings the ho'naaite deposited several long buckskin sacks upon the floor and the three proceeded to remove such articles as were to be placed before the altar. There were six ya'ya, four of these being the property of the ho'naaite, two having come to him through the Snake Society, and two through the Spider, he being also ho'naaite of the Spider Society, the others belonging to the vice ho'naaite and third member of the Snake Society.

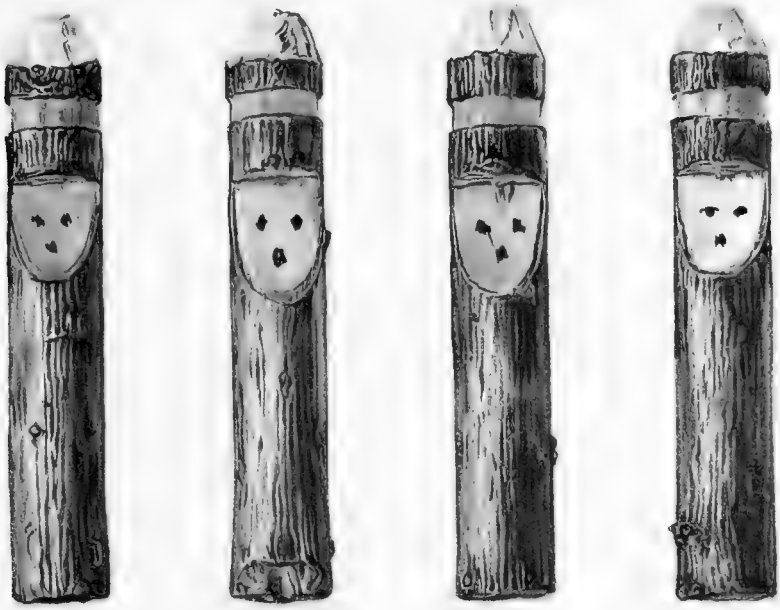
The ya'ya are most carefully preserved, not only on account of their sacred value, but also of their intrinsic worth, as the parrot plumes of which they are partially composed are very costly and difficult to obtain, they being procured from other Indians, who either make journeys into Mexico and trade for these plumes with the Indians of that country, or the Indians on the border secure them and bring them for traffic among their more northern brothers.

The ya'ya are wrapped first with a piece of soft cloth, then with buckskin, and finally with another cloth; slender splints are placed around this outer covering and a long buckskin string secures the packages.

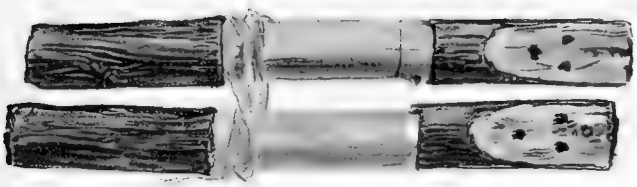
After unwrapping the ya'ya the ho'naaite proceeds to arrange the fetiches. Three of the ya'ya are placed immediately in front of the altar upon a paralellogram of meal, which is always drawn at the base of the altars, and is emblematic of seats for the ya'ya. An image, 8

[1] A member of a society is selected by the ho'naaite to collect the willow twigs from which the hä'chamoni are made. The ho'naaite arranges a bunch of bird plumes which the collector attaches to the limb of a willow, saying: "I have come to collect twigs for hä'chamoni and I pay you with these plumes." The tree to which the plumes are attached is not touched, but the one nearest to it. A stroke at the place where the twig is to be cut is made with an ancient stone knife and the twig is severed from the tree on a line at right angles with itself, the stick varying from four inches to a foot in length, according to the symmetry of the twig, which is divided by three cuts (these having first been indicated by the stone knife), leaving the selected portion with a pointed end which in cross section would show an equilateral triangle.

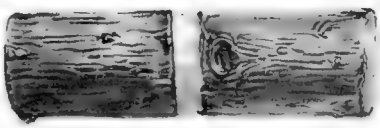
[2] The Sia do not differ from the Zuñi, Tusayan, and Navajo in their process of preparing sand paintings, the powdered pigment being sprinkled between the index finger and thumb. All these Indian artists work rapidly.



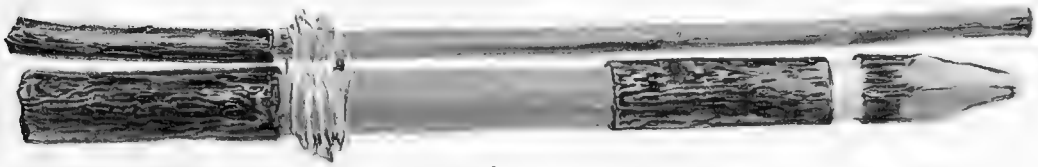
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Drawn by Mary Irvin Wright

HÄ'-CHA-MO-NI BEFORE PLUME OFFERINGS ARE ATTACHED.

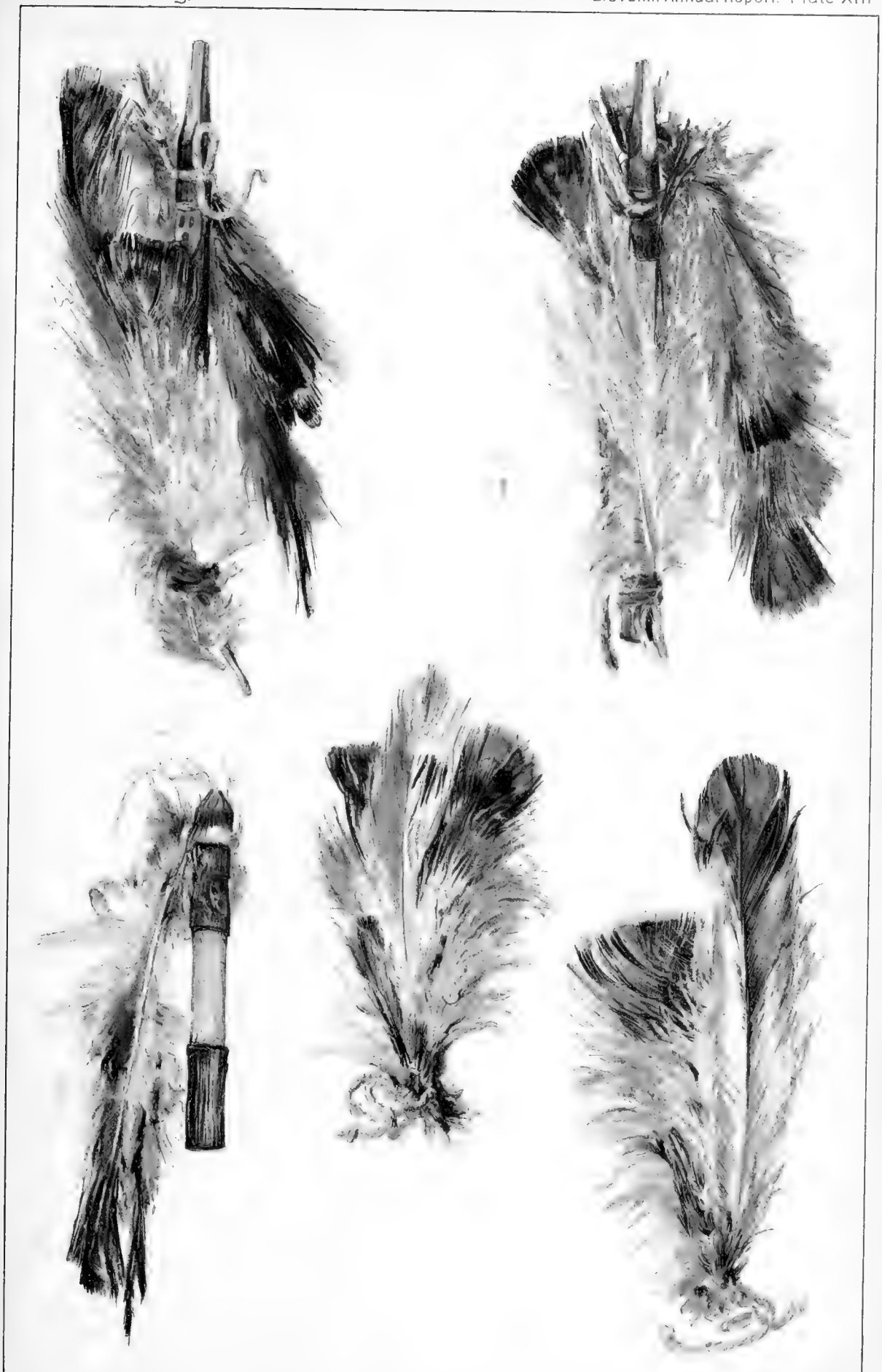
inches high, of Ko'chinako (Yellow Woman of the North) stands to the right of the ya'ya, and a wolf of red sandstone, its tail being quite the length of its body, which is 6 inches, is placed to the left of the ya'ya, and by the side of this wolf is a bear of black lava, and next an abalone shell; two cougars of red sandstone, some 12 inches in length, are posted to the right and left of the altar; an antique medicine bowl, finely decorated in snake, cloud, and lightning designs, is placed in front of the three ya'ya; two finely polished adzes, 12 inches long, are laid either side of the medicine bowl, and by these two large stone knives; two ya'ya stand side by side in front of the bowl, and before each is a snake's rattle, each rattle having twelve buttons; the sixth ya'ya stands on the tail of the sand-painted cougar; a miniature bow and arrow is laid before each of the six ya'ya; eight human images are arranged in line in front of the two ya'ya, these representing Ma'asewe, Úyuuyewĕ, and the six warriors who live in the six mountains of the cardinal points, the larger figures being 8 and 10 inches high and the smaller ones 4 and 5, the figure of the Warrior of the North having well-defined eyes and nose in bas-relief. This figure is decorated with a necklace of bears' claws, a similar necklace being around its companion, a clumsy stone hatchet. Most of the images in this line have a fringe of white wool around the face, symbolic of clouds. In front of these figures are three fetiches of Ko'shairi, not over 4 or 5 inches high, with a shell in front of them, and on either side of the shell there are two wands of turkey plumes standing in clay holders, the holders having been first modeled into a ball and then a cavity made by pressing in the finger sufficiently deep to hold the wand. These holders are sun dried. In front of the shell is a cross, the only evidence discovered of an apparent influence of Catholicism. The cross, however, bears no symbol of Christianity to these Indians. The one referred to was given to a theurgist of the Snake Society in remote times by a priest so good of heart, they say, that, though his religion was not theirs, his prayers traveled fast over the straight road to Ko'pĭshtaia; and so their reverence for this priest as an honest, truthful man led them to convert the symbol of Christianity into an object of fetichistic worship. The cross stands on a 6-inch cube of wood, and is so covered with plumes that only the tips of the cross are to be seen, and a small bunch of eagle plumes is attached pendent to the top of the cross with cotton cord. A bear of white stone, 5 inches long, is placed to the left of the cross and just back of it a tiny cub. A wolf, also of white stone, and 5 inches in length, is deposited to the right of the cross. At either end of, and to the front of, the altar are two massive carvings in relief, in red sandstone, of coiled snakes. Bear-leg skins, with the claws, are piled on either side of the altar, and by these gourd rattles and eagle plumes, in twos, to be used by the members in the ceremonial. A necklace of bears' claws, with a whistle attached midway the string, having two fluffy eagle plumes fastened to the end with native cotton cord,

hangs over the north post of the altar. The ho′naaite wear this necklace in the evening ceremony. The sacred honey jug (a gourd) and basket containing the sacred meal, a shell filled with corn pollen, a buckskin medicine bag, an arrow point, and an ancient square pottery bowl are grouped in front of the snake fetich on the north side of the altar, and to the north of this group are other medicine bags and turkey feather wands, with bunches of fluffy eagle plumes, tipped black and the other portion dyed a beautiful lemon color, attached to them with cotton cord. These wands are afterwards held by the women, who form the line at night on the north side of the room. A Tusayan basket, containing the offerings, consisting of hä′chamoni, each one being tipped with a bit of raw cotton and a single plume from the wing of a humming bird, with plumes attached upright at the base; Hĕr′rotume (staffs) ornamented with plumes, Ta′-wa-ka (gaming blocks and rings for the clouds to ride upon), Maic′-kûr-i-wa-pai (bunches of plumes of birds of the cardinal points, zenith and nadir), is deposited in front of the snake fetich on the south side of the altar, and beyond this basket are similar wands to those north of the altar, which are carried in the ceremonial by the women on the south side of the room. Five stone knives complete the group. A white stone bear, 12 inches long, is placed in front of the whole, and a parrot is attached to the top of the central-slat figure. (Pl. xv) Unfortunately, the flash-light photograph of the altar of the Snake Society made during the ceremonial failed to develop well, and, guarding against possible failure, the writer succeeded in having the ho′naaite arrange the altar at another time. The fear of discovery induced such haste that the fetiches, which are kept carefully stored away in different houses, were not all brought out on this occasion.[1]

When the altar is completed the ho′naaite and his associates stand before it and supplicate the presence of the pai′ätämo and Ko′pishtaia, who are here represented by images of themselves, these images becoming the abiding places of the beings invoked. After the prayer, the ho′naaite and his vicar sit upon their folded blankets near the fireplace, where a low fire burns, and with a supply of tobacco and corn husks content themselves with cigarettes until the opening of the evening ceremony.

By 9 o'clock the Snake society was joined in the chai-än-ni-kai (ceremonial chamber) archaic, Su′t-sĕr-ra-kai by the Kapĭna, it being the prerogative of the hónaaite of one organization to invite other societies to take part in his ceremonies. They formed in line, sitting back of the altar; the hónaaite being in the rear of the central slat figure, which symbolized the hónaaite of the cult society of the cloud people. The other members were seated in the rear, as near as could be, of

[1] The uncolored illustrations are from photographs by Miss May S. Clark, the interior views being by flash light. The writer is pleased to congratulate Miss Clark for having succeeded under the most trying circumstances.



Drawn by Mary Irvin Wright

HÄ'- CHA - MO - NI WITH PLUMES ATTACHED.

the corresponding symbolic figures of the cloud and lightning people. A boy of 8 years of age, who lay sleeping as the writer entered the room, was aroused to take his position in the line, and a boy of 4 years, who had been sleeping upon a sheepskin, spread on the floor between two of the women, was led from the room by one of them, as he had not entered the degree when he might hear the songs and see the making of the medicine water.

The women formed right angles with the line of men, four sitting on the north side of the room and four on the south side. The elder female member sat at the west end of the line on the north side of the room. The men wore breechcloths of white cotton; the hónaaite and the ti'ämoni wore embroidered Tusayan kilts for breechcloths. The hair was done up as usual, but no headkerchief was worn. The boy and men held oh'-shi-e-kats (gourd rattles) in their right hands and hi'-shä-mi (two eagle plumes) in the left.

The women were attired in their black wool dresses, the calico gown being discarded, and red sashes, wearing the conventional cue and bang. The neck and arms were exposed and the feet and lower limbs were bare. Each woman held two wands of turkey plumes in the right hand, and both men and women wore numerous strings of coral and kohaqua beads with bunches of turkis (properly earrings) attached pendent to the necklaces.

The ceremonial opened with the rattle and song, the women accompanying the men in the song. After a short stanza, which closed, as all the stanzas do, with a rapid manipulation of the rattle, the second stanza was almost immediately begun, when the vicar (Pl. XVII) standing before the altar shook his rattle for a moment and then waved it in a circle over the altar. He repeated this motion six times, for the cardinal points, and returned to his seat before the closing of the stanza. The circle indicated that all the cloud people of the world were invoked to water the earth.

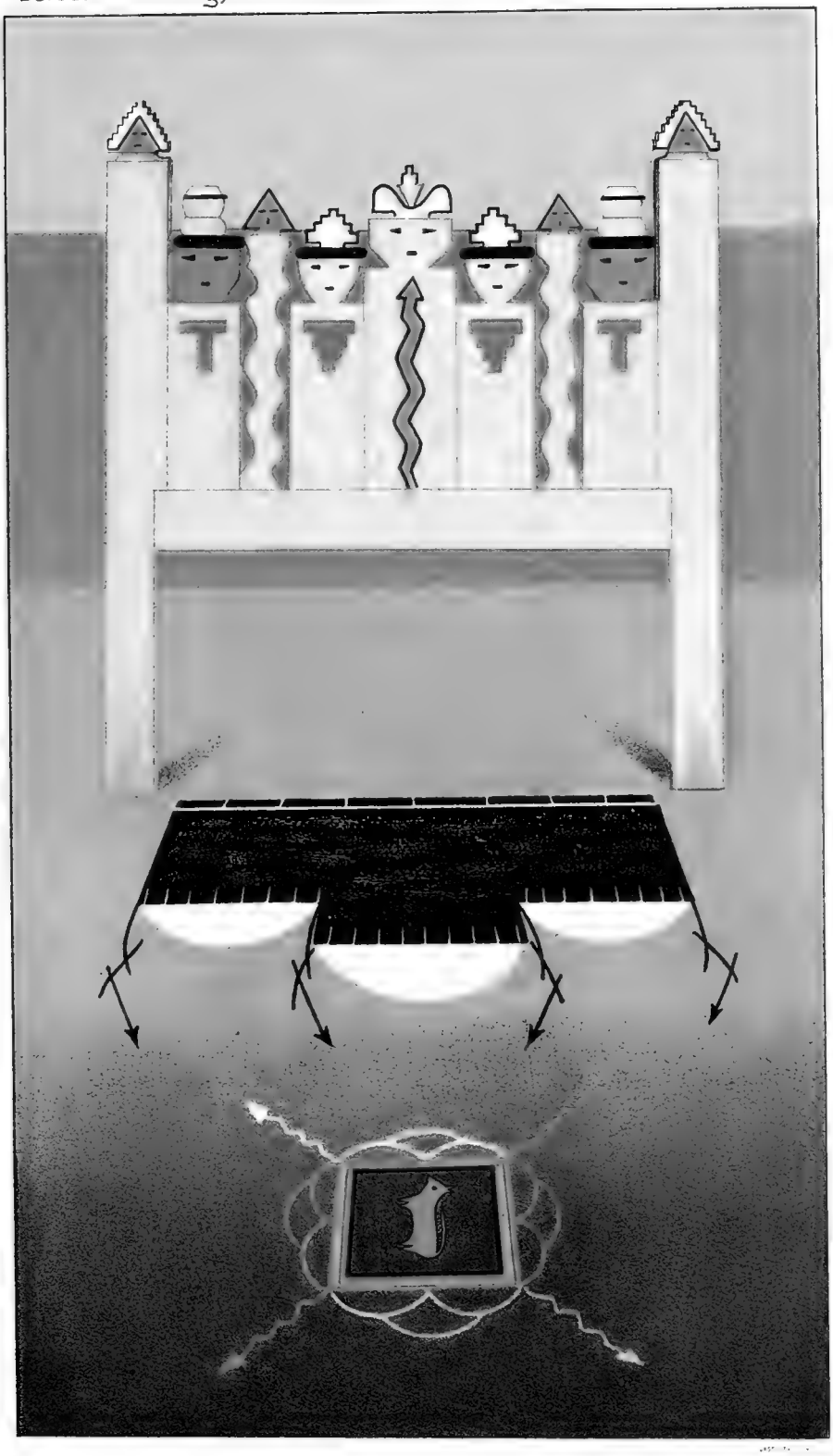
On the opening of the third stanza all arose and the hónaaite reaching over the altar took a yáya in either hand, he having previously laid his rattle and eagle plumes by the altar. This stanza was sung with great vivacity by the men, who swayed their bodies to the right and left in rhythmical motion, while the women waved their wands monotonously. The movement of the arms of both the men and women was from the elbow, the upper arms being apparently pinioned to the sides; there was no raising of the feet, but simply the bending of the knees.

At the close of the stanza, which continued thirty minutes, the hónaaite gave a weird call for the cloud people to gather; all, at the same instant, drew a breath from their plumes and took their seats. A woman then brought a vase of water and gourd from the northeast corner of the room and placed it in front of the altar. (Pl. XVI.) In a moment the song was resumed, and the yáni-ᵗsi-wittäñi (maker of medicine

water) proceeded to consecrate the water. He danced in front of the altar and south of the line of meal, which had been sprinkled from the altar to the entrance of the chamber, raising first one heel and then the other, with the knees slightly bent, the toes scarcely leaving the floor; he held his eagle plumes in his left hand, and shook the rattle with the right, keeping his upper arms close to his side, excepting when extending his plumes toward the altar, which he did three times, each time striking the plumes near the quill end with his rattle as he shook them over the medicine bowl. He then waved his plumes toward the north, and giving a quick motion of the rattle in unison with those of the choir, he drew a breath from the plumes as the fourth stanza closed, and in a moment the song was resumed. The three members of the Snake order then put on necklaces of bears' claws, each having attached, midway, a whistle. The yáni'siwittänñi, who had not left his place in front of the altar, danced for a few minutes, then dipped a gourd of water from the vase, raised it high with a weird hoot, and emptied it into the medicine bowl. A second gourdful was also elevated, and, with a cry, it was emptied into the cloud bowl, which stood on the sand-painting of the clouds. The third gourdful was emptied into the same bowl, the raising of the gourd and the cry being omitted; the fourth gourdful was uplifted with a cry and emptied into the medicine bowl. The fifth gourdful was also hoisted with a cry, as before, to the snake hónaaite to implore the cloud rulers to send their people to water the earth, and emptied into the cloud bowl. The sixth gourdful was raised with the call and emptied into the same bowl. The seventh gourdful was elevated with a wave from the south to the altar and emptied into the medicine bowl. The eighth gourdful was raised with a similar motion and emptied into the cloud bowl. The ninth gourdful was elevated and extended toward the east and returned in a direct line and emptied into the medicine bowl. The tenth gourdful was raised toward the west and emptied into the cloud bowl. The eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth gourdfuls were lifted from the vase and emptied without being hoisted into the same bowl. The fifth stanza closed as the last gourd of water was poured into the bowl. In filling the medicine bowl the gourd was passed between two yá-ya. The woman returned the water vase to the corner of the room, and the yáni'siwittänñi lifted the bowl and drank from it, afterwards administering a draught of the water from an abalone shell to each member, excepting the hónaaite, who, after the yáni'siwittänñi had resumed his seat in the line, passed to the front of the altar and drank directly from the bowl and returned it to its place.

In the administering of the water the women were helped first, a feature never before observed by the writer in aboriginal life.

With the beginning of the sixth stanza the hónaaite arose, and leaning forward waved his plumes over the medicine bowl with a weird call, each member repeating the call, the women exhibiting more enthu-



ALTAR AND SAND PAINTING
OF SNAKE SOCIETY.

siasm than the men in this particular feature of the ceremony. The cry, which was repeated four times, was an invocation to the cloud rulers of the cardinal points to water the earth, and, with each cry, meal was sprinkled into the medicine bowl, each member being provided with a small buckskin bag of meal or corn pollen, which had been previously taken from a bear-leg skin, and laid beside the altar. The members of the Snake Division sprinkled corn pollen instead of meal, the pollen being especially acceptable to the Snake hónaaite, to whom many of their prayers are addressed.

The preparation of the medicine water began with the opening of the seventh stanza. The ya'ni'siwittänñi danced before the altar, keeping south of the line of meal, and holding six pebble fetiches in either hand, which he had taken from two small sacks drawn from one of the bear-leg skins. He did not sing, but he kept time with the choir. Extending his right hand toward the altar, he touched the two front ya'ya, and then, placing his hands together, he again extended them, and, drawing closer still to the altar, he dropped a fetich from his right hand into the medicine bowl with a weird cry to the Snake ho'naaite of the north to invoke the cloud ruler of the north to send his people to water the earth; and after raising his hands above his head he again extended them toward the altar, and, leaning forward, dropped a fetich from his left hand into the cloud bowl. This was repeated four times with each bowl, with petitions to the Snake ho'naaites of the north, the west, the south, and the east to intercede with the cloud rulers to send their people to water the earth. Then, taking two large stone knives from before the altar, he struck them together, and, passing from the south of the line of meal to the north, he again brought the knives together. Recrossing the line of meal, he dipped the knives into the bowl of medicine water and sprinkled the altar; then, passing to the north of the line, he dipped the knives into the medicine water and repeated the sprinkling of the altar four times; again, standing south of the line, he dipped the knives into the water, throwing it to the east, and, crossing the line, dipped them into the bowl and repeated the motion to the east, and resumed his seat at the south end of the line of men. The ho'naaite then leaned over the altar, and, dipping his plumes into the medicine bowl, sprinkled the altar four times by striking the plumes on the top with the rattle held in the right hand. The song, which had continued for an hour without cessation, now closed, and the men gathered around the tobacco which lay near the fire-place, and, making cigarettes, returned to their seats and smoked. The boy ignited the fire-stick and held it for the men to light their cigarettes. He passed it first to the man at the north of the line. As each man took the first whiff of his cigarette he blew the smoke toward the altar and waved the cigarette in a circle as he extended it to the altar. After the smoke the song and rattle again resounded through the room, and at the close of a short stanza the man at the north end of the line cried out in a high tone and the women

gathered before the altar, and each, taking a pinch of meal from the meal bowl, sprinkled the altar and returned to their seats. The ya′ni-ᵗsiwittänñi lifted the shell of pollen from before the altar, and, passing to the entrance and opening the door, waved his rattle along the line of meal and out of the door. After repeating the waving of the rattle he passed his hand over the line and threw out the pollen from his fingers, as offering to the Snake ho′naaite. Returning to the altar, he stood while the ho′naaite dipped his plumes into the medicine water and sprinkled the altar by striking the plumes with the rattle. After the ya′niᵗsiwittänñi and ho′naaite had returned to the line, the cloud-maker (a member of the Spider Society), who sat at the north end, crossed the line of meal, and, holding his eagle plumes and rattle in his left hand, lifted with his right the reed which lay across the cloud bowl, and, transferring it to his left, he held it and the plumes vertically while he prayed. The vice ho′naaite dipped ashes from the fire-place with his eagle plumes, holding one in either hand, sprinkled the cloud-maker for purification, and threw the remainder of the ashes toward the choir. During his prayer, which continued for eight minutes, the cloud-maker appeared like a statue. At the close of the prayer he dropped into the cloud bowl a quantity of to′chainitiwa (a certain root used by the cult societies to produce suds, symbolic of the clouds), and sprinkled with corn pollen the surface of the water, which was already quite covered with it; then, taking the reed in his right hand and still holding it vertically, he began a regular and rapid movement with the reed, in a short time producing a snowy-white froth, which, under his dextrous manipulation, rapidly rose high above the bowl, and fell from it in cascades to the floor. The bowl stood on a cincture pad of yucca, a circle of meal symbolic of the heart or life of the water having been first made. The reed was never raised from the bowl during the stirring of the water. When the clouds were perfected the song ceased, and the cloud-maker stood the reed in the center of the suds, which now wholly concealed the bowl. He then rose, and, after holding his two eagle plumes in his left hand for a moment, he changed one to the right hand and began dancing before the altar; presently he dipped a quantity of suds from the base of the bowl with his two eagle plumes, and threw them to the north of the altar; again dipping the suds, he threw them to the south; continuing to dance to the music of the rattle and the song, he dipped the suds and threw them to the fire-place; dipping them again, he threw them to the earth, each time with an invocation to the cloud people. As he threw the suds to the earth two of the choir dipped their plumes into the bowl of medicine water and sprinkled the altar by striking the upper sides of the plumes with their rattles. The cloud-maker again dipped up the suds, and, facing east, threw them toward the zenith; he then dipped the suds and deposited them in the center of the basket containing the plume offerings; then waving his eagle plumes from north to south, he continued



ALTAR OF SNAKE SOCIETY.

dancing, raising first one plume and then the other as he pointed them toward the altar. In a moment or two he dipped suds and threw them toward the women on the north side of the room, and dipping them again threw them toward the women of the south side; at the same time the male members reached forward, and, dipping their plumes into the medicine bowl, sprinkled the altar, each time petitioning the cloud people to gather. The cloud-maker then threw suds to the west; again he dipped the suds and threw them to the zenith, then to the altar; a portion was then placed on the front ya'ya; again he danced, for a time extending his eagle plumes and withdrawing them, and dipped the suds and threw them upward and toward the man on the north end of the line; at the same time the ho'naaite dipped his plumes into the medicine bowl and sprinkled the altar as heretofore described; and the cloud-maker dipped the suds, throwing them toward the vice ho'naaite, and, again dipping them, he threw them toward the ya'ni'siwittänñi; he then lifted suds and threw them to the west, then to the zenith, never failing to call the cloud people together. The ho'naaite, keeping his position back of the altar, dipped his plumes into the medicine water and sprinkled the members; again the cloud-maker lifted suds and threw them to the zenith; at the same time the second woman at the west end of the line on the north side dipped her wand into the medicine water, with a cry for the cloud people to gather; the cloud-maker then threw the suds to the west and the ho'naaite sprinkled the members with the medicine water, and the cloud-maker placed the suds upon the heads of the white bear and parrot; and stooping he stirred the suds briskly.

The ti'ämoni lighted a cigarette from a coal at the fireplace and handed it to the cloud-maker, who stood the reed in the center of the suds before receiving the cigarette; he blew the first few whiffs over the suds and then smoked a moment or two and laid about one-third of the cigarette by the side of the cloud bowl. The song, which had continued almost incessantly for three hours, now ceased, and the cloud-maker returned to his seat in the line. The ti'ämoni sat by the fire and smoked, several joining him for a short time; but all soon returned to their seats in the line and continued their smoke.

At the beginning of the succeeding song the two women at the east end of the south line danced before the altar and sprinkled it by striking the wand held in the left hand on the top with the one held in the right. One of the women was frequently debarred taking part in the ceremony owing to the attention required by her infant, who was at times fretful.

Two women from the east end of the north line joined in the dance, and then a third woman from the south line; three of the women formed in line running north and south; an aged woman at the west end of the south line danced, but did not leave her place at the end of the line. She pulled the young boy who sat near her forward, telling him

to dance. The dancers faced first the east, then the west, sprinkling the altar whenever they reversed, invoking the cloud people to gather. The boy was beautifully graceful, but the women were clumsy; one of them attempted to force out the man at the north end; failing in this, a second woman tried with better success, and the man joined in the dance; this little byplay amused the women. The ho'naaite sprinkled the young man, who in turn sprinkled the ho'naaite. Before the close of the dance the aged woman at the west end of the south line joined the group of dancers and pulled the young man about, telling him to dance well and with animation. At 1:30 a. m. the women sprinkled the altar and returned to their seats, but the man and boy continued to dance and sprinkle the altar at intervals. The vicar placed the basket of plume offerings on the line of meal, and collecting suds from the base of the cloud bowl deposited them in the center of the basket of plumes; and all the members dipped their plumes into the medicine water and sprinkled the altar; the man facing south and the boy north, then sprinkled toward the respective points, and passing down on either side of the meal line they sprinkled eastward, and crossing the line of meal the man sprinkled to the north and the boy to the south, and they returned to the altar and danced for a time, the man remaining north of the line and the boy south. The sprinkling of the cardinal points was repeated four times.

The dancers having taken their seats in the line the ya'ni'siwittänñi removed the bowl of medicine water and placed it before the basket of plume offerings; then stooping, he took one of the ya'ya in his left hand and with the right administered the medicine water from an abalone shell to the women first, the infant in the mother's arms receiving its portion; then to the boy and men. After each draft the hi'shämi and wands were touched to the ya'ya and the sacred breath drawn from them; the ho'naaite was the last to be served by the ya'nitsiwittänñi, who in turn received the medicine water from the ho'naaite, who held the ya'ya while officiating. The ya'ni'siwittänñi then left the chamber, carrying the ya'ya in his left hand and bowl of medicine water with both hands. When outside the house he sprinkled the six cardinal points, the water being taken into the mouth and thrown out between the teeth.

The ho'naaite lifting the basket of plume offerings stooped north of the meal line and the ti'ämoni and the younger member of the snake division stooped south of the line of meal. The necklaces of bears' claws had been removed and all but the ho'naaite's laid on a pile of bear-leg skins, he depositing his on the snake fetich at the north side of the altar. The two young men put on their moccasins and wrapped around them their blankets which had served as seats during the ceremonial before advancing to meet the ho'naaite, who, while the three held the basket repeated a long litany, responded to by the two young men. The women laughed and talked, paying little attention to this



Drawn by Mary M. Mitchell.

CEREMONIAL VASE.

prayer. At the conclusion the ho'naaite gave a bundle of hä'chamoni to the ti'ämoni and a similar one to his companion; he then gave a cluster of plume offerings to the ti'ämoni and the remainder of the feathers to the companion. The offerings were received in the blanket thrown over the left arm; and each of the young men taking a pinch of shell mixture left the chamber to deposit them at the shrines of the Ko'pĭshtaia with prayers to the Snake ho'naaites: "I send you hä'chamoni and pay you hĕr'rotume, Ta'waka, maic'kûriwapai, I-'tsa-ti-en (turkis and shell offerings) Ŭpĕr-we (the different foods) that you may be pleased and have all things to eat and wear. I pay you these that you will beseech the cloud-rulers to send their people to water the earth that she may be fruitful and give to all people abundance of all food."

As the bearers of the offerings left the chamber the ho'naaite played upon a flute which was quite musical; and upon their return he received them standing in front of the altar, and north of the meal line; after a prayer by the ho'naaite the young men turned to the altar and the ti'ämoni offered a prayer, which was responded to by the ho'naaite, who now sat back of the altar.

The boy then made two cigarettes and, after lighting one, he handed it to the ti'ämoni; the second he gave to the companion. After a feast of bread, stewed meat, and coffee, the ho'naaite stooped before the altar and, taking the ya'ya from the tail of the sand-painted cougar in his left hand, he pressed the palm of his right hand to the sand cougar, and drew a breath from it, and, raising the ya'ya to his lips, drew a breath from it, and clasped it close to his breast and passed behind the altar and, reaching over it, he moved the center one of the three ya'ya to the right, and substituted the one he carried, and resumed his seat. In a moment or two the ho'naaite removed the two large fetiches of the cougar to the back of the altar; and the vicar prayed and touched the four cardinal points of the sand painting with pollen, and then placed the palm of his right hand to the sand-painted cougar and, after drawing the sacred breath, rubbed his hand over his body, when all the members hastened to press their hands to the sand-painting, draw the breath, and rub their bodies for mental and physical purification; during which time the ti'ämoni sat back of the altar holding his eagle plumes with both hands before his face, and silently prayed.

The remaining sand was brushed together from the four points by a woman with an eagle plume, and lifted, with the plume, and emptied into the palm of her left hand and carried to her home and rubbed over the bodies of her male children.

The ya'ya were collected by their individual owners, who blew the meal from the feathers and carefully inclosed them in their three wrappings. The four wands of turkey plumes in the clay holders concealed hä'chamoni for Sûs'sĭstinnako from the ho'naaite of the Spider Society; these were not deposited until sunrise, and then by such members of the

Spider Society as were designated by the ho'naaite. They were planted to the north, west, south, and east of the village, whence Po'shaiyäñne departed, with prayers to Ût'sĕt to receive the hä'chamoni for Sûs'sĭstinnako, the Creator. After examining them (the spiritual essence) to see that they are genuine, she hands them to Sûs'sĭstinnako.

The hä'chamoni convey to those to whom they are offered messages as clear to the Indian understanding as any document does to the civilized mind.

The following account of the initiation of a member into the third degree of the Snake order was given the writer by the vicar of the Snake Society.

I was very ill with smallpox caused by angry ants, and one night in my dreams I saw many snakes, very many, and all the next day I thought about it, and I knew if I did not see the ho'naaite of the Snake Society and tell him I wished to become a member of that body I would die. In two days I went to the house of the ho'naaite bearing my offering of shell mixture and related my dreams and made known my wish to be received as a member of the society. The man now ill with his heart notified the ho'naaite of the Snake Society that he wished to join the society. The ho'naaite sent for me and the other official member to meet him in the ceremonial chamber to receive the sick man, who, presenting the shell mixture to the ho'naaite informed him that he had dreamed of many snakes and knew that he must become a member of the society or die.

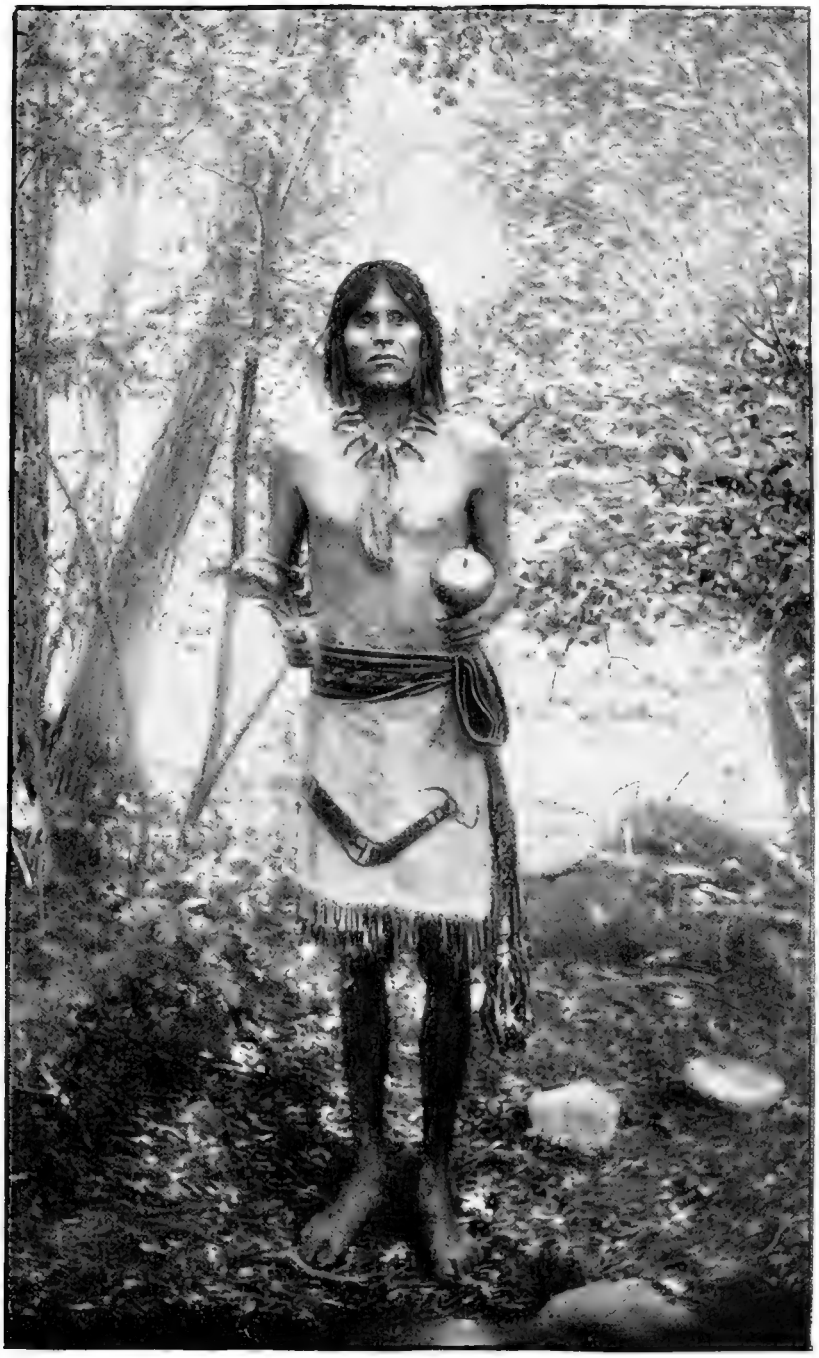
Such is the impression made upon these people by dreams. This man will be a novitiate for two years, as it requires that time to learn the songs which must be committed to memory before entering the third degree. He continued:

I was two years learning the songs, during which time I passed through the first and second degrees. I then accompanied the ho'naaite and the members of the society to the house of the snakes, when I was made a member of the third degree.

The ceremonials in which snakes are introduced are exclusively for the initiation of members into the third degree of the Snake division. These ordinances must be observed after the ripening of the corn.

The day of the arrival of the society at the snake house (a log structure which stands upon a mound some 6 miles from the village) hä'chamoni are prepared by the ho'naaite and the other members of this division of the society; they are then dispatched by the ho'naaite to the north in search of snakes; and after the finding of the first snake the hä'chamoni are planted; the number of snakes required, depending upon the membership, the ratio being equal to the number of members; there must be a snake from each of the cardinal points, unless the membership is less than four, which is now the case. There being but three members at the present time, only the north, west, and south are visited for the purpose of collecting snakes, but the members must go to the east and deposit hä'chamoni to the Snake ho'naaite of the east.

The war chief notifies the people each day that they must not visit the north, west, south, or east; should one disobey this command and



VICE HO'-NA-AI-TE OF SNAKE SOCIETY.

be met by any member of the society he would be made to assist in the gathering of the snakes.

An emetic is taken these four days for purification from conjugal relations, and continency is observed during this period. The emetic is composed of the stalks and roots of two plants, which are crushed on a stone slab by the ho'naaite and mixed with water when he designates the member to place it over the fire. It is drunk slightly warm.

The decoction so constantly drank by the Tusayan Indians previous to their snake ceremonial is an emetic, and is taken for the same purpose, and not, as some suppose, to prevent the poisonous effect of snake bites. Medicine for the snake bite is employed only after one has been bitten; for this purpose the Sia use the plant *Aplopapus spinulosus* (Indian name ha'-ti-ni) in conjunction with ka'-wai-aite, a mixture of the pollen of edible and medicinal plants. An ounce of the plant medicine is put into a quart of water and boiled; about a gill is drunk warm, three times daily, during the four days and the afflicted part is bathed in the tea, and wrapped with a cloth wet with it. An hour after each draught of the tea a pinch of the ka'waiaite is drunk in a gill of water. The patient is secluded four days; should one suffering from a snake bite look upon a woman furnishing nourishment for an infant, death would be the result. The Zuñi have the same superstition.

The fifth day a conical structure of cornstalks bearing ripe fruit is erected some 70 feet east of the log house, in a ravine parallel with the side of the house, and a sand painting is made by the ho'naaite on the floor of the house; and when the painting is completed he takes his seat in the west end of the room (the entrance being in the east end), the male members of the society sitting on his right and left, and the women forming right angles at either end of the line. The novitiates are seated southwest of the sand painting, and all are necessarily close together, as the room is very small.

The ritual begins with the rattle and song, and after the song the ho'naaite passing before the line of women on the north side takes a snake from a vase, and, holding it a hand's span from the head, advances to the east of the sand painting (which is similar in Pl. XIV, with the addition of two slightly diverging lines, one of corn pollen, the other of black pigment, extending from the painting to the entrance of the house), and lays it between the lines, with its head to the east.

There are two vases in niches in the north wall near the west end (Pl. XXXV); one holds the snakes, and the other receives them after they have been passed through the ceremony. At the close of the prayer now offered, he says, "Go to your home; go far; and remain there contentedly." He then sprinkles corn pollen upon the snake's head, which rite is repeated by each member; the snake, according to the vice-ho'-naaite's statement, extending its tongue and eating the pollen, "the snake having no hands, puts his food into his mouth with his tongue."

The snake is then placed around the throat and head and over the body of the novitiate.

Though the snake can not speak, he hears all that is said, and when he is placed to the body he listens attentively to the words of the ho'naaite, who asks him to look upon the boy and give the boy wisdom like his own that the boy may grow to be wise and strong like himself, for he is now to become a member of the third degree of the Snake division of the society. The ho'naaite then prays to the snake that he will exhort the cloud rulers to send their people to water the earth, that she may bear to them the fruits of her being.

The snake is not only implored to intercede with the cloud rulers to water the earth that the Sia may have abundant food, but he is invoked in conjunction with the sun-father in the autumn and winter to provide them with blankets and all things necessary to keep them warm.

Propitiatory prayers are not offered to the snakes, as, according to the Sia belief, the rattlesnake is a peaceful, and not an angry agent. They know he is friendly, because it is what the old men say, and their fathers' fathers told them, and they also told them that it was the same with the snakes in Mexico. "In the summer the snake passes about to admire the flowers, the trees and crops, and all things beautiful."

The snake is afterwards placed in the empty vase, and the vice ho'naaite repeats the ceremony with a second snake, and this rite is followed by each member of the Snake division of the society. The ho'naaite then directs his vicar and another member of the society to carry the vases to the grotto (the conical structure outside) and the latter to remain in the grotto with the snakes; he then with a novitiate by his side passes from the house, and approaching the grotto stands facing it while the vicar and other male members of the society form in line from east to west facing the north, the vice and novitiate standing at the west end of the line.

Those of the Snake division wear fringed kilts of buckskin with the rattlesnake painted upon them, the fringes being tipped with conical bits of tin. The ho'naaite's kilt is more elaborate than the others, the fringes having fawns' toes in addition to the tin. Their moccasins are of fine buckskin painted with kaolin. The hair is flowing. The body of the one to receive the third degree is colored black with a fungus found on cornstalks, crushed and mixed with water. The face is painted red before it is colored black, and a red streak is painted under each eye, symbolic, they say, of the lines under the snakes' eyes. A fluffy eagle plume is attached to the top of the head, and the face is encircled with down from the hawk's breast. The hands and feet are painted red, and the body zigzagged with kaolin, symbolic of lightning. The buckskin kilt is painted white, with a snake upon it, and white moccasins are worn (Pl. x C). The other members of the society do not have their bodies

painted, and they wear their hair done up in the usual knot and their feet bare.[1] They wear instead of the kilt a white cotton breechcloth. The women who do not take part in the dance wear their ordinary dress, the cotton gown being discarded.

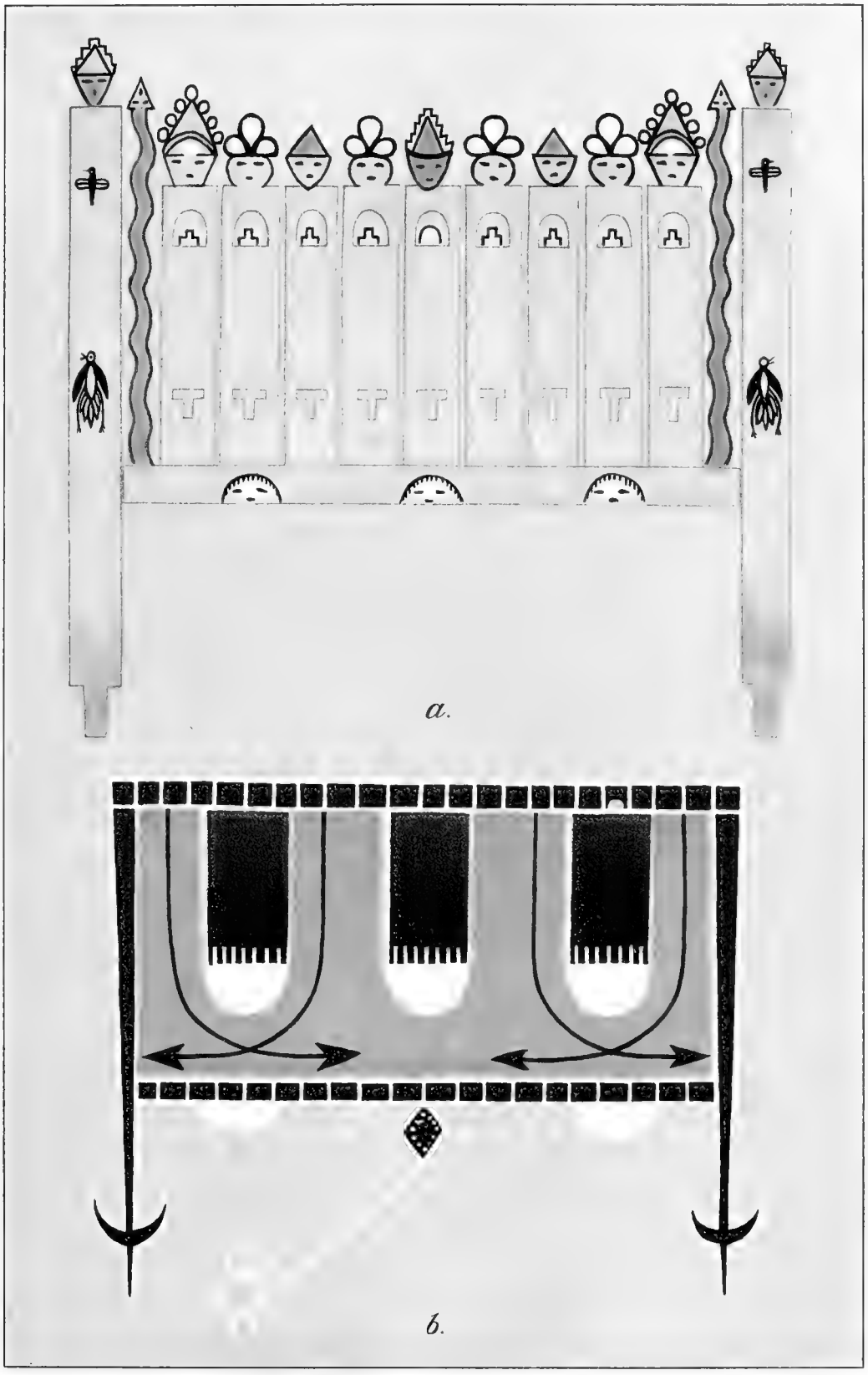
Upon the opening of the song and dance the ho'naaite procures a snake at the entrance of the grotto and holding it horizontally with both hands presents it to the novitiate, who receives it in the same manner, clasping the throat with the right hand; the ho'naaite and novitiate pass back and forth north of the line from the grotto four times, now and then the novitiate allowing the snake to wrap itself around his throat. The ho'naaite then takes the snake and returns it to the man in the grotto. If there be a second novitiate he and the first one change places, and the ho'naaite inquires of the second whom he wishes for a father and companion; the boy designates a member of the Snake division, and the chosen one is required by the ho'naaite to take his place by the side of the novitiate and accompany him to the grotto; he again receives a snake which he hands to the boy and the former ceremony is repeated. When the novitiates have concluded, each member of the Snake division takes his turn in passing back and forth four times with a snake, the snake being handed him by a companion member. The song and dance does not cease until each snake has been passed through the ceremony. Two of the novitiates, if there be two or more, if not, a novitiate and a member, are requested by the ho'naaite to enter the grotto and receive the vases from the man inside. These they carry to a cave about half a mile distant, and here the bearers of the vases take out each snake separately and placing it upon the ground say: "Go to your home; go far and be contented." The first snake is deposited to the north, the second to the west, the third to the south, and the fourth to the east; this is repeated until all the snakes are disposed of. The vases are then placed in the cave and the entrance covered with a large slab. The ho'naaite returning to the house takes the ya'ya from the tail of the sand-painted cougar and holding it in his left hand places the palm of his right hand to the cougar and draws from it a breath and rubs his hand over his breast, after which all evidences of the sand-painting are soon erased by the members who hasten forward and rub their bodies with the sand that they may be mentally and physically purified.

When Mr. Stevenson discovered that the Sia held ceremonials with snakes he induced the vicar of the snake society to conduct him to the locality for that special rite. Leaving Sia in the early morning a ride of 6 miles over sand dunes and around bluffs brought the party, including the writer, to the structure known as the snake house, hid away among chaotic hills. Every precaution had been observed to maintain

[1] All the figures show the feet as they are colored before the moccasins are put on. The red spot on the body designates the heart, the black spot on the figure of the member of the fire society indicates the coal which is eaten. The white around the face, arms, and legs is down from the breast of the hawk.

secrecy. The house is a rectangular structure of logs (the latter must have been carried many a mile) and is some 8 by 12 feet, having a rude fireplace; and there are two niches at the base of the north wall near the west end in which the two vases stand during the indoor ceremonial. Though this house presented to the visitors a forlorn appearance, it is converted into quite a bower at the time of a ceremonial, when the roof is covered and fringed with spruce boughs and sunflowers and the interior wall is whitened. Some diplomacy was required to persuade the vicar to guide Mr. Stevenson to the cave in which the vases are kept when not in use. A ride half a mile farther into chaos and the party dismounted and descended a steep declivity, when the guide asked Mr. Stevenson's assistance in removing a stone slab which rested so naturally on the hillside that it had every appearance of having been placed there by other than human agency. The removal of the slab exposed two vases side by side in a shallow cave. A small channel or flume had been ingeniously made from the hilltop that the waters from ti'nia might collect in the vases. These vases belong to the superior type of ancient pottery, and they are decorated in snakes and cougars upon a ground of creamy tint. Mr. Stevenson was not quite satisfied with simply seeing the vases, and determined if possible to possess one or both; but in answer to his request the vicar replied: "These can not be parted with, they are so old that no one can tell when the Sia first had them; they were made by our people of long ago; and the snakes would be very angry if the Sia parted with these vases." Whenever opportunity afforded, Mr. Stevenson expressed his desire for one of them; and finally a council was held by the ti'ämoni and ho'naaites of the cult societies, when the matter was warmly discussed, the vicar of the Snake society insisting that the gift should be made, but the superstition on the part of the others was too great to be overcome. Mr. Stevenson was waited upon by the members of the council; the ho'naaite of the Snake society addressing him: "You have come to us a friend; we have learned to regard you as our brother, and we wish to do all we can for you; we are sorry we can not give you one of the vases; we talked about letting you have one, but we concluded it would not do; it would excite the anger of the snakes, and perhaps all of our women and little ones would be bitten and die; you will not be angry, for our hearts are yours."

The night previous to the departure of the party from Sia the vicar of the Snake Society made several visits to the camp, but finding other Indians present he did not tarry. At midnight when the last Indian guest had left the camp he again appeared and hurriedly said, "I will come again," and an hour later he returned. "Now," said he, "closely fasten the tent, and one of you listen attentively all the while and tell me when you hear the first footstep;" and he then took from the sack one of the vases, he being in the meanwhile much excited and also distressed. He would not allow a close examination to be made of



ALTAR AND SAND PAINTING.
GIANT SOCIETY.

the vase, but urged the packing of it at once; he deposited a plume offering in the vase, and sprinkled meal upon it and prayed while tears moistened his cheeks. The vase was brought to Washington and deposited in the National Museum.

RAIN CEREMONIAL OF THE GIANT SOCIETY.

About noon the ho'naaite, who was nude except the breechcloth, left his seat by the fireside in the ceremonial chamber, where his vicar had been assisting him during the morning in cutting willows and preparing hä'chamoni, and proceeded to make a sand painting in the east end of the room, and when this was completed he erected the slat altar (Pl. XVIII *a*). During the preparation of the sand painting (*b*) the vicar remained at his post at work upon the hä'chamoni. When the two female members, a woman and a little girl some 8 years of age, arrived, the ho'naaite took from the wall nine shabby-looking sacks, handing one to each person present, reserving two for himself and laying the remaining four to one side to be claimed by the other members of the medicine order of the society. These sacks contained the ya'ya, one of which, it is claimed, was captured from the Navajo by a former ho'naaite of this society, and this fetich is as precious as the others for the reason that it also represents Ût'sĕt, the mother of all Indians.

The five ya'ya were placed in line in front of the altar and on the sand-painting, and a miniature bow and arrow were laid before four of them, the captive one having none. Bear-leg skins with the claws were piled on either side of the altar, and upon these were laid necklaces of bears' claws, each necklace having a reed whistle suspended midway, two fluffy eagle plumes, tipped with black, being attached to the end of the whistle. The medicine bowl was posted before the five ya'ya, the stone fetiches arranged about the sand painting, and the cloud bowl in front of the whole. The woman brought a triple cupped paint stone near the altar and ground a black pigment, yellow ocher, and an impure malachite; these powders were mixed with water, and the woman and girl painted the hä'chamoni, the child being quite as dextrous as her elder, and equally interested.

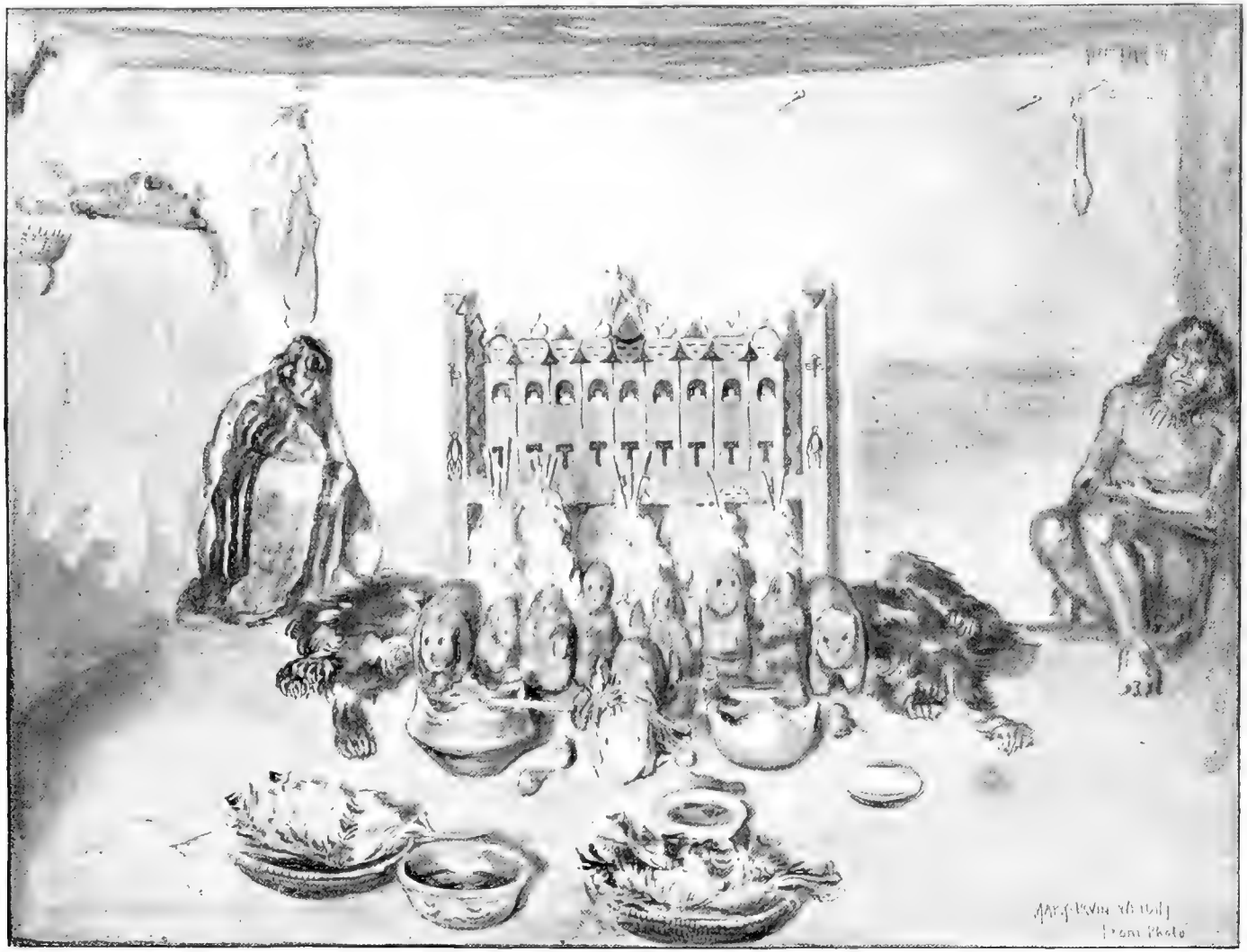
While the hä'chamoni were being colored the ho'naaite was busy assorting plumes. He first laid thirteen turkey plumes separately upon the floor, forming two lines; upon each plume he laid a fluffy eagle feather, and then added successively to each group a plume from each of the birds of the cardinal points, turkey plumes being used instead of chaparal cocks'. A low weird chant was sung while the ho'naaite and his vicar tied each pile of plumes together with native cotton cord, the ho'naaite waving each group, as he completed it, in a circle from left to right before his face. The woman at the same time made four rings of yucca, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, some two dozen yucca needles having been wrapped in a hank and laid in a bowl of water. The

child brought the hank from the farther end of the room to the woman, who, taking a needle of the yucca, wound it four times around her thumb and index finger; then wrapping this with an extra thread of yucca formed the ring. When the four rings were completed the child took them to the paint stone, which the woman had removed to the far end of the room, and dipped them into the yellow paint and laid them by the woman, who tied three of the piles of plumes together and afterwards handed the rings to the ho'naaite, who added to each ring a plume from the wing of a humming bird. These rings were offerings to the cloud children emblematic of the wheels upon wnich they ride over ti'nia.

In attaching the plume offerings to the hä'chamoni, the latter are held between the large and second toes of the right foot of the men and woman. There were ten hä'chamoni to bear messages to the cloud rulers of the cardinal points—Ho'chänni, high ruler of the cloud people of the world, Sûs'sĭstinnako, Ût'sĕt, and the sun, the extra bunches of plumes being tied pendent to those already attached to the hä'chamoni for Sûs'sĭstinnako, Ût'sĕt, and the sun.

The ho'naaite placed the hä'chamoni and rings in a flat basket and set it before the altar in front of the cloud bowl, and posted a stuffed parrot upon the central slat of the altar. At this time the other official members appeared, and, unwrapping their ya'ya, handed them to the ho'naaite, who stood them before the altar (Pl. XIX). The woman then brought a vase of water and gourd from the far end of the room, and the ho'naaite emptied four gourdfuls into the medicine bowl and then sprinkled corn pollen upon the water, and, dipping his two eagle plumes into the bowl, he sprinkled the altar and offerings. He did not speak a word, but took his seat by the fire and began smoking, awaiting the hour for the evening ceremonial. The ho'naaite and vicar had their meals served in the ceremonial chamber, and after eating, the remainder of the basket of bread and bowl of meat was placed before the altar.

The night ceremony opened with the ho'naaite (Pl. XX) and his vicar dipping their plumes into the medicine water and sprinkling the altar and the food which had been placed before it; the ho'naaite then, sitting in front and to the north side of the altar, repeated a long prayer, supplicating Mo'kaitc, Cougar of the North, to intercede with the cloud people of the north to water the earth that the crops might grow; Ko'hai, the Bear, to intercede with the cloud people of the west to water the earth that the crops might grow; a smilar invocation was made to the Tuo'pe, Badger of the South, Ka'kanna, Wolf of the East, Tiä'mi, Eagle of the Heaven, and Mai'tubo, Shrew of the Earth. The vicar then gathered a bit of bread from the basket and of meat from the bowl and handed it to the ho'naaite, who left the house with the food in his left hand, holding his eagle plumes in his right; he cast the food to the animal Ko'pĭshtaia of the cardinal points, begging that they would intercede with the cloud people to come and water the earth; then, returning to



ALTAR OF GIANT SOCIETY, PHOTOGRAPHED DURING CEREMONIAL.

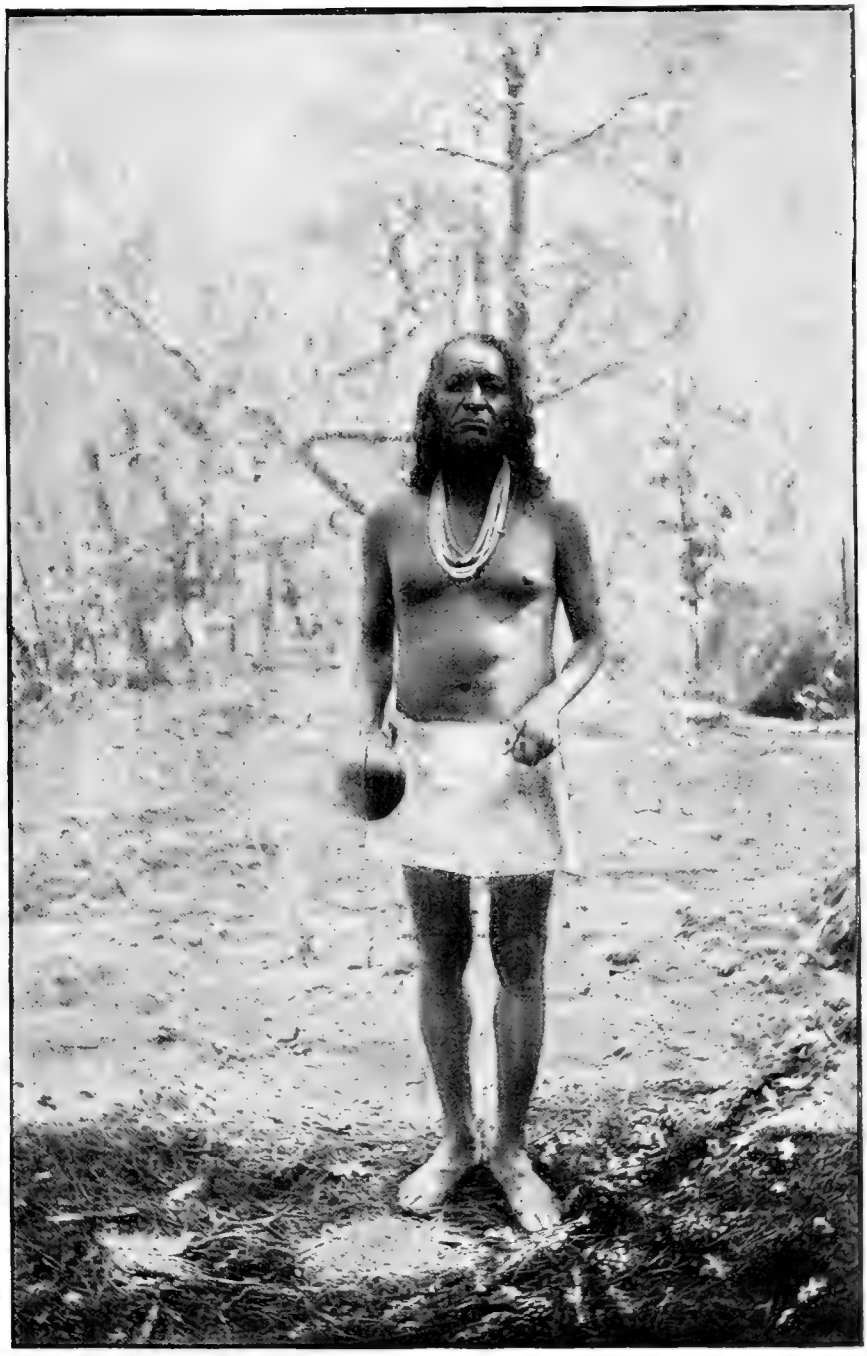
the ceremonial chamber, he stooped before the altar and to the south side of the line of meal and prayed to the Ko′pĭshtaia, closing with these words: "I have offered you food, our food, that you may eat, and I pray you to exhort the Ko′pĭshtaia of ti′nia [referring to the cloud people] to come and water the earth." The male members of the society each smoked a cigarette, and afterward the bowl of stew and basket of bread were deposited in the center of the room, and all gathered around and ate. The men then sat on either side of the room and again indulged in a smoke, the woman and girl sitting on the north side near the west end. After the cigarettes were finished the vicar drew a fresh line of meal from the altar to the door situated on the south side and near the west end, and the members formed in line back of the altar. (An explanation of the drawing of the line of meal and the relative positions of the line of men back of the altar has already been given, and is applicable to the rain ceremonials of all the cult societies.) The woman took her seat on the north side of the room, near the altar, the little girl sitting opposite to her on the south side.

The ho′naaite and the ti′ämoni (the latter's position as ti′ämoni has nothing whatever to do with his relations in the cult societies in which he holds membership) wore white Tusayan cotton breechcloths elaborately embroidered in bright colors; the vicar's was dark blue and the others white cotton; each man held two eagle plumes and a gourd rattle in the left hand. The woman and little girl wore their ordinary dresses, the high-neck calico gowns being omitted, and they held a turkey wand tipped with fluffy eagle plumes dyed a lemon color, in either hand.

The vicar gave a pinch of meal to the ho′naaite from the pottery meal bowl by the altar, who without rising from his seat sprinkled the altar. The song then opened to the accompaniment of the rattle, which had been transferred to the right hand, the eagle plumes still being held in the left, and keeping time with the rattle. Each stanza closed with a short and rapid shake of the rattle. (The writer noticed in the ceremonials of the cult societies of the Sia the absence of the pottery drum, which is such an important feature with the Zuñi and Tusayan.) With the commencement of the ritual the men from either end of the line moved to the fireplace, and lifting ashes with their plumes, deposited them before the altar and north and south of the meal line, and after dancing and gesticulating for a moment or two they again lifted ashes and sprinkled toward the altar, the under side of the plume held in the left hand being struck with the one held in the right; again lifting ashes one sprinkled to the north and the other to the south, and passing down on either side of the meal line they sprinkled to the west, and crossing they passed up the line and when midway one sprinkled to the north, the other to the south; again dipping ashes they sprinkled to the zenith and with more ashes they sprinkled to the nadir. This sprinkling of the cardinal points was repeated four times,

and the men then returned to their seats. The second man from the north end of the line coming forward danced while the others sang to the accompaniment of the rattle, each succeeding stanza following in quick succession, the dancer now and then varying the monotony of the song by calling wildly upon the cloud people to come and water the earth. The woman and child waved their wands to the rhythm of the song; the woman who held a sick infant much of the time occasionally fell asleep, but she was awakened by the vicar who sat near her, passing his eagle plumes over her face. Whenever the infant slept it was laid upon a sheepskin, seemingly unconscious of the noise of the rattle and song.

When an especial appeal was to be made to Ût′sĕt, the ho′naaite reached over the altar and took the Navajo ya′ya in his right hand and the one south of it in his left hand (he had deposited his eagle plumes by the altar, but he held his rattle). All now stood, the ho′naaite energetically swaying his body as he waved the ya′ya, holding them out, then drawing them in as he appealed to Ût′sĕt to instruct the cloud people to come and water the earth. This petition concluded, the ho′naaite leaned over the altar, returning the ya′ya to their places, and the choir took their seats and smoked cigarettes of native tobacco wrapped in corn husks. In a few moments the song was resumed, when the woman sprinkled the altar with meal and passing to the west end of the room she lifted a vase of water, placing it on the line of meal, not far from the door, keeping time with the song with her two wands and moving her body up and down by bending her knees, her feet resting firmly on the floor and over the line of meal; again the bowl was raised and moved about 2 feet forward, and she repeated the motion. The bowl was in this way moved five times, the last time being placed immediately before the basket of offerings. As she placed the bowl for the last time she waved the wand held in her right hand twice over the altar, when the song closed only to begin again immediately. The ya′ni^{t}siwittänñi now appeared before the altar, north of the meal line and danced, holding two eagle plumes in the left hand and rattle in the right. After a time, transferring the rattle to his left hand, he lifted a gourd of water from the vase and, holding it for a moment, waved it before the altar and emptied it into the medicine bowl with an appeal to the cougar of the north to intercede with the cloud people that the earth might be watered; another gourdful immediately followed; he then took the rattle in the right hand and joined in the song, and danced. A third time he dipped a gourd of water, waved it toward the west with an exhortation to the bear of the west, and emptied it into the bowl, following this with another gourdful, when a weird call was given for the cloud people to come and water the earth. Again he danced and sang, and after a time a fifth gourdful was lifted and waved toward the south, with an appeal to the badger of the south, and emptied into the bowl, when another gourdful followed, and



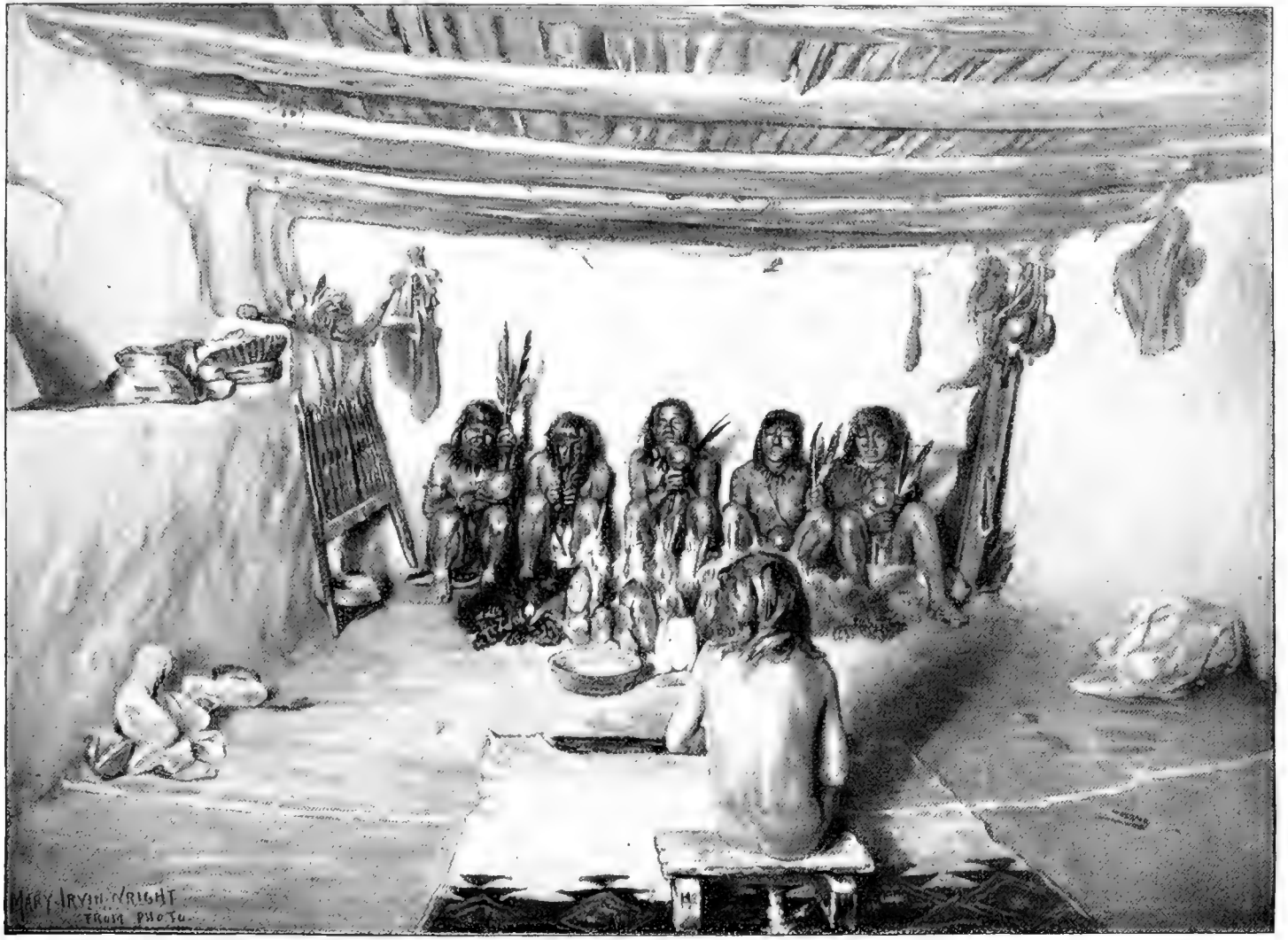
HO'-NA-AI-TE OF GIANT SOCIETY.

dancing for a moment he lifted another gourdful and emptied it into the medicine bowl, imploring the wolf of the east to exhort the cloud people to water the earth, when another gourdful immediately followed. After dancing for a time a gourdful was again dipped and waved toward the altar, then upward, with a call upon the eagle of the heaven to invoke the cloud people to water the earth, and immediately another gourdful of water was emptied into the bowl. Again dancing awhile, a gourdful was waved toward the altar and emptied into the bowl, with a call upon the shrew of the earth to implore the cloud people to water the earth, and again a gourdful was emptied into the bowl. The song closed as the last gourd of water was poured into the bowl and the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi resumed his seat. The woman returned the vase to the west end of the room, and taking a small medicine bag from before the altar, she untied it and handed it to the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi. The men and the girl then took similar bags from before the altar, and the song again began in a low tone to the accompaniment of the rattle. Each member, taking a pinch of corn pollen from his medicine bag, threw it upon the altar and into the medicine bowl, giving a peculiar cry, it being an invocation to the cloud people to gather and water the earth, the woman and child not failing to throw in their share of pollen, raising their voices to the highest pitch as they petitioned the cloud people to water the earth. All then proceeded to take meal from the meal bowl before the altar and throw it into the medicine bowl, continuing their entreaties to the cloud people to water the earth. Six times the meal was thrown into the bowl with invocations to the cloud people. They then returned to their seats, having first deposited the medicine bags before the altar.

The ti'ämoni took from a bear leg skin six small pebble fetiches, handing one to each man, who in turn passed it to the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi. This recipient advanced to the front of the altar and danced to the music of the choir, and waving his left hand over the altar he dropped a fetich into the medicine bowl, at the same time waving the eagle plumes and rattle which he held in his right hand. After dancing awhile he dropped a fetich from his right hand into the medicine water, and, continuing to dance, he let fall the remaining four fetiches alternately from the left and right hand. Each time a fetich was dropped he gave a weird animal-like growl, which was a call upon the prey animals of the cardinal points to exhort the cloud people to gather and water the earth that she might be fruitful. He then returned to his seat, but almost immediately arose and, standing for a moment, advanced to the front of the altar, stirred the medicine water with the eagle plumes he held in the left hand and sprinkled the offerings by striking the plumes on the top with the rattle, held in the right hand. The sprinkling was repeated four times while the cloud people were invoked to water the earth; as the plumes were struck the fourth time the choir stood and sang and the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi again dipped

this plumes into the medicine water and sprinkled the altar. The ho'naaite then leaning forward dipped his plumes into the water and sprinkled the altar with a weird call for the cloud people to gather and water the earth that she might be fruitful. Then each member repeated the sprinkling of the altar with a similar prayer, the little girl being quite as enthusiastic as the others, straining her voice to the utmost capacity as she implored the cloud people to gather. The men struck the plumes in their left hands with the rattles held in their right, and the woman and child struck the wand held in the left hand with the one held in the right. Each person repeated the sprinkling of the altar successively six times, with appeals to the animals of the cardinal points. After each sprinkling the sprinkler returned to his place in the line. Thus the choir was at no time deficient in more than one of its number. At the conclusion of the sprinkling a stanza was sung and the altar was again sprinkled six times by each member; in this instance, however, the choir was grouped before the altar, the ho'naaite alone being seated back of it absorbed in song. After the sprinkling the choir returned to the line and joined the ho'naaite in the chant and at its conclusion he sprinkled the altar four times. He did not leave his seat, but leaned forward and dipped his plumes into the medicine water. The ti'ämoni then advanced from the south end of the line and the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi from the north end and sprinkled toward the cardinal points, by passing along the line of meal as heretofore described, the sprinkling being repeated twice. The ti'ämoni returned to his seat and the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi removed the bowl of medicine water, placing it before the fetiches and on the line of meal and stooping with bended knees and holding his two eagle plumes and a ya'ya in his left hand he administered the medicine water to all present, the girl receiving the first draught from an abalone shell. The woman was served next, some being given to the infant she held in her arms, the ho'naaite receiving the last draught. Taking the ya'ya from the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi he drew it to his breast and then returned it to the ya'ni^{t}siwittänñi, he receiving it in his left hand and lifting the bowl with both hands he left the house and filling his mouth from the bowl threw the medicine water through his teeth to the cardinal points, and returning placed the bowl and ya'ya in position before the altar.

The ho'naaite gathering the hä'chamoni in his left hand and taking a pinch of meal with his right, stooped before the altar and south of the meal line and offered a silent prayer, and, after sprinkling the altar and hä'chamoni, he divided the offerings, holding a portion in either hand. The ti'ämoni and a companion then stooped north of the line of meal and facing the ho'naaite, clasped his hands with their right hands, holding their eagle plumes in their left and responded to a low litany offered by the ho'naaite, who afterwards drawing a breath from the plumes laid them upon the blankets over their left arms, the two men having wrapped their blankets about them before advancing to the



SICK BOY IN CEREMONIAL CHAMBER OF GIANT SOCIETY.

ho'naaite. They then left the ceremonial chamber and walked a long distance through the darkness to deposit the offerings at a shrine of the Ko'pĭshtaia. The remaining members talked in undertones until the return of the absent ones, who, upon entering the chamber, stood before the altar and offered a prayer which was responded to by the ho'naaite. All the members then gathered before the altar and asked that their prayers might be answered. The woman and girl arranged bowls of food in line midway the room and south of the meal line and the feast closed the ceremonial at 2 o'clock. a. m.

FOUR NIGHTS' CEREMONIAL OF THE GIANT SOCIETY FOR THE HEALING OF A SICK BOY.

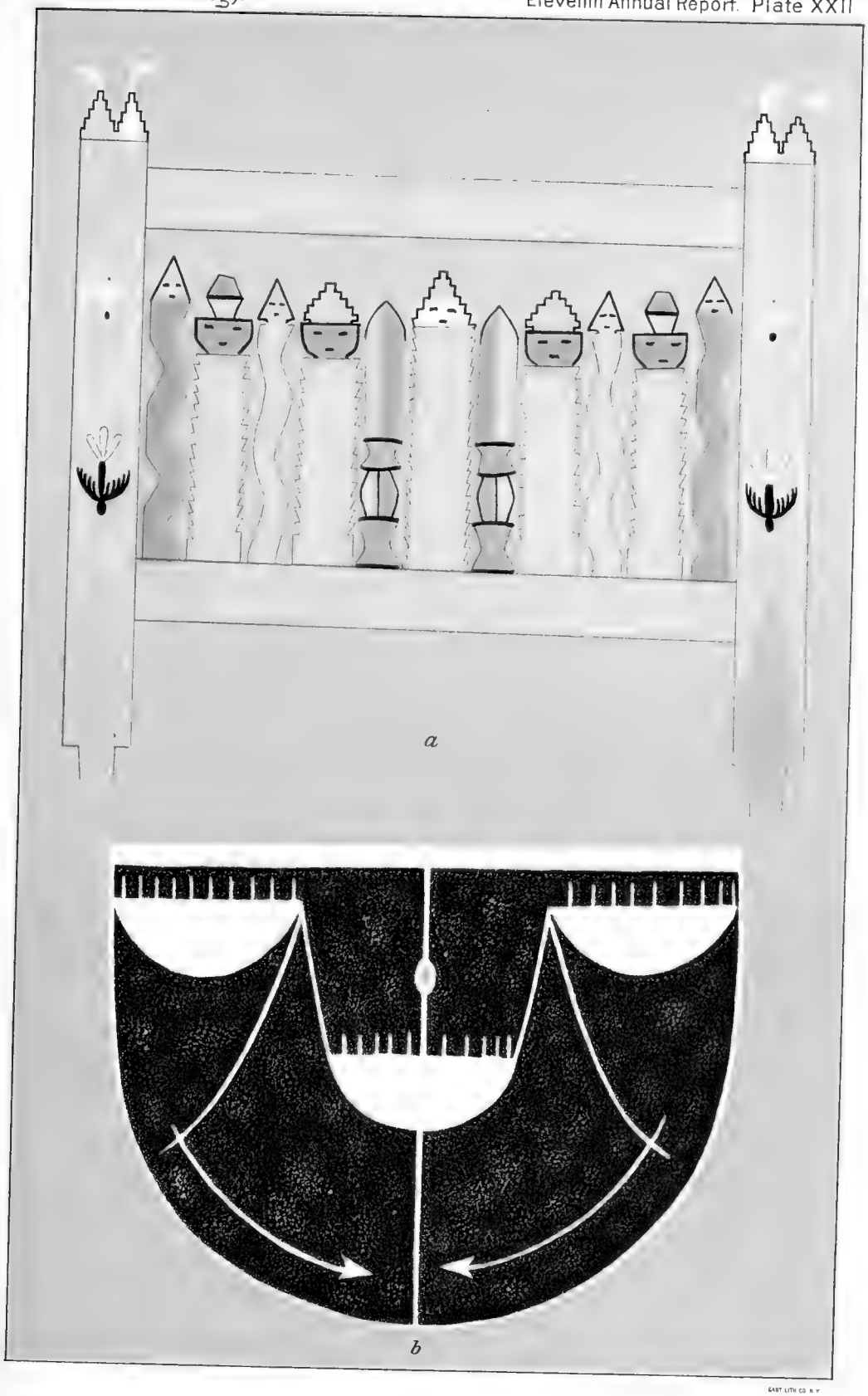
The night succeeding the ceremonial of the Sko'-yo Chai'-ăn (Giant Society) for rain the assembly began its ritualistic observances, which continue four consecutive nights, for the curing of the sick by the brushing process. During the afternoon a sand-painting was made in the east end of the room (compare sand-painting Giant Society, (Pl. XVIII*b*); ya'ya and stone fetiches were grouped upon the painting; a medicine bowl was placed before the ya'ya; bear-leg skins were deposited on either side of the fetiches and a white embroidered sacred Tusayan blanket was folded and laid by the bear-leg skins south of the painting. The five male members of the medicine division of the society had refreshments served early in the evening by the female members, and after supper the ti'ămoni, who is a member of the medicine division, placed a bowl of stewed meat and a basket of bread near the painting; the remainder of the food was stored in the northwest corner of the room for future consumption.

The five men formed in line back of the fetiches, the ho'naaite being the central figure; they had scarcely taken their seats, however, before the ti'ămoni brought a vase of water and a gourd from the west end of the room and set it before the sand-painting and returned to his seat; the ho'naaite, advancing, dipped six gourdfuls of water, emptying each one into the medicine bowl.[1]

The ho'naaite then passing to the north side of the painting stooped with bended knees, holding in his left hand two eagle plumes, and repeated a low prayer; then, taking a small piece of the bread, he dipped it into the stew and scattered it before the fetiches; and, taking more bread and a bit of the meat, he left the ceremonial chamber and threw the food as an offering to the animals of the cardinal points. The ti'ămoni then returned the bowl of meat and basket of bread to the far end of the room. Upon the return of the ho'naaite his vicar spread the Tusayan blanket upon the floor, some 5 feet in front of the painting. He next sprinkled a line of meal from the edge of the blanket nearest

[1] Female members are never present at the ceremonial of brushing with straws and feathers, and therefore the ya'ya belonging to the woman and child were not to be seen on this occasion, and neither did the one captured from the Navajo appear.

the painting to the bear fetich, which stood foremost on the painting; thence across the blanket and along the floor to the entrance on the south side and near the west end of the chamber; again, beginning at the center of the blanket he sprinkled a line of meal across the blanket to the south edge, and beginning again at the center he sprinkled a line of meal to the north edge and continued this line to the north wall. Then beginning at the line ending at the south of the blanket, he ran it out to the south wall (these four lines being symbolic of the four winds), and placed the bowl of meal in front of the painting and north of the line of meal. The meal having become somewhat exhausted, the pottery meal bowl was replaced by an Apache basket, containing a quantity of fresh meal, ground by a woman in an adjoining room, where a portion of the family had already retired. The basket of meal was received from the woman by the ti′ämoni, who stood to her left side while she ground the corn in the ordinary family mill. The remainder of the contents of the pottery meal bowl was emptied into the Apache basket, the portion from the bowl being deemed sufficient in quantity to lend a sacred character to the freshly ground meal. The ho′naaite then fastened about his neck a string of bears' claws with a small reed whistle, having two soft white eagle plumes tied to the end, attached midway, which he took from a pile of bear-leg skins, having first waved the necklace around the white bear fetich, which stood to the front of the painting. Each member of the society then put on a similar necklace; two of the members fastened amulets around their upper right arms and two around their left arms. The ho′naaite rolled his blanket in a wad and sat upon it. The other members made similar cushions. The ti′ämoni, whose seat was at the south end of the line, crossed to the north side of the room, and taking a bit of red pigment rubbed it across his face and returned to his seat, each member rubbing a bit of galena across the forehead, across the face below the eyes, and about the lower part of the face. The paint was scarcely perceptible. It was put on to insure the singing of the song correctly. The ti′ämoni again crossed the room, and taking from the north ledge a bunch of corn husks, he handed them to the man who sat next to him, who was careful to manipulate them under his blanket, drawn around him. The writer thinks that they were made into funnels, in which he placed tiny pebbles from ant hills. The vice-ho′naaite, at the north end of the line, left the room, and during his absence the ho′naaite, taking a bunch of straws which lay by the bear-leg skins, divided it into five parts, giving a portion to each one present. He reserved a share for the absent member, who returned in a short time, bearing the sick child in his arms, being careful to walk on the line of meal; he set the child upon a low stool placed on the broad band of embroidery of the blanket. (Pl. XXI) The man then handed the basket of meal to the child, who, obeying the instructions of the vice-ho′naaite, took a pinch and threw it toward the altar with a few words



ALTAR AND SAND PAINTING.
KNIFE SOCIETY.

of prayer to Ko'pĭshtaia. The vicar then returned to his seat, and the members, with eagle plumes and straws in their left hands and rattles in their right, began the ritual; they were nine minutes singing the first stanza, which was sung slowly and in very low tones, and at its close each one drew a breath from the eagle plumes and straws. The second stanza was sung louder and faster. The monotony of the song was broken by an occasional animal-like call, which was a request to the cougar of the north to give them power over the angry ants. The child was afflicted with a severe sore throat, caused by ants having entered his body when he was in the act of micturition upon their house, and ascending they located in his throat. After the second stanza the ho'naaite blew first on the right side of the child, then on his back, his left side, and his breast; the other members continuing the song to the accompaniment of the rattle. When he took his seat, the ti'ämoni and the man who sat next to him each drew a breath from their eagle plumes and straws, and dipping them into the medicine water, each one extended his plumes to the child, who drew a breath from them. The two men then resumed their seats. The ho'naaite, again dipping his plumes in the medicine water, passed the ends through the ti'ämoni's mouth, and afterwards through the mouth of each member, the plumes being dipped each time into the bowl of medicine water. The men were occupied a few moments in drawing something from several of the bear-leg skins. All except the ho'naaite gathered around the altar, dancing and gesticulating in excessive excitement and blowing upon the whistles suspended from their necklaces. They constantly dipped their eagle plumes into the medicine water, throwing their arms vehemently about, sprinkling the altar and touching the animal fetiches with their plumes, and then placing the plumes to the mouths, absorbing from them the sacred breath of the animal. The ho'naaite with bowed head continued his invocations to the cougar of the north, seemingly unconscious of all that was going on about him. After maneuvering before the altar, the four men performed similar extravagances about the child, one of the men standing him in the center of the blanket, careful to place the boy's feet in diagonal angles formed by the meal lines. Then the four left the room, carrying with them the material taken from the bear-leg skins. The ho'naaite did not cease shaking the rattle and singing during the absence of the four, who visited the house of the sick boy to purify it. Upon returning to the ceremonial room they threw their arms aloft, waving their plumes above them and then about the child, singing and growling, after which they resumed their seats in line with the ho'naaite, and joined him in the song to the accompaniment of rattles. After a few moments these four men and the ho'naaite surrounded the boy; the ho'naaite standing at the northeast corner of the blanket, and the ti'ämoni at the southeast corner, while the others formed a semicircle behind the boy. They all waved plumes and straws in their

left hands over the invalid boy, and passed them simultaneously down his body from head to feet, striking the plumes and straws with rattles which they held in their right hands; and as the plumes and straws were moved down the boy's body ants in any quantity were supposed to be brushed off the body, while in reality tiny pebbles were dropped upon the blanket; but the conjuration was so perfect the writer could not tell how or whence they were dropped, although she stood close to the group and under a bright light from a lamp she had placed on the wall for the purpose of disclosing every detail. The tiny nude boy standing upon the white embroidered blanket, being brushed with the many eagle plumes, struck with their rattles by five beautifully formed Indians, was the most pleasing scene of this dramatic ceremonial. The brushing of the child with the plumes was repeated six times, and he was then backed off the blanket over the line of meal and set upon the stool, which had been removed from the blanket, and was afterward given a pinch of meal and told to stand and look at the ants which had been extracted from his body, and to sprinkle the meal upon them. After this sprinkling he resumed his seat upon the stool. The ho'naaite stooped with bended knees at the northeast corner of the blanket and whispered a prayer and sprinkled the blanket. Each member with eagle plumes sprinkled the blanket with meal and carefully brushed together all the material which had fallen on the floor instead of the blanket, after which the ti'ämoni gathered the corners together, waved it over the child's head, and left the room with it. All sat perfectly quiet, holding their rattles, eagle plumes, and straws in their right hands during the absence of the ti'ämoni. Upon his return he waved the folded blanket twice toward the group of fetiches and toward himself, then passed it twice around the child's head, and finally laid it upon the pile of bear-leg skins at the south side of the painting. The child, who was ill and burning with fever, was led by the vice ho'naaite to the fetiches, which he sprinkled with meal, and was carried from the chamber and through an outer room to his mother at the entrance.

The ho'naaite is not supposed to leave the ceremonial chamber throughout the four days and nights, as he must guard the animal fetiches and medicine. The other members are also supposed to spend much of the day and all of the night in watching the fetiches; but the writer is of the opinion that they all go to sleep after the feast, which is enjoyed as soon as the child leaves the chamber.

The only variation in the ceremonial on the second night was that the vicar dipped the bit of bread into the bowl of stew and scattered it to the animal fetiches, having previously lifted ashes from the fireplace and sprinkled the altar with them by striking the plume held in the left hand on the under side with the plume held in the right; then holding the plumes between his hands he repeated a long and scarcely audible prayer. After scattering the food to the animal fetiches, he



ALTAR OF KNIFE SOCIETY, PHOTOGRAPHED DURING CEREMONIAL.

dipped a piece of bread into the stew, left the house and threw the food to the cardinal points, as the ho'naaite had done the previous night, and, returning, removed the bowl of stew and basket of bread to the northwest corner of the room. He then swept the floor with his two eagle plumes, beginning some 18 inches in front of the altar (the line of meal remaining perfect to this point) to the point where the blanket was to be placed, and then laid the blanket and made the meal lines, the change in the drawing of these lines being that the line was begun at the line of meal which extended in front of the altar and ran over the blanket to the entrance of the room; then beginning in the center of the blanket, the line was extended across to the north wall, and again beginning in the center, a line was run across to the south wall. The writer mentions this deviation in the drawing of the meal lines, though she believes it was a mere matter of taste on the part of the worker. Instead of the vice ho'naaite receiving the child at the outer entrance, the man who sat between him and the ho'naaite brought the child into the room, and he was led out by the ti'ämoni. Upon this occasion, and on the third and fourth nights, the child walked into and out of the room, an indication that he was in better physical condition than on the first night of the ceremony. The songs on the second night were addressed to the bear of the west instead of the cougar of the north. The child did not seem to move a muscle throughout the ceremony, except when he stepped to his position on the blanket.

The scenes on the third and fourth nights were coincident with those of the second, with a few variations. The man who sat between the ho'naaite and his vicar dipped the ashes with his plumes and sprinkled the altar, and, returning to his seat, the vicar laid the blanket and sprinkled the meal lines in the same manner as on the previous night; he also procured the child. When dancing before the altar two men wore bear-leg skins on their left arms, and two others wore them on their right arms. It was noticed that the skins were drawn over the arms upon which the amulets were worn. Their dancing and incantations were even more turbulent and more weird than on the two former nights.

The songs the third night were addressed to the badger of the south and on the fourth to the wolf of the east.

RAIN CEREMONIAL OF THE KNIFE SOCIETY.

While the ho'naaite and his vicar sat during the morning making hä'chamoni they rehearsed in undertones the songs of their cult. The membership of this society consists at the present time of five men and two boys, and two novitiates, a man and a boy.

The sun was far to the west when the members came straggling in and the ho'naaite proceeded to set up the slat altar (Pl. XXII *a*). Then each man took from the wall a soiled buckskin sack. The well-wrapped ya'ya was first taken out and then other fetiches. After the ho'naaite

hâd unwrapped his ya'ya he prepared the sand painting in front of the altar (Pl. XXII *b*). The five ya'ya were stood on the line specially made for them and a miniature bow and arrow laid before each ya'ya. The ho'naaite then grouped fetiches of human and animal forms, then the medicine bowl containing water and a basket of sacred meal. He then drew a line of meal which extended from the slat altar to a distance of 3 feet beyond the group of fetiches, his vicar afterwards assisting him with the additional fetiches. Two stone cougars 2 feet in length each were stood up on either side of the group. A cougar 12 inches long, with lightning cut in relief on either side, and a concretion, were then deposited before the group. Bear-leg skins were piled high

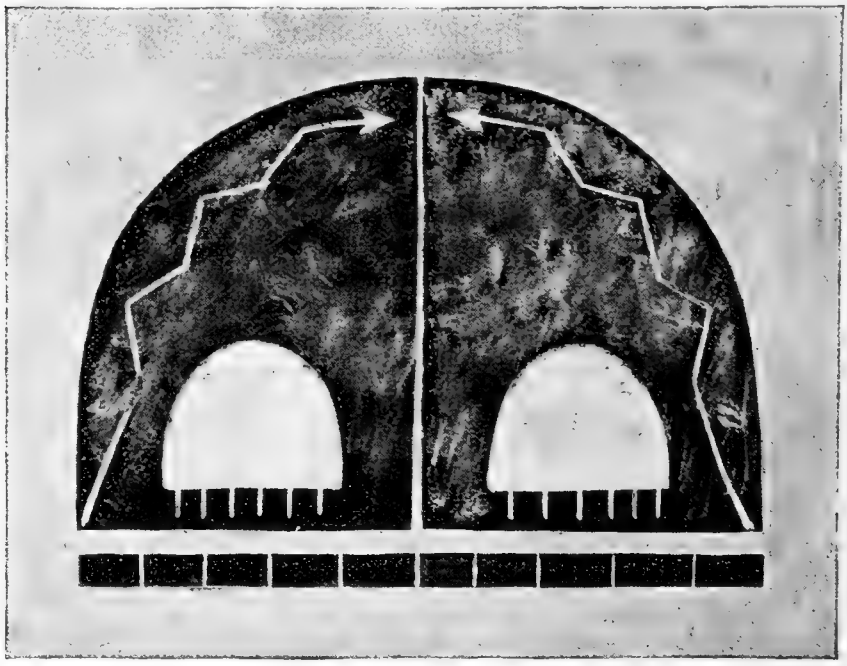
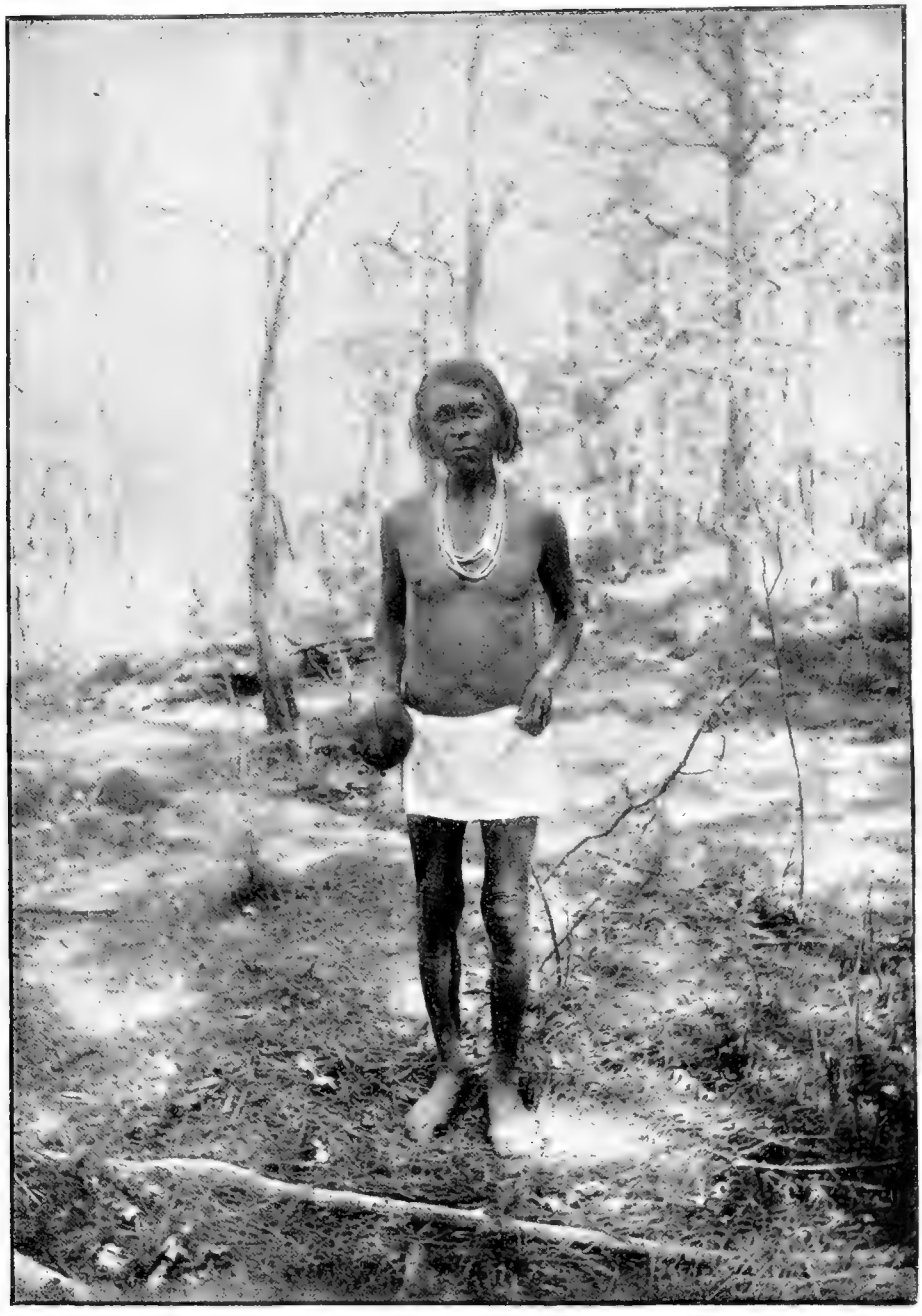


FIG. 17.—Sand painting as indicated in Pl. XXV.

on either side of the altar. The cloud bowl and reed were added, the two flat baskets of hä'chamoni and plume offerings shown in the sketch were afterwards deposited upon the backs of the cougars. While this arrangement was in progress the minor members returned the powdered kaolin and black pigment to the ancient pottery vases, from which they had been taken to prepare the sand-painting.

The ho'naaite consecrated the bowl of water by a prayer, and dropping in the six fetiches he dipped his eagle plumes into the water and striking them on the top with his rattle, sprinkled the altar; holding the plumes in the left hand and the rattle in the right, he sprinkled the cardinal points. The vicar formed a circle of meal, then sprinkled



HO'-NA-AI-TE OF KNIFE SOCIETY.

meal upon the circle and placed a cincture pad of yucca upon it, and holding the cloud bowl high above his head, he invoked the cloud people of the north, west, south, east, zenith, and nadir, and of the whole world, to water the earth. The bowl was then set upon the pad and a reed 8 inches long laid across it from northeast to southwest. The vice ho'naaite spread a small cloth and upon it reduced the bit of root which was to produce the suds to a powder, which he placed in a little heap in front of the cloud bowl. The ho'naaite, who had left the chamber, now returned with a parrot and a white stone bear 12 inches long; the bear was wrapped in a large fine white buckskin and the parrot was under the ho'naaite's blanket. These were deposited before the altar (Pl. XXIII).



FIG. 18.—Sand painting used in ceremonial for sick by Ant Society.

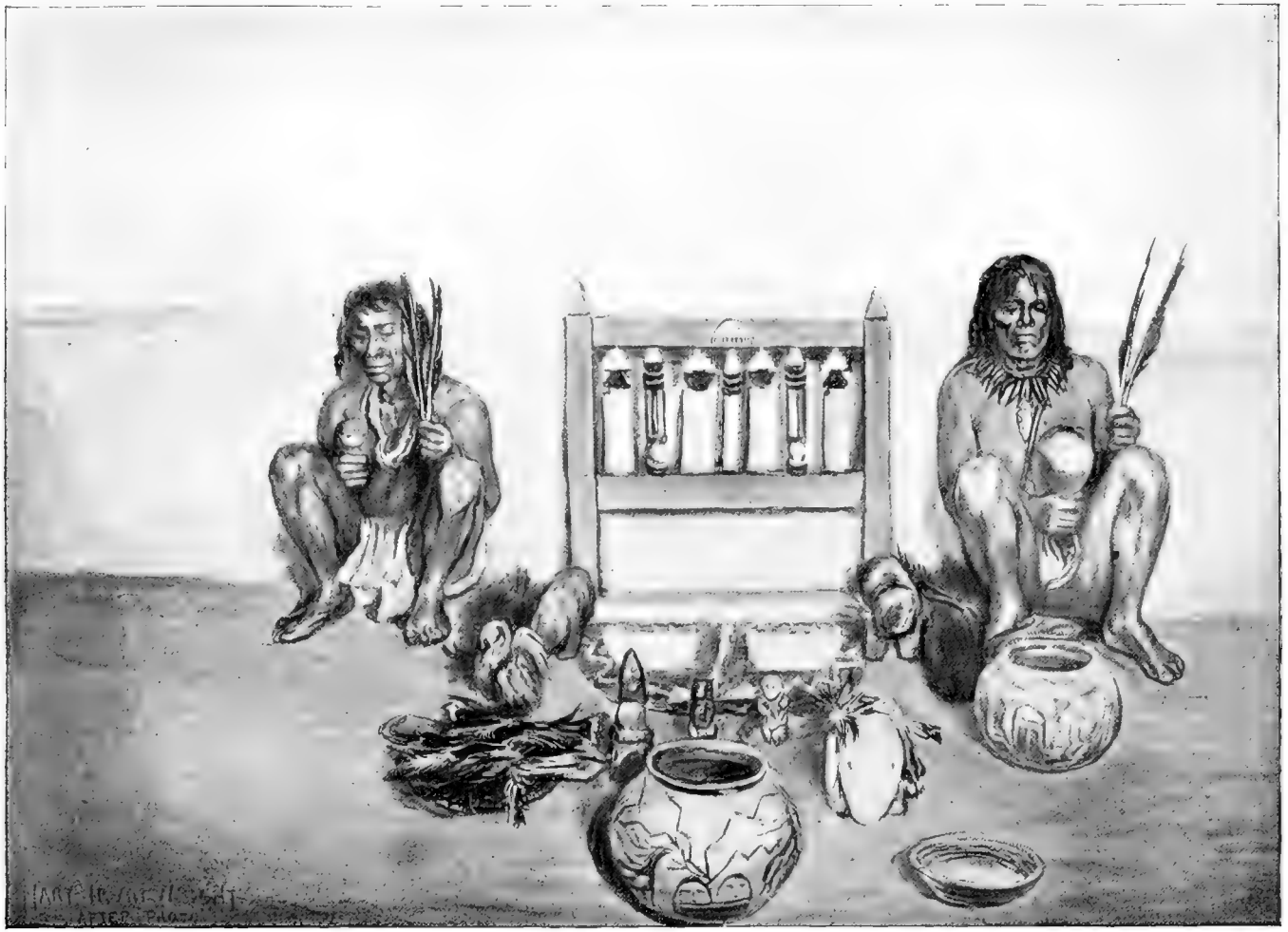
The ho'naaite (Pl. XXIV) stooped and, praying, sprinkled corn pollen upon the bear and parrot. The bear and the bird had eagle plumes attached to their necks with cotton cord. Those on the bear were on the top of the neck and those of the parrot hung under the beak. After the prayer the ho'naaite lighted a cigarette of native tobacco and corn husk from a stick some 5 feet long, held by a boy member, and puffed the smoke over the bear and parrot. He then extended the cigarette over the altar, afterwards waving it to the cardinal points. The vicar and boy sprinkled the bear and parrot with pollen from an abalone shell and the vicar dipped his eagle plumes into the medicine bowl and sprinkled them four times, then the altar, by striking the plumes with the rattle held in his right hand. The ho'naaite then puffed smoke into the cloud bowl and over the bear and parrot, and extended his cigarette to the cardinal points, and over the altar. The vicar lighted a similar cigarette from the long stick held by the boy, and standing to the west of the altar blew smoke over it, the ho'naaite standing and smoking to the right of him. The vicar laid the end of his cigarette by the cloud bowl and to the east of the line of the meal. The shell of corn pollen was then placed back of the altar and the

ho'naaite's eagle plumes and rattle laid beside it; a prayer before the altar by all the members closed the afternoon ceremony.

It will be noticed that the slat altar in Pl. XXV differs from that in Pl. XXIII. Both belong to the Knife Society and may be seen hanging side by side on the wall in the ceremonial chamber of the Quer'ränna, (Pl. XXVIII) which is also the official chamber of the Knife Society. The second was made in case of failure of the first. The vicar of this society is also ho'naaite and only surviving member of the Ant Society, and he, being anxious that the writer should see the sand painting of the Ant Society, prepared the painting for this occasion instead of the ho'naaite (Fig. 17). He also drew her a sketch of the painting of Ant Society for ceremonial held for the sick, which is here introduced (Fig. 18). This last may be described as follows:

a represents meal painting emblematic of the clouds, *b* and *c* bear-leg skins laid either side of it. The remainder of painting is in sand. *d:* Ant chief clad in buckskin fringed down the arms and legs; he carries lightning in his left hand; his words pass straight from his mouth, as indicated by a line, to the invalid *e*, who sits at the opening of the ceremonial to the right of the painting. The ant chief speaks that the malady may leave the invalid. A song of this character is sung by the members of the society. The invalid then passes to the front of the altar and stands upon a sacred Tusayan blanket (position indicated by *f*), when the ho'naaite and other members o fthe society proceed with their incantations over him, imploring the prey animals to draw the ants to the surface of the body. When the ants have appeared and been brushed from the body then a song is addressed to the eagle *g* to come and feed upon the ants. When the ants have been eaten by the eagle the invalid will be restored to health. The two circular spots *h* represent ant houses. These, with the paintings of the ant chief and eagle, are gathered into the blanket upon which the invalid stood and carried some distance north of the village and deposited. After the blanket has been taken from the chamber the meal painting is erased by the ho'naaite brushing the meal from each of the cardinal points to the center with his hand; he then rubs the invalid's body with the meal, after which the members hasten to rub their bodies with it, that they may be purified not only of any physical malady but of all evil thoughts.

When the writer entered the ceremonial chamber later in the evening food was being placed in line down the middle of the room. There were seven bowls, containing mutton stew, tortillas, waiavi, and hominy There was also a large pot of coffee and a bowl of sugar. The ho'naaite, standing to the east of the meal line, which extended from the altar to the entrance, repeated a long grace, after which one of the boy members gathered a bit of food from each vessel, and standing on the opposite side of the line of meal, handed the food to the ho'naaite, who received it in his left hand, having transferred his eagle plumes to the



ALTAR OF KNIFE SOCIETY, WITH HO'-NA-AI-TE AND VICE HO'-NA-AI-TE ON EITHER SIDE.

right. He then left the house, and throwing the food to the cardinal points, offered it to the animal Ko'pĭshtaia, with a prayer of intercession to the cloud people to gather, saying:

"Ko'pĭshtaia! Here is food, come and eat; Ko'pĭshtaia, Cougar of the North, receive this food; Bear of the West, receive this food; Badger of the South, we offer you food, take it and eat; Wolf of the East, we give you food; Eagle of the Heavens, receive this food; Shrew of the Earth, receive this food. When you eat, then you will be contented, and you will pass over the straight road [referring to the passing of the beings of the ko'pĭshtaia over the line of meal to enter the images of themselves]. We pray you to bring to us, and to all peoples, food, good health, and prosperity, and to our animals bring good health and to our fields large crops; and we pray you to ask the cloud people to come to water the earth."

Upon returning to the ceremonial chamber, the ho'naaite, standing before the altar, prays to Ma'asewe, Úyuuyewĕ, and the six warriors of the mountains of the cardinal points to protect them from all enemies who might come to destroy their peace; and, standing at the end of the line of food, he offers a prayer of thanksgiving, holding his eagle plumes in his left hand. He then rolls his blanket into a cushion, sits upon it west of the line of meal and smokes a cigarette. The food having been brought in by the wives of the members, all present drew around and enjoyed the feast. That the minor members felt at liberty to join with their elders was indicated by the way in which they proceeded to help themselves.

The war chief came into the room soon after the beginning of the meal, wrapped in a fine Navajo blanket, and carrying his bow and arrows. He stood in front of the altar, on the west side of the meal line, and prayed. The vice-ho'naaite administered to the war chief a draft of the medicine water which had been prepared in the afternoon, and then handed him the official staff of the society (a slender stick some 2 feet in length), which he held with his bow and arrows until the close of the ceremonial. The war chief sat for awhile at the south end of the room, and then left to patrol the town and to see that no one not privileged entered or came near the ceremonial chamber. After the meal was finished the three boys removed the bowls to another room, and, upon their return, one of them swept the middle of the floor, destroying most of the meal line, leaving but 2 feet of it undisturbed in front of the altar. This line, however, was renewed by the vice-ho'naaite, who carried two eagle feathers and the meal bowl in his left hand, while he sprinkled the meal with the right, not for the purpose of furnishing a road for the beings of pai'ätämo and ko'pĭshtaia to pass over, for they had previously come to the images of themselves, but that the songs might pass straight over and out of the house.

The men now indulged in a smoke. The writer never observed Sia boys smoking in these ceremonials or at any other time. The ciga-

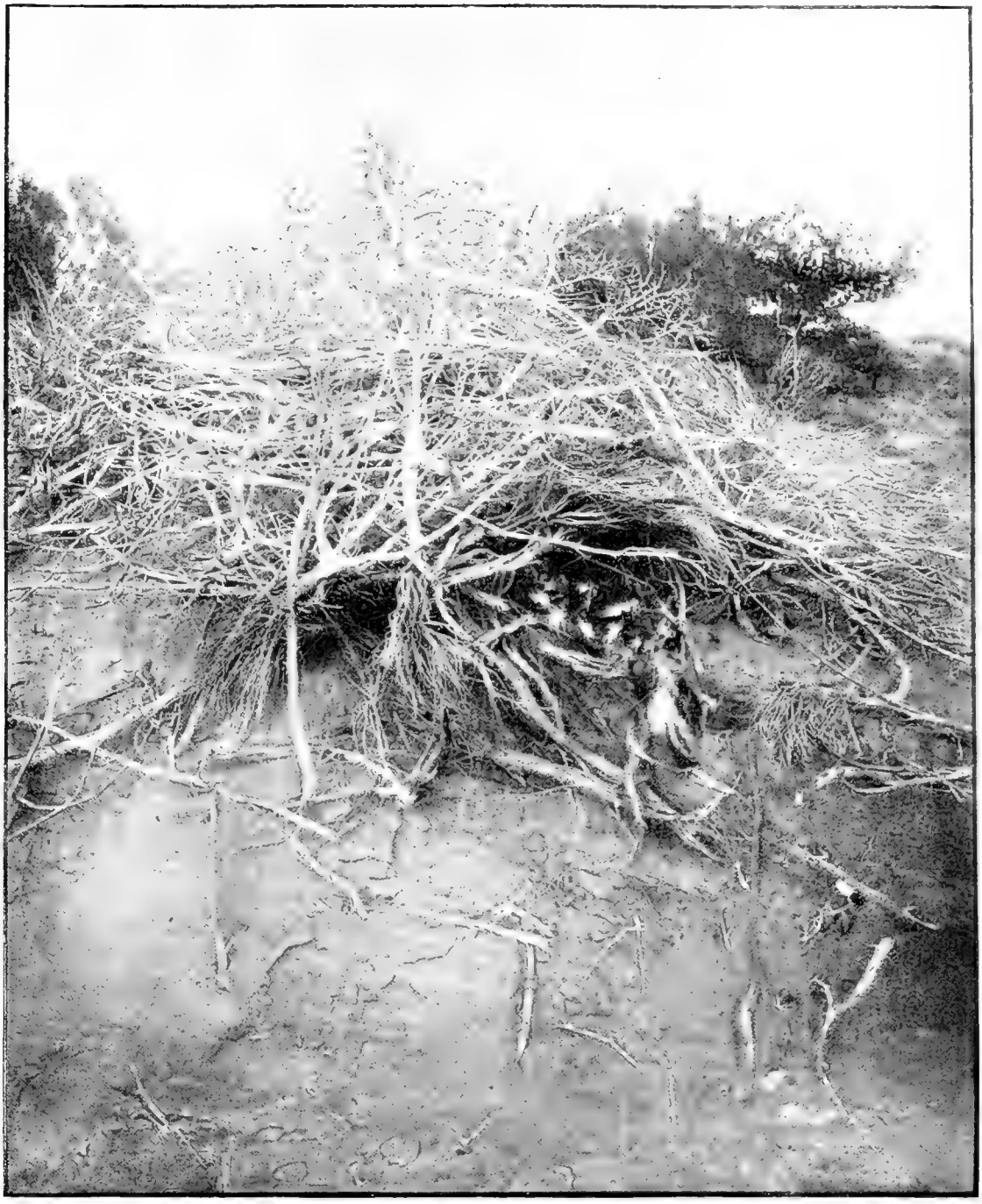
rettes were lighted from the long stick passed by one of the boys, and after smoking, the ho'naaite and his younger brother put on white cotton embroidered Tusayan kilts as breechcloths, which they took from a hook on the wall, those of the other members being plain white cotton. The ho'naaite now took his seat back of the altar and lighted a second cigarette from the long stick, blowing the smoke over the altar. This smoke was offered to Pai'ätämo and Ko'pĭshtaia, the ho'naaite saying: "I give this to you; smoke and be contented." He then administered medicine water to all present, dipping the water with a shell. The vice-ho'naaite, who received the last draft, drank directly from the bowl, and was careful not to leave a drop in it, after which the ho'naaite removed the six stone fetiches from the bowl. The process of preparing medicine water is substantially the same with all the cult societies, there not being in Sia nearly so much ceremony connected with this important feature of fetich worship as with the Zuñi and Tusayan. The six fetiches were returned to the buckskin bag and the ho'naaite resumed his seat behind the altar, the members and novitiates having already formed in line back of the altar, the official members each holding two eagle plumes in the left hand and a gourd rattle in the right. After a short prayer by the ho'naaite, the boy lifted ashes from the fireplace with his eagle plumes and placed them near the altar and east of the meal line; again he dipped a quantity, placing them west of the line of meal. As the chant opened, he stood west of the line and facing the altar, and an adult member stood on the east side, and each of them held an eagle plume in either hand and a gourd rattle also in the right. The boy dipped with the plumes the ashes which lay west of the line of meal and the man those which lay east of the line, and sprinkled toward the north by striking the plumes held in the left hand on the underside with the plume held in the right; again dipping the ashes, the boy sprinkled toward the west and the man toward the east; again lifting ashes, they passed to the south and sprinkled there; the boy then crossed to the east of the line of meal and the man to the west of the line, and when midway of the line the boy sprinkled to the east and the man to the west; then, dancing before the altar, they again lifted ashes and sprinkled to the north. When dancing, both eagle plumes were held in the left hand and the rattle in the right. Ashes were again lifted and thrown twice toward the zenith and then thrown to the nadir. The sprinkling to the cardinal points, zenith and nadir, was repeated fifteen times in the manner described, This was to carry off all impurities of the mind, that it might be pure; that the songs would come pure from the lips and pass straight over the road of meal—the one road. The man and boy having resumed their seats in the line, the vice-ho'naaite stood before the altar to the west side of the line of meal, shook his rattle for a moment or two, then waved it vertically in front of the altar, invoking the cloud people to come; he then waved the rattle from the west to the east, repeating

the weird exhortation, his body being kept in motion by the bending of his knees, his feet scarcely leaving the ground. The rattle was waved three times from the west to the east, and then waved toward the west and toward the altar, the east and to the altar; then, raising the rattle high above his head, he formed a circle. This waving of the rattle was repeated sixteen times. Previous to each motion he held the rattle perfectly still, resting it on the eagle plumes which he held in the left hand.

After the sixteenth repetition he waved the rattle over the altar. The song during this time is an appeal to the cloud people of the north, west, south, east, and all the cloud peoples of the world, to gather and send rain to water the earth, that all mankind may have the fruits of the earth. The vicar then stood to the right of the ho′naaite, and the choir, rising, continued to sing. The ho′naaite, leaning over the altar, took two of the central ya′ya, one in either hand, and alternately raised them, keeping time with the song, now and then extending the ya′ya over the altar. The young novitiate held neither rattle or plumes. The boy at the east end of the line, having passed through two degrees, held his rattle in the right hand and in his left a miniature crook. The vicar who stood at the right of the ho′naaite and the man who stood to his left moved their rattles and feathers in harmony with his motion, the three swaying their bodies back and forth and extending their arms outward and upward. About this time it was noticed that the boys at the east end of the line had fallen asleep, and it was more than the man who sat next to them could do to keep them awake, although he was constantly brushing their faces with his eagle plumes. This little scene was something of a picture, as the boy whose shoulder acted as a support for the head of the other is the son of one of the most prominent and richest men in the pueblo, the other boy being the pauper referred to. The stanzas in this song were much longer than any before heard by the writer, and each closed with a quick shake of the rattle. The song continued an hour and a quarter, when the singers took a few moments' rest, and again sang for thirty minutes; another few minutes' rest, and the song again continued. In this way it ran from half past 9 o'clock until midnight. At its close one of the boys brought a vase of water and a gourd from the southwest corner of the room and placed it near the altar and west of the line of meal. The ya′ni^{t}siwit-tänñi stood before the vase, and, lifting two gourdfuls of water, emptied them into the medicine bowl; emptying two gourdfuls, also, into the cloud bowl, he danced for a time before the altar, waving his plumes and rattle over it; he then emptied two more gourdfuls into the medicine bowl and two more into the cloud bowl, and resumed his dance. He did not sing while performing this part of the ceremony, but when emptying the water into the bowls he gave bird-like trills, calling for the cloud people to gather. Again he emptied two gourdfuls into the medicine bowl and two in the cloud bowl; and after dancing a moment

or two he poured two more gourdfuls into the medicine bowl and two into the cloud bowl, and resumed the dance; again he emptied a gourdful into the medicine bowl and two into the cloud bowl; then he emptied three into the medicine bowl and drank twice from the bowl, after which he returned to his seat in the line, the boy restoring the vase to the farther corner of the room. Two small medicine bags were handed to each member from the altar, one containing corn pollen and the other corn meal of six varieties of corn: yellow, blue, red, white, black, and variegated. The bags were held in the left hand with the eagle plumes, that hand being quiet, while the rattle was shaken with the right in accompaniment to the song. After singing a few minutes, pollen and meal taken from the medicine bags were sprinkled into the medicine bowl. The choir did not rise and pass to the altar, but leaned forward on either side; and with each sprinkling of the meal and pollen a shrill call was given for the cloud people to gather; the ho'naaite, in sprinkling in his pollen, reached over the altar slats. The sprinkling of the pollen was repeated four times, the novitiates taking no part in this feature of the ceremony, although they were provided with the bags of pollen and meal. The ya'ni'siwittänñi danced before the altar and west of the line of meal without rattle or plumes, but continually hooted as he waved his hands wildly over the altar and dropped pebble fetiches alternately into the medicine and cloud bowls, until each bowl contained six fetiches; then, reaching behind the altar for his rattle and eagle plumes, he held an eagle plume and rattle in the right hand and an eagle plume in the left, and stirred the water and sprinkled the altar; then he stirred the water in the cloud bowl with the reed, and sprinkled the altar with it. The sprinkling of the altar from the medicine bowl and the cloud bowl was repeated six times.

After each sprinkling a quick shake of the rattle was given. The ho'naaite then reached over the altar slats, taking a ya'ya in either hand, and all stood and sang. In a moment the man to the right of the ho'naaite leaned over the west side of the altar, and, dipping his plumes in the medicine water, sprinkled the altar; he repeated the sprinkling four times, and when the two ya'ya were returned to the altar the ho'naaite dipped his eagle plumes into the medicine water, and sprinkled the altar by striking them on the top with the rattle held in the right hand. Each member then sprinkled the altar four times, with a wild exhortation to the cloud people, all apparently exhibiting more enthusiasm when sprinkling the altar than at any other time during the ceremonial. When the song closed two of the boys proceeded to prepare cigarettes, taking their places before the fireplace, and, tearing off bits of corn husks of the proper size, they made them pliable by moistening them with saliva. One boy made his cigarettes of native tobacco, which he took from an old cloth hanging on the wall; the other filled his with commercial tobacco. As the boys made cigarettes they tied them with ribbons of corn husks, simply to keep them



SHRINE OF KNIFE SOCIETY.

in shape until the smokers were ready. The remaining native tobacco was returned to the old cloth and put in place upon the wall. About the time the boys had finished preparing the cigarettes, the vice-ho'naaite took his seat on his wadded blanket, in front of the cloud bowl and west of the line of meal. The man at the east end of the line dipped his eagle plumes into the ashes, holding a plume in either hand and striking the one held in the left hand on the under side with the plume held in the right, he sprinkled the head of the vicar, who was offering a silent prayer, and at the same moment the song opened to the accompaniment of the rattle. Previous to the vicar leaving the line, the ho'naaite removed a white fluffy eagle feather from one of the ya'ya, to which it had been attached with a white cotton cord, and tied it to the forelock of the vicar, who put into the cloud bowl the powdered root which was to produce the froth; then dipping the reed into corn pollen he sprinkled the altar. He placed a pinch of pollen into the upper end of the reed, and, turning that into the water, he put a pinch into the other end, and touched the four cardinal points of the cloud bowl with the corn pollen, and made bubbles by holding the hollow reed in the center of the bowl and blowing through it. This operation lasted but a few moments, when he began stirring the water with the reed, moving it from right to left, and never raising the lower end to the surface of the water, producing a beautiful egg-like froth. Not satisfied with its rising high above the bowl, he did not cease manipulating until the suds had completely covered it, so that nothing could be seen but a mass of snowy froth; fifteen minutes of continual stirring was required to produce this effect. He then stood the reed in the center of the froth, and holding an eagle plume in each hand danced before the altar vehemently gesticulating. He dipped suds with his two plumes and threw them toward the altar, with a wild cry, and again dipping suds he threw them over the altar to the north; a like quantity was thrown to the west, and the same to the south, the east, the zenith, and the nadir. He then dipped a quantity, and placing some on the head of the white bear and putting some over the parrot, he resumed his seat on the blanket and began blowing through the reed and beating the suds. In five minutes he stood the reed as before in the center of the bowl, then, dancing, he dipped the suds, placing them on the head of the bear and over the parrot; he then removed the remaining suds from the plumes by striking one against the other over the bowl (this froth is always referred to by the Sia as clouds). During this part of the ceremony the choir sang an exhortation to the cloud peoples. A boy now handed a cigarette of native tobacco to the vicar, who puffed the smoke for some time, extending the cigarette to the north; smoking again, he blew the smoke to the west, and extended the cigarette to that point; this was repeated to the south and east; when he had consumed all but an inch of the cigarette, he laid it in front of the cloud bowl and east of the meal line. The

choir did not cease singing during the smoking, and when the bit of cigarette had been deposited, the vicar transferred his rattle to his right hand, keeping time with the choir. When the song closed he left his seat in front of the cloud bowl and stood by the west side of the altar, and removing the eagle plume from his head returned it to the ya'ya and took his seat near the fireplace. Two of the boys then lighted cigarettes of native tobacco with the long firestick, handing one to each member.

In fifteen minutes the song was resumed and the man west of the ho'naaite dipped his eagle plumes in the medicine water and sprinkled the altar, repeating the sprinkling four times. In twenty-five minutes the song closed and the men enjoyed a social smoke, each man after lighting his cigarette waving it towards the altar. In twenty-five minutes the choir again sang, two boys standing in front of the altar, one on either side of the line of meal. The one on the west side of the line dipped his plumes into the medicine water and sprinkled the altar, and the one on the east side of the line dipped his crook into the medicine water and sprinkled the altar. They then dipped into the cloud bowl and threw the suds to the north; dipping suds again the boy west of the line threw the suds to the west, and the one east of the line threw the suds to the east; again dipping medicine water they passed to the south and threw the water to that point, the boy west of the meal line crossed to the east, and the one on the east of the line of meal crossed to the west, and returning to the altar they dipped suds, the boy to the west of the line throwing suds in that direction, and the boy east of the line throwing suds to that point; again dipping the medicine water they sprinkled to the zenith, and dipping the suds they threw them to the nadir; then the boy on the west of the line crossed to the east, and the one on the east of the line crossed to the west, and thus reversing positions they repeated the sprinkling of the cardinal points, zenith and nadir, twelve times, dipping alternately into the medicine water and the cloud bowl. With the termination of the sprinkling the song ceased for a moment, and by command of the ho'naaite the boys, each taking a basket of hä'chamoni, which were resting on the backs of the cougar fetiches either side of the altar, stood in front of the altar, one on the west side of the meal line and the other on the east, and holding the baskets in their left hands shook their rattles; they then held the basket with both hands, moving them in time to the song and rattles of the choir. The ho'naaite directed them to wave the baskets to the north, west, south, and east, to the zenith and the nadir; this they repeated twelve times and then deposited the baskets either side of the cloud bowl, and the vicar placed the bowl of medicine water two feet in front of the cloud bowl, on the line of meal, and taking one of the ya'ya in his left hand, he passed east of the line and, stooping low, he stirred the medicine water with an abalone shell, and then passed his hand over the ya'ya and drew a breath from it.



SHRINE OF KNIFE SOCIETY.

The man at the west end of the line of worshipers now came forward and the vicar gave him a drink of the medicine water, then the man at the east end of the line received a draft. The boy who threw the suds with the plumes came next, and following him the boy (the pauper) who held the miniature crook; then the third boy advanced and drank; the man on the left of the ho'naaite following next, the ho'naaite came forward; he did not receive the water from the shell, but drank directly from the bowl; the vicar holding the bowl with his right hand placed it to the ho'naaite's lips, the ho'naaite clasping the ya'ya, which was held in the left hand of the vicar; he then taking the bowl with his right hand and clasping the ya'ya with his left, held it to the lips of the vicar, who afterwards left the room, carrying with him the remainder of the medicine water and the ya'ya. He passed into the street and, filling his mouth with the water, he threw a spray through his teeth to the north, west, south, and east, the zenith and the nadir and then to all the world, that the cloud people might gather and water the earth. In a short time he returned and placed the bowl and ya'ya before the altar. The shell was laid east of the line of meal and in front of the cloud bowl. A cigarette was then handed the ho'naaite and, after blowing the first few puffs over the altar, he finished it without further ceremony, and taking the two baskets of plume offerings in either hand he stooped with bended knees a short distance in front of the altar and west of the line of meal. The two minor members wrapped their blankets around them and stooped before the ho'naaite on the opposite side of the meal line. The ho'naaite divided the offerings between the two, placing them on the blanket where it passed over the left arm; these offerings were to Pai'ăt̃ămo and Ko'pĭshtaia, and were deposited by the boys at the shrines of Kopĭshtaia (Pls. XXVI and XXVII). Food was now brought in by the boy novitiate, and with the feast the society adjourned at 3 o'clock in the morning.

The Society of the Quer'räuna has a reduced membership of three—the ho'naaite, vicar, and a woman; and there is at the present time a novitiate, a boy of 5 years. Three generations are represented in this society—father, son, and grandson. The elder man is one of the most aged in Sia, and, though ho'naaite of the Quer'räuna and vicar of the Society of Warriors, and reverenced by his people as being almost as wise as the "Oracle," his family is the most destitute in Sia, being composed, as it is, of nonproducing members. His wife is an invalid; his eldest son, the vicar of the Quer'räuna Society, is a paralytic, and a younger son is a trifling fellow. The third child is a daughter who has been blind from infancy; she is the mother of two children, but has never been married. The fourth child is a 10-year-old girl, whose time is consumed in the care of the children of her blind sister, bringing the water for family use, and grinding the corn (the mother and sister occasionally assisting in the grinding) and preparing the meals, which consist, with rare exceptions, of a bowl of mush. During the planting and harvest times the father alone attends to the fields, which are their main dependence; and he seeks such employment as can be procured from his people, and in this way exchanges labor for food. Every blanket of value has been traded for nourishment, until the family is reduced to mere tatters for garments. For several years this family has been on the verge of starvation, and the meagerness of food and mental suffering tells the tale in the face of each member of the household, excepting the worthless fellow (who visits about the country, imposing upon his friends). Even the little ones are more sedate than the other children of the village.

Nothing is done for this family by the clan. Close observation leads the writer to believe that the same ties of clanship do not exist with the Sia as with the other tribes. This, however, may be due to the long continued struggle for subsistence. Fathers and mothers look first to the needs of their children, then comes the child's interest in parents, and brothers and sisters in one another. No lack of self-denial is found in the family.

The ho'naaite of the Quer'räuna is the only surviving member of the Eagle clan, but his wife belongs to the Corn clan, and has a number of connections. When the writer chided a woman of this clan for not assisting the sufferers she replied: "I would help them if I could, but we have not enough for ourselves," a confirmation of the opinion that the clan is here secondary to the nearer ties of consanguinity. The care of one's immediate family is obligatory; it is not so with the clan.



ALTAR OF QUER'-RÄN-NA SOCIETY.

The house in which this family lives is small and without means of ventilation, and the old man may be seen, on his return from his daily labors, assisting his invalid wife and paralytic son to some point where they may have a breath of pure air. They are usually accompanied by the little girl leading her blind sister and carrying the baby on her back by a bit of an old shawl which the girl holds tightly around her.

Always patient, always loving, is the old man to those of his household, and the writer was ever sure of a greeting of smiles and fond words from each of these unfortunates. Not wanting in hospitality even in their extremity, they invited her to join them whenever she found them at their frugal meal.

The only medicine possessed by the Quer'räinna is se'-wili, which is composed of the roots and blossoms of the six mythical medicine plants of the sun, archaic white shell and black stone beads, turkis, and a yellow stone.

The preparation of this medicine and that of the other cult societies is similar to the mode observed by the Zuñi. Women are dressed in sacred white embroidered Tusayan blankets, and they grind the medicine to a fine powder amid great ceremony. When a woman wishes to become pregnant this medicine is administered to her privately by the ho'naaite, a small quantity of the powder being put into cold water and a fetich of Quer'räinna dipped four times into the water. A dose of this medicine insures the realization of her wish; should it fail, then the woman's heart is not good. This same medicine is also administered at the ceremonials to the members of the society for the perpetuation of their race; and the ho'naaite, taking a mouthful, throws it out through his teeth to the cardinal points, that the cloud people may gather and send rain that the earth may be fruitful.

RAIN CEREMONIAL OF THE QUER'RÄNNA SOCIETY.

During the day hä'chamoni and plume offerings are prepared by the ho'naaite, and in the afternoon he arranges the altar, which is quite different from those of the other cult societies, and makes a meal painting symbolic of clouds. Six fetiches of Quer'räinna are then arranged in line, the largest being about 6 inches, the smallest 3, the others graduating in size; a medicine bowl is set before the line of fetiches; antlers are stood to the east of the meal painting; and baskets of cereals, corn on the cob, medicine bags, and a basket of hä'chamoni and plume offerings are arranged about the painting. Pl. XXVIII shows photograph at time of ceremonial; Pl. XXIX, made in case of failure of the first, shows the meal painting, symbolic of clouds, which is completely hidden in the first photograph, and illustrates more definitely the feather decoration of the altar. The birds surmounting the two posts are wood carvings of no mean pretensions; the feathers by the birds are eagle plumes, and the bunches of plumes suspended from

the cord are tail feathers of the female sparrow hawk (*Falco sparverius*) and the long-crested jay (*Cyanocetta macrolopha*).

The men and child have their forelocks drawn back and tied with ribbons of corn husks, the men each having a bunch of hawk and jay feathers attached pendent on the left side of the head. They wear white cotton breechcloths and necklaces of coral and kohaqua (archaic shell heads).[1] The woman wears her ordinary dress and several coral necklaces, her feet and limbs being bare.

The ho'naaite, removing a bowl of meal from before the altar and holding it in his left hand, together with his eagle plumes and a wand,—the wand being a miniature crook elaborately decorated with feathers,—sprinkled a line of meal from the painting to the entrance of the chamber, for the being of Quer'ränna to pass over.

The ho'naaite, his vicar, and the woman sat back of the altar, the ho'-naaite to the west side, the vice to his right, and the woman to the east side. At this time a child was sleeping near the altar.

The ho'naaite filled an abalone shell with corn pollen and holding the shell, his two eagle plumes, and wand in his left hand and rattle in the right, offered a long prayer to Quer'ränna to invoke the cloud people to water the earth, and sprinkled the altar several times with pollen. At the close of the prayer he handed the shell of pollen to the woman, who passed to the front of the altar and east of the meal line and sprinkled the altar with the pollen. The song now began, and the woman, retaining her position before the altar, kept time by moving her wand right and left, then extending it over the altar; each time before waving it over the altar she rested it on the shell for a moment; after repeating the motion several times, she extended the wand to the north, moving it right and left, and after resting it on the shell she extended it to the west, and the wand was in this way motioned to the cardinal points, zenith and nadir. The waving of the wand to the points was repeated four times; and the woman then returned the shell to the ho'-naaite, who had at intervals waved his plumes and wand over the altar. At this time the child awoke, and making a wad of his blanket sat upon it between the ho'naaite and the vicar; the latter supplying the child with a wand and rattle, he joined in the song.

The vicar being afflicted with paralysis could add little to the ceremony, though he made strenuous efforts to sing and sway his palsied body. The group presented a pitiful picture, but it exhibited a striking proof of the devotion of these people to the observance of their cult—the flickering fire-light playing in lights and shadows about the heads of the three members, over whom Time holds the scythe with grim menaces, while they strained every nerve to make all that was possible of the ritual they were celebarting; the boy, requiring no arousing to sing and bend his tiny body to the time of the rattle, joined in the calls

[1] The portraits of the ho'naaites were made in secluded spots in the woods. The hair is not arranged as it is in the ceremonials, fear of discovery preventing the proper arrangement and adornment with feathers. (Pl. xxx.)



ALTAR OF QUER'-RÄN-NA SOCIETY.

upon the cloud people to gather to water the earth with as much enthusiasm as his elders.

The song continued, with all standing, without cessation for an hour. The woman then brought a vase of water and gourd from the southwest corner of the room and placed it in front of the altar on the line of meal, and the ho'naaite took from the west side of the altar four medicine bags, handing two to the man and two to the boy (pollen being in one bag and meal in the other), and giving the shell containing the pollen to the woman. She stood in front of the altar east of the line of meal swaying her body from side to side, holding her wand in the right hand and the shell in the left, keeping time to the rattle and the song. She emptied a gourd of water from the vase into the medicine bowl, imploring Quer'ränna to intercede with the cloud people to assemble; the ho'naaite then sprinkled se'wili into the medicine bowl; then the little boy sprinkled pollen into the bowl, invoking the cloud people to gather, and the vicar, with the same petition, sprinkled the pollen. The woman then emptied a second gourd of water, first waving it to the north, into the medicine bowl, with a call for the cloud people to gather; the ho'naaite again deposited a portion of the se'wili into the bowl and his vicar and the boy sprinkled in meal, with an appeal to the cloud people; again the woman lifted a gourdful of water and waved it toward the west and emptied it into the bowl, invoking the cloud people to gather; and the others sprinkled corn pollen, the vicar and boy calling upon the cloud people to gather; the woman then waved a gourd of water to the south and emptied it into the bowl, and again the others sprinkled pollen, the vicar and boy repeating their petition; another gourdful was lifted and waved to the east and emptied into the bowl and the sprinkling of the pollen was repeated. The woman returned the vase to the farther end of the room (she officiated in the making of the medicine water, as the vicar, being a paralytic, was unable to perform this duty), and resumed her seat back of the altar; reaching forward, she removed two small medicine bags, and taking a pinch of pollen from one and a pinch of meal from the other, sprinkled the medicine water; after repeating the sprinkling, she tied the bags and returned them to their place by the altar. The ho'naaite, dipping his plumes into the medicine bowl, sprinkled the altar three times by striking the top of the plumes held in the left hand with the rattle held in the right. The sprinkling was repeated three times by the others while the ho'naaite sang a low chant. All now rose, and the ho'naaite continuing the song, moved his body violently, the motion being from the knees; as he sang he extended his eagle plumes over the altar and dipped them into the medicine water with a call for the cloud people to gather; he then dipped the bird feathers attached to his wand into the medicine water with a similar exhortation; the boy dipped the feathers attached to his wand into the water, striking them with the rattle, calling upon the cloud people to gather and water the earth; the ho'naaite

dipped his eagle plumes twice consecutively into the medicine water, invoking the cloud people to water the earth; and the vicar dipped his feathers into the medicine water, making the most revolting sounds in his efforts to invoke the cloud people; the boy sprinkled with the invocation to the cloud people. The sprinkling was repeated alternately six times by each of the members, the ho'naaite pointing to the cardinal points as he continued his exhortation to the cloud people. After resuming their seats they sang until midnight, when the ho'naaite placed the ends of his feathers into his mouth and drew a breath and the woman laid her wand to the east side of the meal painting. The ceremonial closed with administering the medicine water, the ho'naaite dipping it with a shell. Owing to the depleted condition of the society, the duty of depositing the hä'chamoni and plume offerings fell to the ho'naaite himself.

OTHER SOCIETIES.

In addition to the thirteen cult societies of the Zuñi they have the society of the Kok'-ko, the mythologic society.

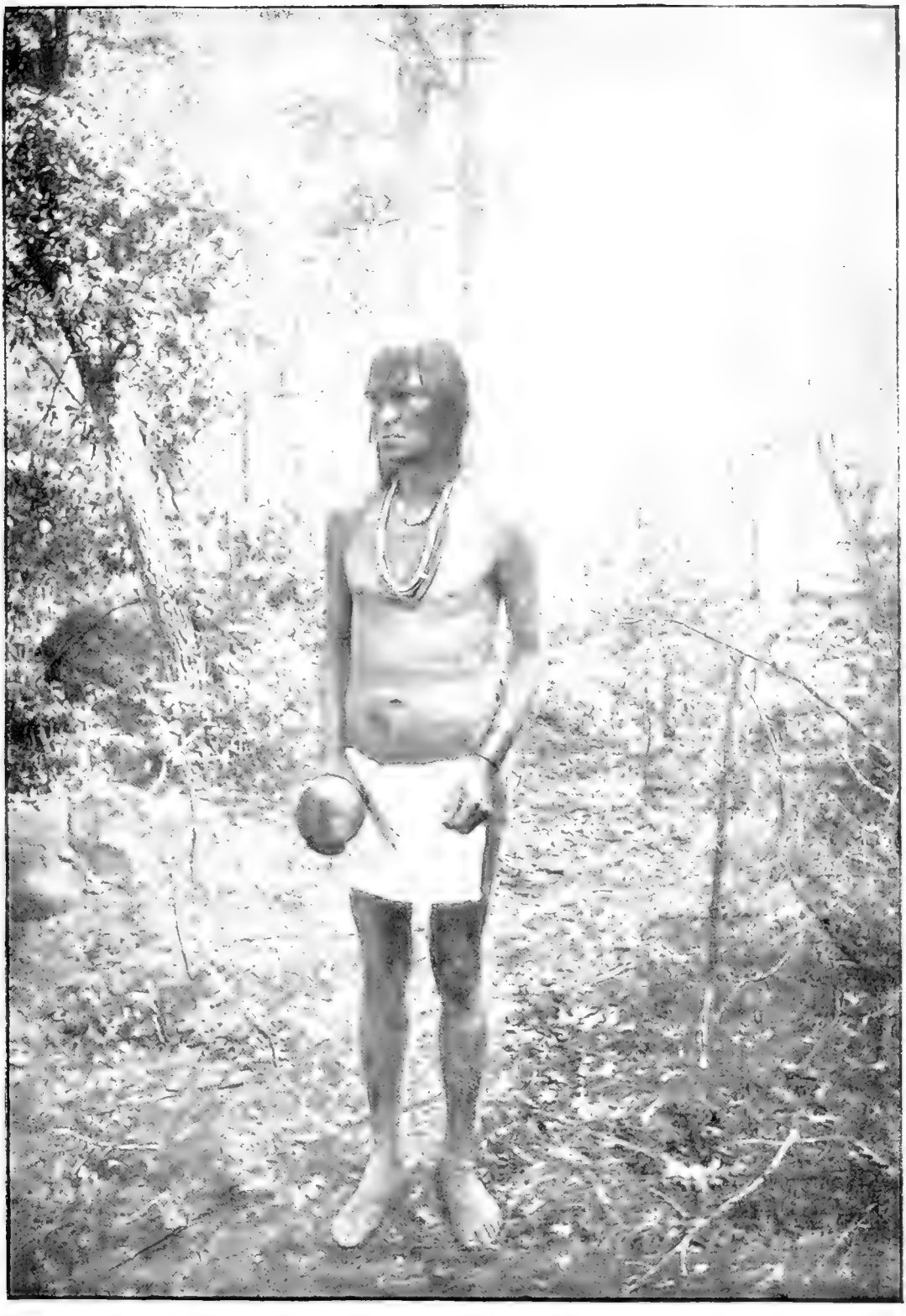
It is obligatory that all youths become members of this society to insure their admittance into the dance house in the lake of departed spirits; first by involuntary and later by voluntary initiation. Females sometimes, though seldom, join this order. While the Sia mythology abounds in these same anthropomorphic beings, their origin is accounted for in an entirely different manner from those of the Zuñi. The Ka'-tsuna of the Sia were created by Ût'sĕt in a single night in the lower world.[1] These beings accompanied the Sia to this world, and upon their advent here Ût'sĕt directed them to go to the west and there make their home for all time to come.

They are solicited to use their influence with the cloud people, and the dances of the Ka'tsuna are usually held for rain or snow. It is the prerogative of the ti'ämoni to control the appearance of the Ka'-tsuna. When a dance is to occur, the ho'naaite of the Society of Quer'-ränna selects such men and women as he wishes to have dance and holds a number of rehearsals, both of the songs and dances. Those who are the most graceful, and who have the greatest powers of endurance and the most retentive memories for the songs, are chosen to personate the Ka'tsuna regardless of any other consideration. Both sexes, however, must have been first initiated into the mysteries of the Ka'tsuna.

Previous to initiation the personators are believed by the Sia to be the actual Ka'tsuna. The instruction continues from four to eight days, and during this period continency must be observed, and an emetic drank by the married men and women each morning for purification from conjugal relations.

Whenever the Ka'tsuna appear they are accompanied by their attend-

[1] There were other Ka'tsûna, however, which were in the upper world before the Sia came. While the Sia can not account for their origin they are also personated by them.



HO'-NA-AI-TE OF QUER'-RÄN-NA SOCIETY.

ants, the Ko'shairi and Quer'rănna, who wait upon them, attending to any disarranged apparel and making the spectators merry with their witty sayings and buffoonery.

The Sia have a great variety of masks, which must be very old, judging from their appearance, and the priest of the Quer'rănna, who has them in charge, claims for them great antiquity. Pls. XXXI and XXXII illustrate some masks of the Ka'tsuna.

When a boy or girl reaches the time when, as their fathers say, they have a good head, some ten or twelve years of age, the father first suggests to the ho'naaite of the Quer'rănna (if the father is not living then the mother speaks) that he would like his son or daughter to become acquainted with the Ka'tsuna; he then makes known his wish to the ti'ămoni, and after these two have said, "It is well," he says to his child, "My child, I think it is time for you to know the Ka'tsuna," and the child replies, "It is well, father." The parent then informs the ho'naaite that his child wishes to know the Ka'tsuna, and the ho'naaite replies, "It is well." The next time the Ka'tsuna come he may know them.

The ho'naaite prepares a meal painting for the occasion, covering it for the time being with a blanket. Upon the arrival of the Ka'tsuna the father and child, and, if the child be a member of a cult society, the theurgist of the society, proceed to the ceremonial house of the Quer'rănna. If the child possesses a fetich of the ya'ya he carries it pressed to his breast. Upon entering the ceremonial chamber the child and attendants take their seats at the north end of the room near the west side, the ho'naaite of the Quer'rănna sitting just west of the meal painting, the boy to his right, and the parent next to the boy. The ti'ămoni and ho'naaite of warriors are present and sit on the west side of the room and about midway. The Sa'iahlia (two of the Ka'tsuna) stamp about in the middle of the room for a time, then the ho'naaite leads the child before the meal painting, which is, however, still covered with the blanket, and says to the Ka'tsuna, "A youth [or maiden, whichever it may be] has come to know you." The Ka'tsuna each carry a bunch of Spanish bayonet in either hand, and the child receives two strokes across the back from each of the Ka'tsuna, unless he be an official member of a cult society; in this case he is exempt from the chastisement. A boy is nude excepting the breechcloth; a girl wears her ordinary clothing. The ho'naaite, addressing the Ka'tsuna, says: "Now it is well for you to raise your masks that the child may see." One of the Sa'iahlia places his mask over the child's head and the other lays his by the meal painting, the ho'naaite having removed the blanket. The personators of the Ka'tsuna then say to the child: "Now you know the Ka'tsuna you will henceforth have only good thoughts and a good heart; sometime, perhaps, you will be one of us. You must not speak of these things to anyone not initiated." The mask is then taken from the child's head and laid by the side of the other,

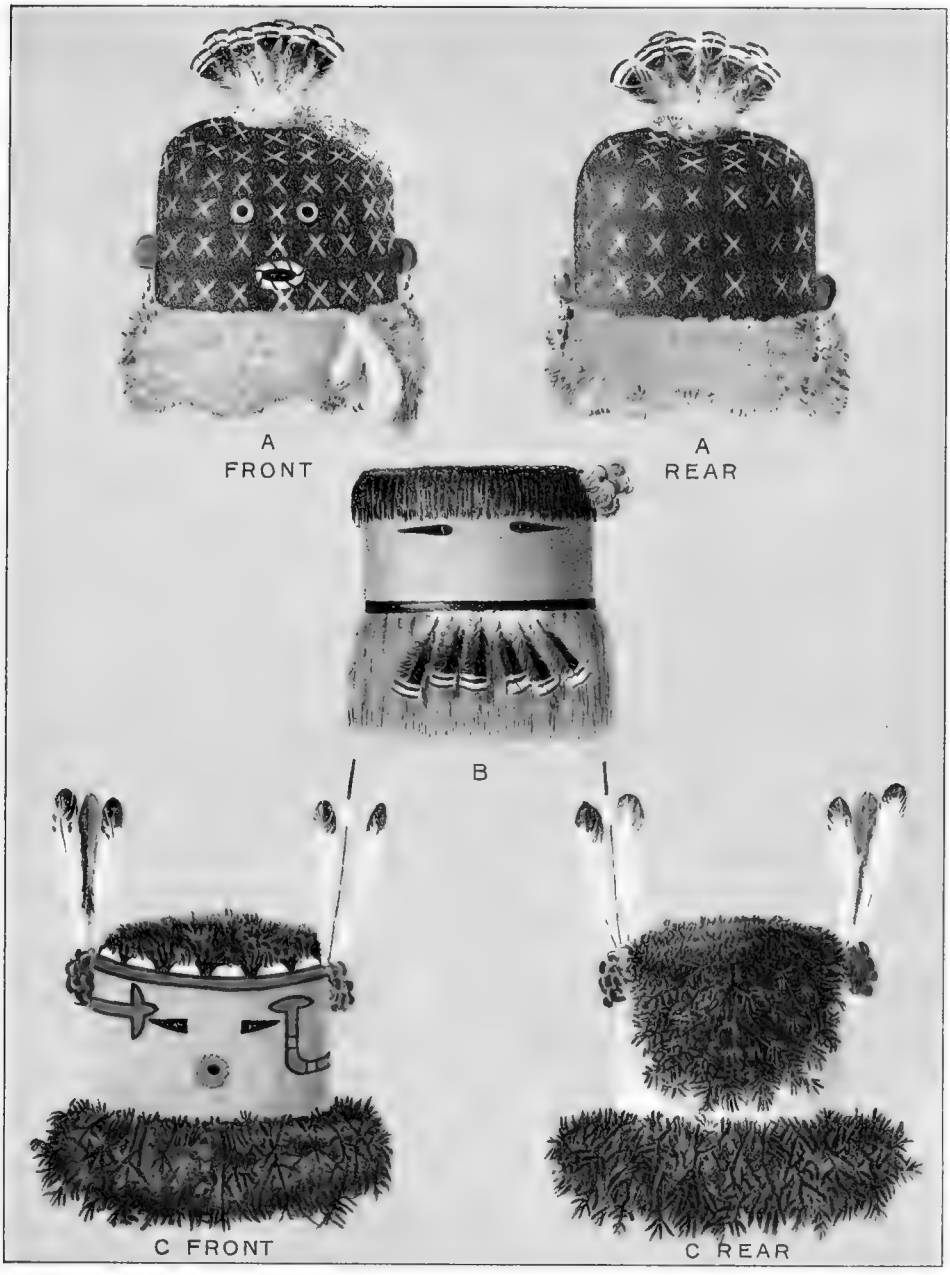
and the boy answers: "I will not speak of these things to anyone." The Ka'tsuna then rubs the meal of the painting upon the child, and those present afterwards gather around the painting and rub the meal upon their bodies for mental and physical purification. The child deposits the hä'chamoni presented to him by the ho'naaite at the shrine of the Quer'ränna at the base of the village and to the west. The hä'chamoni is composed of eagle and turkey plumes. The child says when depositing it, "I now know you, Ka'tsuna, and I pay you this hä'chamoni." The ho'naaite deposits a hä'chamoni for each member of the society at the shrine, which is in a fissure in a rock, and after the deposition of the hä'chamoni the opening is covered with a rock and no evidence of a shrine remains.

SOCIETY OF THE COUGAR.

This society is nearly extinct, its membership consisting of the ho'naaite (the oracle) and his vicar, the former being also ho'naaite of the society of warriors; though aged, he retains his faculties perfectly and performs his official and religious duties with the warmest interest.

Previous to a hunt for game a two days' ceremonial is held by this society, and on the third morning hä'chamoni and plume offerings are deposited by the vice ho'naaite. The cougar is appealed to, as he is the great father and master of all game; he draws game to him by simply sitting still, folding his arms, and mentally demanding the presence of the game; likewise when he wishes to send game to any particular people he controls it with his mind and not by spoken words. Though the cougar sends the game it is the sun who gives power to the Sia to capture it.

It is the prerogative of the ho'naaite of this society to decide upon the time for the hunt. Hä'chamoni are deposited to the cougar of the north, the west, the south, the east to convey the messages of the Sia. If a rabbit hunt is to occur a rabbit stick and an arrow point are deposited as offerings to the sun. The offerings to the cougar of the zenith are deposited to the north and those to the sun to the east. If the hunt is to be for larger game an arrow point only is deposited to the sun. The hunt may occur very soon after these offerings are made or not for some time, it being optional with the ho'naaite. He does not directly notify the people, but speaks to the war chief, who heralds his message. When announcement has been made of the prospective hunt a fire is made at night on the east side of the village and the selected huntsmen form in a circle around it; here the night is spent making plans for the hunt, in epic songs, and story telling, and, like other Indians, the Sia recount the valorous deeds of the mythical beings and their people in low, modulated tones. The hunt occurs four days from this time, and continency is observed until after the hunt. On the fifth morning, if the hunt be for rabbits, the men and women of the village prepare to join in the chase by first having their heads bathed



SIA MASKS

in yucca suds and then donning their best apparel; only men hunt for the larger game. Rabbits are hunted on horseback with rabbit sticks; deer, on foot and with the rifle in preference to the arrow.

A party of hunters which had been indicated by the war chief to hunt for deer and antelope left the village in the afternoon, the party being led by the vice war chief. The ti'ämoni was a member of the party. The writer mentions this as it is unusual for a ti'ämoni to participate in the hunt, and it is claimed by the Sia that if their ti'ämoni were not a mere boy he would observe the custom of his predecessors and decline to join in the hunt. The scarcity of game in this part of the country necessitated a three days' journey before any was obtained.

Previous to the departure of the party the ho'naaite of the society of the cougar visited the house of each man who was to participate in the hunt and embraced him, repeating a short prayer for success. The prayer was addressed first to the cougar, father of game, that he might send his children about the country, and afterwards to the sun to give power to the hunters to secure the game. The wives and relatives of the hunting party had been busy preparing food for them; each man's wife looked carefully after his personal needs. The wife handed the hunter's gun to him after he had mounted his horse, the unmarried man of the party having his gun handed him by his father.

The huntsmen were absent thirteen days, and upon their return a member of the party was sent in advance as courier to notify the war chief. The news brought general delight to the villagers, particularly to the wives of the hunters, who at once commenced preparing for their arrival. They reached the river about sundown, and upon crossing were received by the vice ho'naaite of the society of warriors and the war chief, who offered prayers and sprinkled meal in thanksgiving for the success and safe return of the hunters who grouped on the bank of the river. The younger children of the returning party were also on the river bank to meet their fathers, who at once took their little ones on the horses with them and expressed much delight at again seeing them. The huntsmen then in single file ascended the hill to the village, led by the vicar of the society of warriors and the war chief, the latter two being on foot, the war chief following the vicar. A man whose house was at the entrance of the plaza dropped out of the file to go to his home, and by the time he had reached the door his wife was outside to receive his gun and other luggage which he bore; this was the only greeting between the husband and wife. After the horsemen had crossed the plaza a second man entered his home, he being the vicar of the society of the cougar and son of the vicar of the society of warriors. The war chief then led the party until but one horseman remained, who upon reaching his home was assisted by the war chief in relieving himself and animal of their burden. Several of the women of the village embraced the ti'ämoni after he had dismounted, who, however,

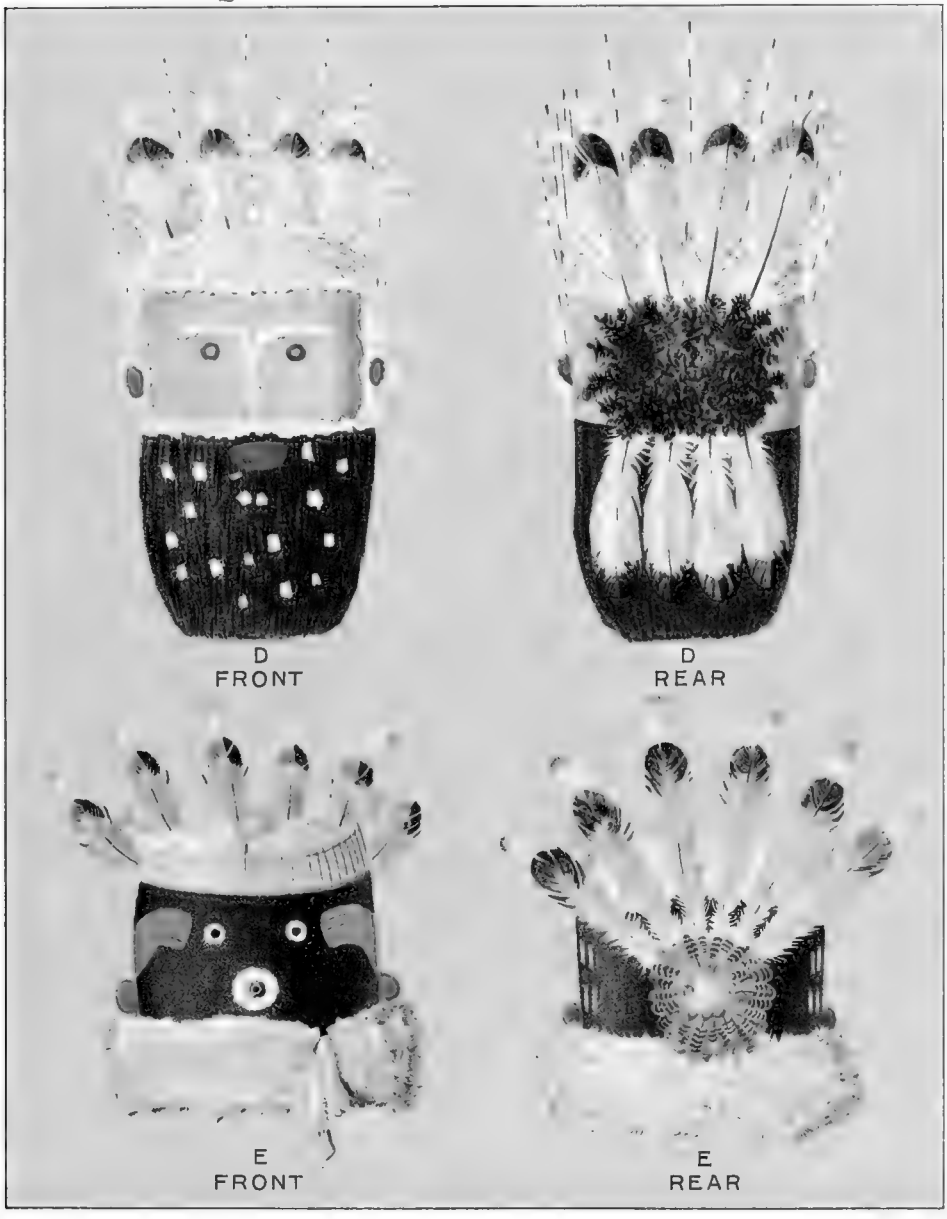
seemed perfectly absorbed in his infant daughter, his wife's greeting, like those of the other wives, being simply to take first his gun and then his other traps from his horse.

The ho'naaite of the cougar society visited the houses of all the returned hunters, first entering the house of his vicar. The young man stood in the center of the room and the ho'naaite embraced him and repeated a prayer of thanksgiving for his success in the hunt and his safe return. The old man was then assisted to a seat upon a wadded blanket and the father of the hunter spread a sheepskin upon the floor, wool side down, and emptied the contents of the sack which was taken from the hunter's horse upon it, which was nothing more than the desiccated meat and bones of an antelope. The aged man then took from his pouch a fetich of the cougar, about 3 inches long, and touching it to the meat of the antelope many times prayed most earnestly for several minutes. His prayers were addressed to the cougar, thanking him for his goodness in sending his children over the land that the Sia might secure them as payment to the cloud people for watering the earth.

In the next house visited the meat of the antelope was spread upon a bear's skin, the hair down. The skin of the antelope was folded lengthwise and laid by the side of the meat, and the skull and antlers placed at one end. The wife of the hunter laid over the skull many strings of coral, ko'haqua, and turkis beads, and afterwards spread a white embroidered Tusayan blanket over the carcass. A small bowl of sacred meal was deposited in front of the head. The aged ho'naaite repeated a prayer similar to the one he offered in the first house, not omitting placing the fetich to the antelope; he then clasped his hands four times over the skull of the antelope and drew a breath, after which the hunter lighted a cigarette for the ho'naaite who blew the first whiff over the antelope and extended the cigarette toward it. The ho'naaite repeated the prayer in the houses of the four successful hunters. The other two men were not overlooked, as he embraced them and repeated a prayer of thanksgiving for their safe return.[1] The war chief visited all of the houses, but did nothing more than sprinkle the antelope with corn pollen, drawing in a sacred breath from the game, puffing the first whiff of his cigarette over it and extending the cigarette toward it.

When the game is shot, the hunter dips his fetich into the blood, telling it to drink. The blood is often scraped from fetiches and drunk in a little water to insure greater success in the hunt. There are specimens of such fetiches in Mr. Stevenson's collection in the National Museum. Some students, through their imperfect knowledge, have been led into the error of supposing from their new appearance that these fetiches were of recent manufacture. The game is kept in the houses of the hunters until the following morning, when it is taken to the ceremonial house of the ti'ämoni, the war chief deciding what day it shall

[1] The aged ho'naaite has since died.



SIA MASKS.

be distributed among the ho'naaites of the several cult societies. It may be one, two, or three days after the return of the hunters. At the appointed time the ho'naaites assemble in the ceremonial house of the ti'ämoni, who divides the game, each ho'naaite carrying his portion to his ceremonial chamber. About noon of the same day the members of the cult societies assemble in their respective ceremonial chambers and prepare hä'chamoni; at the same time, if the society has any female members, they place the game in a pot and cook it in the fireplace in the ceremonial chamber, but if there be no female members certain male members are designated for this purpose. Toward evening the slat altars are erected, and the night is spent in songs and supplications to the cloud people to gather and water the earth. Hä'chamoni and the game are deposited before sunrise at four shrines—to the cougar of the north, the west, the south, and the east, that they will intercede for the cloud people to gather and water the earth. Hä'chamoni are also deposited to the sun father that he will invoke the cloud people to water the earth, and also that he will embrace the earth that the crops may grow. Others are deposited in the fields as payment to the cloud people for the services requested of them.

SOCIETY OF WARRIORS.

The Society of Warriors and the Knife Society have a ceremonial chamber in common; and in a certain sense these societies are closely allied, the former having had originally as its presiding officers Ma'asewe and U'yuuyewĕ, the twin children of the sun, the latter society having derived its name from the arrows which were given by the sun father to the invulnerable twins, and with which they destroyed the enemies of the earth. Each of these societies, therefore, has a share in the initiation of a victor.

The killing of an enemy is not sufficient to admit a man into the Society of Warriors; he must return with such trophies as the scalp and buckskin apparel. The victor carries the scalp on an arrow until he draws near to the village, when he transfers it to a pole some 5 feet in length, the pole being held with both hands. The victor's approach is heralded, and if it be after the sun has eaten his midday meal he must not enter the village, but remain near it until morning, food being carried to him by the war chief. In the morning the Society of the Knife, followed by the Warriors and the male populace of the town, join the victor. An extended prayer is offered by the ho'naaite of the Knife Society, and then, addressing the spirit of the enemy, he says: "You are now no longer our enemy; your scalp is here; you will no more destroy my people." The ho'naaite of the Warriors and his vicar respond, "So! So!" The air is resonant the remainder of the day with the war song, there being occasional intermissions for prayers; and at sundown the ho'naaite of the Warriors and his vicar, with the victor, bearing the pole and scalp between them, lead the way to the village, followed by the members of the society, and then the Knife Society, led by its ho'naaite and

his vicar. After encircling the village from right to left, the party enters the ceremonial chamber, when the scalp is deposited before the meal painting, the ho'naaite of the Knife Society having prepared the painting and arranged the fetiches about it in the morning before going to meet the victor. The two large stone images of Ma'asewe and U'yuuyewĕ, which are brought out only upon the initiation of a victor into the Society of Warriors, are kept in a room exclusively their own; these particular fetiches of the war heroes are never looked upon by women, consequently they have remained undisturbed in their abiding place a number of years, the exception being when all the fetiches and paraphernalia of the cult of the Sia were displayed in 1887 for Mr. Stevenson's and the writer's inspection. The members of the Knife Society sit on the west side of the room and the Warriors on the east side, the ho'naaites of the societies sitting at the north end of either line, each ho'naaite having his vicar by his side, and the victor by the side of the vicar of the Warriors; he does not join in the song, but sits perfectly still. At sunrise the scalp is washed in yucca suds and cold water by each member of the Knife Society, and the victor's hands are then bathed for the first time since the scalping, and he proceeds to paint his body. The face and lower portion of the legs are colored red and the remainder black, and galena is then spread over the greater portion of the face. The Knife Society wears white cotton embroidered Tusayan kilts and moccasins, and the Warriors wear kilts of unornamented buckskin, excepting the fringes at the bottom and the pouch made from the buckskin apparel captured from the enemy. The victor wears the buckskin kilt, moccasins, and pouch, and he carries a bow and arrows in his left hand, and the pole with the scalp attached to it in the right. Each member of the society also carries a bow and arrows in the left hand and a single arrow in the right. The members of the Knife Society have gourd rattles in their right hands and bows and arrows in the left. The hair of all is left flowing.

An arrow point is placed in the mouth of the victor by the ho'naaite of the Knife Society, and they all then proceed to the plaza, the members of each society forming in a line and the victor dancing to and fro between the lines, raising the scalp as high as the pole will reach, but he does not sing or speak a word. The numbers in the lines are increased by the men of the village carrying war clubs and firearms, keeping up a continual volley with their pistols and guns until the close of the dance at sundown. The women are not debarred from exhibiting their enthusiasm, and they join in the dance.

Upon their return to the ceremonial chamber the scalp is again deposited before the meal painting and the ho'naaite of the Knife Society proceeds with the final epic ritual which completes the initiation of the victor into the Society of Warriors, closing with these words: "You are now a member of the Society of Warriors," and he then removes the arrow point from the victor's mouth. The members, in conjunction with the victor, respond "Yes! Yes!"



PRAYER TO THE RISING SUN.

The cotton shirt and trousers are then donned and the scalp is carried to the scalp-house (a cavity in the earth covered with a mound of stone) and deposited with food for the spirit of the departed enemy. Again returning to the ceremonial chamber, fast is broken for the first time during the day, when a feast, which is served by the female relatives of the victor, is enjoyed. After the meal they go to the river and remove all evidences of the paint upon their bodies. Continency is observed four days.

The few songs of the cult which the writer was able to collect are direct invocations for rain, or for the presence of zoomorphic beings in ceremonials for healing the sick, a few words sufficing for many unexpressed ideas. The epic ritual of the Sia is so elaborate that much time and careful instruction are required to impress it upon the mind, and the younger men either have not the mind necessary for the retention of the ritual or will not tax their memories; therefore the web of Sia myth and religion is woven into the minds of but few.

The aged theurgists were eager to intrust to the writer the keeping of their songs, which are an elaborate record of the lives of their mythic heroes and of the Sia themselves.

The Sia sometimes adopt the poet's license in their songs and alter a word; for example, the name for "badger" is tuo'pi, but is changed in the sko'yo song for rain to tupi'na, because, they say, the latter word renders the stanza more rhythmical. And, again, different words are synonymously used.

The hĭs'tiăn and quer'rănna have each a similar song of petition for rain, this song having been given to the hĭs'tiăn by the sun. It will be remembered that the name of this society indicates the knives or arrows of lightning given to the heroes by their sun father.

SONGS.

A RAIN SONG OF THE SHU'-WI CHAI'ĂN (SNAKE SOCIETY).

1. Hĕn'-na-ti	2. Hĕn'-na-ti shi'-wan-na
He'-äsh	He'-äsh shi-wan-na
Pûr'-tu-wĭsh-ta	Pûr'-tu-wĭsh-ta shi-wan-na
Kŏw-mots	Kŏw-mots shi'-wan na
Kash'-ti-arts	Kash'-ti-arts shi'-wan-na
Ka'-chard	Ka'-chard shi'-wan-na

(1) *Translation:*—Hĕnnati, white floating masks, behind which the cloud people pass about over ti'ni'a for recreation; He'äsh, masks like the plains, behind which the cloud people pass over ti'ni'a to water the earth; Pûrtuwĭshta, lightning people; Kŏwmots, thunder people; Kashtiarts, rainbow people; Ka'chard, rain, the word being used in this instance, however, as an emphatic invocation to the rulers of the cloud people.

(2) Shi'wanna, people.

Free translation:—An appeal to the priests of ti'nia. Let the white floating clouds—the clouds like the plains—the lightning, thunder, rainbow, and cloud peoples, water the earth. Let the people of the white floating clouds—the people of the clouds like the plains—the lightning, thunder, rainbow and cloud peoples—come and work for us, and water the earth.

3. Sha'-ka-ka
Shwi'-ti-ra-wa-na
Mai'-chi-na
Shwi'-si-ni-ha-na-we
Marsh'-ti-tä-mo
Mor'-ri-tä-mo

4. Sha'-ka-ka shi'-wan-na
Shwi'-ti-ra-wa-na shi'-wan-na
Mai'-chi-na shi'-wan-na
Shwi'-si-ni-ha-na-we shi-wan-na
Marsh' ti-tä-mo shi'-wan-na
Mor'-ri-tä-mo shi'-wan-na

Translation:—Sha'kaka, spruce of the north; Shwi'tirawana, pine of the west. Mai'china, oak of the south. Shwi'sinihanawe, aspen of the east. Marsh'titämo, cedar of the zenith; Mor'ritämo, oak of the nadir.

(2) Shi'wanna, people.

Free translation:—Cloud priest who ascends to ti'nia through the heart of the spruce of the north; cloud priest who ascends to ti'nia through the heart of the pine of the west; cloud priest who ascends to ti'nia through the heart of the oak of the south; cloud priest who ascends to ti'nia through the heart of the aspen of the east; cloud priest who ascends to ti'nia through the heart of the cedar of the zenith; cloud priest who ascends to ti'nia, through the heart of the oak of the nadir; send your people to work for us, that the waters of the six great springs may impregnate our mother, the earth, that she may give to us the fruits of her being.

Though the trees of the cardinal points are addressed, the supplication is understood to be made to priestly rulers of the cloud peoples of the cardinal points.

5. Hĕn'-na-ti ka'-shi-wan-na
He'-äsh ka'shi-wan-na
Pûr'-tu-wĭsh-ta ka'shi-wan-na
Kŏw-mots ka'shi-wan-na
Kash-ti-arts ka'shi-wan-na
Ka'chard ka'shi-wan-na
ka'shi-wan-na (all people).

Free translation:—All the white floating clouds—all the clouds like the plains—all the lightning, thunder, rainbow and cloud peoples, come and work for us.

6. Sha'-ka-ka ka'-shi-wan-na
Shwi'-ti-ra-wa-na ka'-shi-wan-na
Mai'-chi-na ka'-shi-wan-na
Shwi'-si-ni-ha-na-we ka'-shi-wan-na
Marsh'-ti-tä-mo ka'-shi-wan-na
Mor'-ri-tä-mo ka'-shi-wan-na

Free translation:—

Priest of the spruce of the north, send all your people to work for us;
Priest of the pine of the west, send all your people to work for us;
Priest of the oak of the south, send all your people to work for us;
Priest of the aspen of the east, send all your people to work for us;
Priest of the cedar of the zenith, send all your people to work for us;
Priest of the oak of the nadir, send all your people to work for us.

7.	Hĕn′-na-ti	ho′-chän-ni
	He′-äsh	ho′-chän-ni
	Pûr-tu-wĭsh-ta	ho′-chän-ni
	Kŏw′-mots	ho′-chän-ni
	Kash′-ti-arts	ho′-chän-ni
	Ka′-chard	ho′-chän-ni

Translation:—Ho′chänni, arch ruler of the cloud priests of the world.

Free translation:—

Ho′chänni of the white floating clouds of the world;
Ho′chänni of the clouds like the plains of the world (referring to the cloud people behind their masks);
Ho′chänni of the lightning peoples of the world;
Ho′chänni of the thunder peoples of the world;
Ho′chänni of the rainbow peoples of the world;
Ho′chänni of the cloud peoples of the world—send all your peoples to work for us.

8.	Sha-′ka-ka	ho′-chän-ni
	Shwi′ti-ra-wa-na	ho′ chän-ni
	Mai′-chi-na	ho′-chän-ni
	Shwi′si-ni-ha-na-we	ho′-chän-ni
	Marsh′-ti-tä-mo	ho′-chän-ni
	Mor′-ri-tä-mo	ho′-chän-ni

Free translation:—

Ho′chänni of the spruce of the north;
Ho′chänni of the pine of the west;
Ho′chänni of the oak of the south;
Ho′chänni of the aspen of the east;
Ho′chänni of the cedar of the zenith;
Ho′chänni of the oak of the nadir; send all your peoples to work for us, that the waters of the six great springs of the world may impregnate our mother the earth that she may give to us the fruits of her being.

A SONG OF THE SHU′WI CHAI′ÄN (SNAKE SOCIETY) FOR HEALING THE SICK.

1.	Ska′-to-we chai′-än	Quĭs′-sĕr-a chai′-än
	Ka′-span-na chai′-än	Hu′-wa ka-chai′-än
	Ko′-quai-ra chai′-än	Ya′-ai chai′-än

Translation.—Snake Society of the north, Snake Society of the west, Snake Society of the south, Snake Society of the east, Snake Society of the zenith, Snake Society of the nadir, come here and work with us.

2. Ho′-na-ai-te Ska′-to-we chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Ka′-span-na chai-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Ko′-quai-ra chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Quis-sĕr-ra chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Hu′-wa′-ka chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Ya′-ai chai′-ăn

An appeal to the ho′-naaites of the snake societies of the cardinal points to be present and work for the curing of the sick.

3. Mo′-kaitc chai′-ăn Ka′-kan chai′-ăn
Ko′-hai chai′-ăn Tiă′-mi chai′-ăn
Tu-o′-pi chai′-ăn Mai′tu-bo chai′-ăn.

An appeal to the animals of the cardinal points to be present at the ceremonial of healing.

4. Ho′-na-ai-te Mo-kaitc chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Ko′-hai chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Tu-o′-pi chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Ka′-kan chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Ti-ă′-mi chai′-ăn
Ho′-na-ai-te Mai′-tu-bo chai′-ăn

An appeal to the ho′naaites of the animal societies of the cardinal points to be present at the ceremonial.

A RAIN SONG OF THE SKO′YO CHAI′ĂN (GIANT SOCIETY).

1. Cher-ĕs ti mu (Middle of the world below) ko wai′ yä tu (door of shi′pa-po) ai′ ya mi wa wa (my medicine is precious, it is as my heart) Ĭsh to wa (Arrow of lightning)
ti′kä ′si mai ah (come to us) kosh′ te ăn (echo)

2. Kai′ nu a we eh (Who is it) sha ka ka ("spruce of north") ka′ shi wan na ti (all your people) ka′ ru ′sin i ah (your thoughts)
ti′ kä ′si mai ah (come to us)

3. Kai′ nu ah we he (Who is it) hĕn′ na ti ("white floating clouds") ka′ ru ′sin i ah (your thoughts) ti′ kä ′si mai ah (come to us)
ka′ shi wan na ti (all your people) ka′ ru ′sin i ah (your thoughts) ti′ kä ′si mai ah (come to us)

4. Kai′ nu ah we eh he′ äsh shi ᵗsi ka′ ru ᵗsin i ah ti′ kä ᵗsi mai ah
Who is it "clouds like the plains" your thoughts come to us

5. Kai′ nu ah we he ĭsh to wa ka′ ru ᵗsīn i ah ti′ kä ᵗsi mai ah
Who is it "arrow of lightning" your thoughts come to me

6. Kai′ nu ah we eh ha′ a ᵗsi ᵗsi′ at ᵗsi ñi ka′ shi wan na ti ka′
Who is it "earth horizon" all your people your

ru ᵗsin i ah ti′ kä ᵗsi mai ah
thought. come to us

Free translation.—We, the ancient ones, ascended from the middle of the world below, through the door of the entrance to the lower world, we hold our songs to the cloud, lightning, and thunder peoples as we hold our own hearts; our medicine is precious. (Addressing the people of ti′nia:) We entreat you to send your thoughts to us that we may sing your songs straight, so that they will pass over the straight road to the cloud priests that they may cover the earth with water, so that she may bear all that is good for us.

Lightning people, send your arrows to the middle of the earth, hear the echo (meaning that the thunder people are flapping their wings among the cloud and lightning peoples). Who is it (the singers pointing to the north)? The people of the spruce of the north. All your people and your thoughts come to us. Who is it? People of the white floating clouds. Your thoughts come to us, all your people and your thoughts come to us. Who is it (pointing above)? People of the clouds like the plains. Your thought comes to us. Who is it? The lightning people. Your thoughts come to us. Who is it? Cloud people at the horizon. All your people and your thoughts come to us.

A SONG OF THE SKO′YO CHAI′ÄN (GIANT SOCIETY) FOR HEALING THE SICK.

Ah′.....ha.....ha.....wa′-mi
Sand painting

1. Kai′-nu-a.....we.....eh mo′kai-ra ho′-na-wa-ai-te
Who is it cougar theurgist

nu-ro-wa-ah ka′-ᵗsi-ma-ah
all is yours take away all disease

2. Kai′-nu-a.....we.....eh ko′-hai-ya ho′-na-wa-ai-te
Who is it bear theurgist

nu-ro-wa-ah ka′-ᵗsi-ma-ah
all is yours take away all disease

3. Kai-nu-a.....we.....eh tu′-pi-na ho′-na-wa-ai-te
Who is it badger theurgist

nu-ro-wa-ah ka′-ᵗsi-ma-ah
all is yours take away all disease

4. Kai-nu-a.....we.....eh ka′-kan-na ho′-na-wa-ai-te
Who is it wolf theurgist
nu-ro-wa-ah ka′-ᵗsi-ma-ah
all is yours take away all disease

5. Kai-nu-a.....we.....eh tä′-mi-na ho′-na-wa-ai-te
Who is it eagle theurgist
nu-ro-wa-ah ka′-ᵗsi-ma-ah
all is yours take away all disease

6. Kai-nu-a.....we.....eh ma′i-tu-bo ho′-na-wa-ai-te
Who is it shrew theurgist
nu-ro-wa-ah ka′-ᵗsi-ma-ah
all is yours take away all disease

Free translation.—Lion of the north, see the sand painting which you have given us (a voice is heard). Who is it? "The lion." I am but your theurgist; you possess all power; lend me your mind and your heart that I may penetrate the flesh and discover the disease. Through me, your theurgist, take away all disease.

This appeal is repeated to each of the animals named.

A RAIN SONG OF THE HĬSTIÄN CHAI′ÄN (KNIFE SOCIETY).

1. Ha′-ta-we sĕr′-ra-ᵗse yu′-wa ti′tä-mi ka′-wash-ti-ma ko′-tû
Corn pollen pass over the road there north spring of the north mountain

2. Ha′-ta-we sĕr′-ra-ᵗse yu′-wa po′-na ᵗsi′-pĭn ko′-tû
Corn pollen pass over the road there west spring of the west mountain

3. Ha′-ta-we sĕr′-ra-ᵗse yu′-wa ko′wa tŏw′-o-tu-ma ko′-tû
Corn pollen pass over the road there south spring of the south mountain

4. Ha′-ta-we sĕr′-ra-ᵗse yu′-wa ha′-na-mi ku′-chän ko′-tû
Corn pollen pass over the road there east spring of the east mountain

5. Ha′-ta-we sĕr′-ra-ᵗse yu′-wa ti′-na-mi ko′-wa-tu-ma ko′-tû
Corn pollen pass over the road there zenith spring of the zenith mountain

6. Ha′-ta-we sĕr′-ra-ᵗse yu′-wa nûr′-ka-mi sti′-a-chän-na ko′-tû
Corn pollen pass over the road there nadir spring of the nadir mountain

Free translation—Corn pollen pass over the north road[1] to the spring of the north mountain, that the cloud people may ascend from the spring in the heart of the mountain to ti′nia and water the earth. The same is repeated for the five remaining cardinal points.

A RAIN SONG OF THE HĬSTIÄN CHAI′ÄN (KNIFE SOCIETY).

Ho′.....hai.....hai.....ho′

1. Yu′-wa.....ti′tä-mi ka′-wish-ti-ma sha′..... ka-ka ka′-shi
There north spring spruce of the north all cloud
.....wan.....na ha′-ti
people where

2. Yu′-wa-po-na-mi shwi′-ti-ra-wa-na ka′-shi.....wan.....na
There in the west pine of the west all people
ha′-ti
where

[1] Here the singers sprinkle pollen to the north with an under wave of the hand.

3. Yu′-wa.....ko′-wa-mi t′se-ya mai′-chi-na ka′-shi.....wan.....
There south great oak of the south all people
na ha′-ti
where

4. Yu′-wa.....ha′.....na-mi shwi′si-ni-ha-na-we ka′shi.....
There east aspen of the east all
wan.....na ha-′ti
people where

5. Yu′-wa.....ti′-na-mi marsh′-ti-tä-mo ka′-shi.....wan.....na
There the zenith cedar of the zenith all people
ha′-ti
where

6. Yu′-wa.....nûr′-ka-mi mor′-ri-tä-mo ka′-shi.....wan.....na
There earth oak of the earth all people
ha′-ti
where

7. Ho′.....hai.....hai.....ho′

The Quer′ränna has the same song.

Free Translation—

1. Where are all the cloud people of the spring or heart of the spruce of the north? There in the north [the singers pointing to the north].

2. Where are all the cloud people of the pine of the west? There in the west [the singers pointing to the west].

3. Where are all the cloud people of the great oak of the south? There in the south [the singers pointing to the south].

4. Where are all the cloud people of the aspen of the east? There in the east [the singers pointing to the east].

5. Where are all the cloud people of the cedar of the zenith? There in the zenith [the singers pointing upward].

6. Where are all the cloud people of the nadir? There [the singers pointing to the earth].

PORTION OF A RAIN SONG OF THE HISTIÄN CHAI′ÄN (KNIFE SOCIETY).

Ha′ ah oh hai e är ha′ ah oh hai e är [1]

1. Yu-wa.....ti′-i-ta shi′-pa-po ni′-ma mo′-kaitc ha′-ro-ᵗse
There north entrance to lower world ascended cougar man

Ha′ ah oh hai e är ha′ ah oh hai e är

2. Yu-wa.....ti′-i-ta shi′-pa-po ni′ma ko′-hai-ra ha′ro-ᵗse
There north entrance to lower world ascended bear man

Ha′ ah oh hai e är ha′ ah oh hai e är

3. Yu-wa.....ti′-i-ta shi′-pa-po ni′-ma tu′-pi-na ha′-ro-ᵗse
There north entrance to lower world ascended badger man

Ha′ ah oh hai e är ha′ ah oh hai e är

4. Yu-wa.....ti′-i-ta shi′-pa-po ni′-ma ka′-kan-na ha′-ro-ᵗse
There north entrance to lower world ascended wolf man

Ha′ ah oh hai e är ha′ ah oh hai e är

5. Yu-wa.....ti′-i-ta shi′-pa-po ni′-ma ti-ä′mi ha′ro-se
There north entrance to lower world ascended eagle man

Ha′ ah oh hai e är ha′ ah oh hai e är

[1] Can not be translated.

6. Yu-wa.....	ti′-i-ta	shi′-pa-po	ni′ma	mai-tu-bo	ha′-ro-tse
There	north	entrance to lower world	ascended	shrew	man

An appeal to the animals of the cardinal points to intercede with the cloud people to water the earth. This song is long and elaborate. It begins by stating that their people, the cougar people and the others mentioned, ascended to ha′arts, the earth, through the opening, shi′-papo, in the north. It then recounts various incidents in the lives of these beings, with appeals at intervals for their intercession with the cloud people.

A RAIN SONG OF THE QUER′RÄNNA CHAI′ÄN.

Hĕn′-na-ti	he′-äsh	O′-shats	Ta′-wac	Mo′-kaitc	ko′hai	Tu-o′-pi
White floating clouds.	clouds like the plains	sun	moon	cougar	bear	badger

Ka′kan	Ti-ä′-mi	Mai-tu-bo	Ma′-a-se-we	Uyuuyewĕ	Sa′-mai-hai-a
wolf	eagle	shrew	elder war hero	younger war hero	name of warrior of the north

Shi′-no-hai-a	Yu′-ma-hai-a	Ah′-wa-hai-a	Pe′-ah-hai-a	Sa′-ra-hai-a
name of warrior of the west	name of warrior of the south	name of warrior of the east	name of warrior of zenith	name of warrior of nadir

Wai-ti-chăn-ni	ai-wan-na-tuon-ñi	Shi′-wan-na-wa-tu-un	hi-än-ye
medicine water bowl	cloud bowl	ceremonial water vase	I make a road of meal

Hi′-ah-är-ra	hi′-a-mo-ñi	Hi-shi-ko-ya-tsas-pa	sho′-pok-ti-ä-ma
the ancient road	the ancient road	white shell bead woman who lives where the sun descends	whirlwind

Sûs′-sĭs-tin-na-ko	ya′-ya	ko′-chi-na-ko	Mĕr′-ri-na-ko	kûr′-kan-ñi-na-ko
creator	mother	yellow woman of the north	blue woman of the west	red woman of the south

Ka′-shi-na-ko	quĭs-sĕr-ri-na-ko	mu-nai-na-ko
white woman of the east	slightly yellow woman of the zenith.	dark woman of the nadir

Free translation.—White floating clouds. Clouds like the plains come and water the earth. Sun embrace the earth that she may be fruitful. Moon, lion of the north, bear of the west, badger of the south, wolf of the east, eagle of the heavens, shrew of the earth, elder war hero, younger war hero, warriors of the six mountains of the world, intercede with the cloud people for us, that they may water the earth. Medicine bowl, cloud bowl, and water vase give us your hearts, that the earth may be watered. I make the ancient road of meal, that my song may pass straight over it—the ancient road. White shell bead woman who lives where the sun goes down, mother whirlwind, father Sûs′sĭ-stĭnnako, mother Ya′ya, creator of good thoughts, yellow woman of the north, blue woman of the west, red woman of the south, white woman of the east, slightly yellow woman of the zenith, and dark woman of the nadir, I ask your intercession with the cloud people.

PRAYER FOR SICK INFANT.

While the Sia have great faith in the power of their theurgists, individually they make efforts to save the lives of their dear ones even after the failure of the theurgist. Such is their belief in the supplica-

tions of the good of heart, that the vice-theurgist of the Snake Society, who is one of the writer's staunchest friends, rode many miles to solicit her prayers for his ill infant. He placed in her hand a tiny package of shell mixture done up in a bit of corn husk, and, clasping the hand with both of his, he said: "Your heart being good, your prayers travel fast to the sun and Ko'pĭshtaia." He, then, in the most impressive manner, repeated the following prayer:

(1) Ku-chŏr-pĭsh-tai-a (2) Ku-chŏr-na-tä-ni (3) Ku' ti ot se ä ta (4) Pai'-ä-tä-mo ki-ᵗchän-ñi (5) Ha'-mi ha'-notch (6) U-wa mash-ta-ñi (7) Ka'a-wĭnck (8) Ya'-ya (9) U-ä-mûts (10 Ka'-a-wĭnck (11) Sha'-mi wĭnck (12) U-we-chai-ni (13) N̄i na mats (14) ñi to ñi (15) ᵗsi tu ma ñi to ñi (16) Na' wai pi cha.

Explanation of prayer by governor for his sick child.

(1) Your thoughts and heart are united with Ko'pĭshtaia; you daily draw the sacred breath of life.

(2) Your thoughts are great and pass first over the road to the sun father and Ko'pĭshtaia.

(3) Our thoughts and hearts are as one, but yours are first.

(4) A man of the world.
(5) Of the tobacco family. } Referring to the child.

(6) You will be to the child as a mother, and the child will be as your own for all time to come; your thoughts will always be for one another.

(7) The hearts of ourselves and the child be united and as one heart henceforth; those of us who pray for the child will be known by the child and the child by us, even though the child has not been seen by us; we will know one another by our hearts and the child will greet you as——

(8) Mother.

(9) Take the child into your arms as your own.

(10) That the hearts of ourselves and the child's be united and as one heart; henceforth those of us who pray for this child will be known by the child and the child by us; though the child has not been seen by us, we will know one another by our hearts.

(11) May he have a good heart.

(12) May all good words come straight from his heart and pass over the straight road.

(13) While he is growing from childhood to youth.

(14) While he is growing from youth to manhood.

(15) And may he be valued as he grows from manhood to old age.

(16) May the child be beautiful and happy.

When one is ill from the heat of the sun he sprinkles corn pollen or meal to the sun, saying, "Father, I am ill in my head, it reaches my heart; I pay you with this meal; I give it to you as food, and will be thankful to you to take away my malady."

CHILDBIRTH.

One of the most sacred and exclusive rites of the Sia is associated with childbirth.

The accouchement here described was observed in May, 1890, at this pueblo. Upon discovering the woman to be in a state of gestation, the writer made every effort to obtain her consent, and that of the doctress and members of her family to be present at the birth of the child. She kept vigilant watch upon the woman and on the morning of the twenty-second learned that the event was imminent.

Upon inquiring of the father of the women the same morning why he did not go to the fields, he replied, "I can only sit and wait for the little one to come; I must be with my daughter." He was busy during the day making beads of bits of shells, reducing them to the proper size by rubbing them on a flat stone, afterwards piercing each piece by means of a rotary drill. The following day he sat weaving a band to tie his grandson's hair. The woman worked as usual with her sewing and prepared the family meals.

After the evening meal (which was some time before dark) on the 22d, the family, consisting of the parents of the woman to be confined, her husband and two boys of 8 and 9 years, gathered in the family living room (this room being 15 by 35 feet). It was evident that the woman was regarded with great consideration and interest, especially by her fond parents, who by the way, were foster parents, the woman being a Navajo. At the time of the removal of the Navajo to the Bosque Redondo, this child was left by her mother in the pueblo of Sia and has since lived with her foster parents.

On the evening of the 23d they gathered as before into the living room, which had been specially prepared for the event. A small quantity of raw cotton, a knife, and a string lay upon a shelf, and the infant's small wardrobe, consisting of a tiny sheet of white cotton, pieces of calico and a diminutive Navajo blanket, which were gifts to the child, were laid on a table in the farther end of the room. The family sat in anxious expectancy.

It is the woman's privilege to select her officiating ho'naaite theurgist, and if her husband or father be a ho'naaite, or vicar of a cult society, she usually selects one or the other, otherwise she requests her husband to visit the ho'naaite of her choice and ask his services; in the absence of her husband her brother goes. The woman, holding shell mixture[1] in her right hand (when meal or shell mixture is used in connection with the dead it is held in the left hand), breathes four times upon it, that the expected child may have a good heart and walk over one straight road, and then hands it to the bearer of her message to be presented to the ho'naaite, this shell mixture being the only compensation received for his services.

In this case the woman chose her father.

[1] Shell mixture and sacred meal are synonymous.

At 8 o'clock she was seized with the first stage of labor, and her mother at once made a fire in the fireplace, and a low, heavy stool, cut from a solid block, was placed in front of it. The woman took her seat upon the stool, with her back to the fire, wearing her cotton gown, woven dress and belt, and a small blanket around her.

The doctress (Fig. 19) and sister of the woman's husband, who had been summoned, arrived almost immediately. The father and husband removed their moccasins and the women had their legs and feet bare. The father took his seat upon a low chair in front of his daughter, the doctress sat to her left, clasping an ear of yellow and purple corn, and the writer by the side of the doctress, holding a medicine-stone which had been given her some days previously by the doctress to be used on this occasion. The husband sat upon his wadded blanket against the



FIG. 19.—Sia doctress.

wall, and by his side were his two sons and his sister, she having with her an infant and a child some 2 years of age. The night was warm and the door of the room was left open.

The ho'naaite laid three small buckskin medicine bags on the floor in front of him (one containing shell mixture, another the pollen of edible and medicinal plants, and the third a plant medicine powdered), and, holding the quill ends of two eagle plumes between his hands, he repeated in a low tone the following prayer;

I'-i-wa-u-wak' nai'-she-eh shan'-nai ha'-arts. Nai'-she-eh pitonipina-mu-^{t}sa. Na'-wai-pi-cha-u-wak. I-i-wa-u-wak', na'-wai-pi-cha-u-wak.

Mĭsh'-^{t}cha hätch-^{t}se ko'-ta-wa oh-wi-chai-ni u-wak. Nŏw'-a-muts Pi-to-ni p'i-na-mu-^{t}sa. Ya'-ya ko'pĭsh-tai-a ha'-arts shan'-nai Nai'-she-eh u-wak', pi-to-ni pi-na-mu-^{t}sa.

Na'-wai-pi-cha u-wak.

The unexpressed idea is that the child is to be received upon its sand bed, which is symbolic of the lap of its mother earth. That it will be as one without eyes, and it will not know its father's Ko′pĭshtaia. May the Ko′pĭshtaia make its heart to know them.

Free translation: "Here is the child's sand bed. May the child have good thoughts and know its mother earth, the giver of food. May it have good thoughts and grow from childhood to manhood. May the child be beautiful and happy. Here is the child's bed; may the child be beautiful and happy. Ashes man, let me make good medicine for the child. We will receive the child into our arms, that it may be happy and contented. May it grow from childhood to manhood. May it know its mother Ût′sĕt, the Ko′pĭshtaia, and its mother earth. May the child have good thoughts and grow from childhood to manhood. May it be beautiful and happy."

He then gave a pinch of the powdered-plant medicine to the woman for the good health of the woman and child, and her mother, lifting ashes from the fireplace with her right hand, deposited them upon the floor in front of the woman. The father, then, standing, dipped the ashes with his eagle plumes, holding one in either hand, and, striking the under side of the plume held in the left hand with the one held in right, threw the ashes to the cardinal points. Each time, after throwing the ashes, he passed the plumes down each side of the woman. When the plumes are struck the ho′naaite says: Mĭsh′tcha hätch′tse kótawa ohwichaini u′wak—"Ashes man, permit me to make good medicine for the child."

The ho′naaite discovers the diseased parts of the body through the instrumentality of ashes, and with the scattering of ashes to the cardinal points, physical and mental impurities are cast from those present and the chamber is also purified.

Again the sprinkling of the ashes was repeated, but instead of running the plumes down each side of the woman, the ho′naaite held them in his right hand while he stood to the right of the woman and, pointing the feather ends down, began at the top of the head and passed the plumes in a direct line in front and down the center of the body, with a prayer for the safe delivery of the child. At the close of this ceremony the doctress stood to the right side of the woman, and, placing the tip end of the corn to the top of her head, blew upon it and passed that also in a straight line down the center of the body, with a prayer that the child might pass through the road of life promptly and safely. This was repeated four times, when the doctress returned to her seat. The ho′naaite then offered a short prayer and placed a pinch of medicine in the woman's mouth, after which he left the house and went to the end of the placita and sprinkled meal to the east, praying that the sun father might bestow blessings upon the child. In a short time the woman passed down the long room, apparently in considerable pain, but bearing herself with dignified composure. Her mother

brought a cloth to the point where the ceremony had been held and emptied the contents (sand) upon the floor, and with her hands flattened the mound into a circle of 20 inches in diameter and some 5 inches deep. On this she laid a small black sheepskin, the sister-in-law placed a bowl of water upon coals in the fireplace, and the mother afterward brought a vase of water and gourd and set it by the side of the fireplace. A urinal was deposited beyond the center of the room, and still beyond was a vase of fresh water. The mother spread a wool mattress at the south end of the room and upon it a blanket, and in the center of the blanket a black sheepskin, and a wool pillow was laid at the head; a rich Navajo blanket was folded and laid by the side of this bed. Now, all was in readiness and an early delivery was evidently expected. The woman would sit for a time either upon a low stool or a chair, and then pass about in evident pain, but no word of complaint escaped her lips; she was majestic in her dignity. But few words were spoken by anyone; all minds seemed centered on the important event to come. "It was a sacred hour, too sacred for spoken words, for Sûs'sĭstinnako was to bestow the gift of a new life."

The whole affair was conducted with the greatest solemnity. At 11 o'clock the woman, whose suffering was now extreme, changed the small blanket which she wore around her for a larger one, which fell from her shoulders to the floor, and stood before the fireplace while the doctress standing behind her violently manipulated her abdomen with the palms of her hands. (The Zuñi observe a very different mode of manipulation.) The ho'naaite, who no longer acted professionally, but simply as the devoted father of the woman, took his seat upon a stool on the far side of the sand bed from the fireplace, the woman kneeling on the sand bed with her back to the fireplace and the doctress sitting on a low stool back of the woman. The woman clasped her hands about her father's neck and was supported at the back by the doctress, who, encircling the woman with her arms, pressed upon the abdomen.[1] The father clasped his hands around his knees, holding a stone fetich of a cougar in the palm of the right hand, and the sister-in-law, standing to the left of the woman, placed the ear of corn to the top of the sufferer's head and blew upon it during the periods of pain, to hasten the birth of the child. The prayer that was blown into the head was supposed to pass directly through the passageway of life. After each paroxysm the woman rose and passed about the room in a calm, quiet way. Sometimes she would sit on a low chair; again she would sit in front of the fire toasting her bare feet, and then leaving the extremely warm room

[1] After the religious services it is usual for the ho'naaite to absent himself, even though he be the woman's husband or father; his remaining being an evidence of unusual devotion. The mother-in-law may be present at childbirth, but not the father-in-law unless he be the chosen ho'naaite for the occasion, and his affection for the daughter-in-law prompting him to remain, this, however, being very rare. "Should the expectant mother fail to bend her thoughts upon the event to come the child would not care to be born and would lie still and die." It is rare for a Sia woman to die in childbirth; or for a child to be stillborn.

would walk about outside of the house. The pains were very frequent for three hours, the longest interval being thirty minutes, the shortest thirty seconds, the average being ten minutes, the pains continuing from three to twenty minutes. Though her suffering was great, nothing more than a smothered groan escaped her lips. The doctress seemed perfectly ignorant and unable to render any real assistance.

The only attempt made by the doctress to hasten the birth was an occasional manipulation of the abdomen, after which she placed the ear of corn at the head of the woman, and after blowing upon it passed it down the middle of the body four times, as before, and the heating of the person by heaping a few coals upon the floor and putting upon them cobwebs, the woman standing over the coals while the mother held the blanket close around her feet. This failing in its desired effect, scrapings from one of the beams in an old chamber were placed on coals, the woman standing over the coals. It is claimed by the Sia that these two remedies are very old and were used when the world was new. After a time a third remedy was tried—the fat of a castrated sheep was put on coals heaped in a small bowl, the woman also standing over this—but all these remedies failed. The woman occasionally assisted herself with a circular stick 4 inches in length wrapped with cotton. After 2 o'clock a. m. the father became so fatigued that the sister-in-law, instead of blowing upon the corn, stood back of him and supported his forehead with her clasped hands. The ear of corn, when not in use, lay beside the sand bed. As the night waned the woman gradually became more and more exhausted, and at half past two the mother laid several sheepskins upon the floor and on these a blanket, placing two pillows at the head of this pallet, and then taking a pinch of meal from the bowl which was at the right side of the bed, which had been prepared for use after the birth, put it into the right hand of the woman, who now knelt upon the sand bed, leaning upon her father's shoulder while he, in the deepest emotion, stroked her head. As the woman received the meal she raised her head and the sister-in-law handed the ear of corn to the father, who held it between his hands and prayed, then running the corn from the crown of the woman's head down the body in a direct line and holding it vertically while the woman sprinkled the meal upon it and prayed to Ût'sĕt that she might pass safely through the trials of parturition. She was now so exhausted that she was compelled to lie on the pallet; twice she raised from the pallet and took position for delivery.

The two babies of the sister-in-law slept on blankets, and the two sons of the woman who had been sent from the room early in the evening had returned and were also sleeping on rugs. At 4 o'clock the parents, in alarm at the interrupted labor, sent for a prominent ho'naaite, and the husband of the woman, who had left the room at the approach of extreme labor. The husband, in company with the ho'naaite, soon appeared, the former removing both his moccasins, the latter the

one from his right foot only. The newly arrived ho'naaite sent the sister-in-law for a small bowl of water, and into this he sprinkled a pinch of medicine (a specimen of this root was obtained) and then requested the woman to drink the water. It was with difficulty that she stood while she drank the medicine, and allowed the ho'naaite to practice his occult power, blowing upon the head and then blowing in a straight line down the center and in front of the body. The blowing was repeated four times, when the ho'naaite, standing back of the woman, put his arms around her, pressing hard upon the abdomen. After repeating a short prayer he replaced his moccasin and left the room, and the woman sank exhausted to her pallet, where she lay in a semiconscious condition until half past 5 in the morning.

Fetiches of Quer'ränna and of the cougar had been placed under her pillow and a third fetich (a concretion) in her right hand. The father kept a constant vigil, while the anxious mother moved quietly about seeking to relieve the woman by many little attentions. The mental agony of the parents was great, the more intense sufferer being the father, whose devotion to his daughter through her entire illness seemed without precedent. At half past 5 the woman opened her eyes and, raising herself, clasped her father's neck and made another great effort, and failing, she returned to her pallet, weeping from sheer discouragement. After a time the mother induced her to sit up and take food; a basket of waiavi and a piece of jerked meat which had been broiled over the coals in the same room were placed by the bed, when the mother hastened to another room for the corn-meal gruel she had prepared. (During the time this gruel is boiling it is dipped with a gourd and held high and poured back into the pot; after it is removed from the fire it is passed through this same process for some time. When it is ready to drink it is light and frothy. The mixture is composed of corn meal and water.) The woman ate quite heartily and drank two bowlfuls of the gruel. She had hardly finished her meal when she requested her father to hasten to his seat, and kneeling upon the sand bed she clasped his neck as before; the pain lasted but a minute and she returned to her bed. She was scarcely down, however, when she jumped up and knelt beside the pallet, the child being born by the time the woman's knees had reached the floor, the birth occurring at half past 6 o'clock. The excitement was great, as the birth at this moment was a surprise. The father was too absorbed in his daughter to think much of the infant, but the old mother was frantic for fear the child would be smothered. The writer was called to hasten and rub the father's moccasin down the woman's back; the toe of the moccasin must be downward. This was to hasten the passage of the placenta, which promptly followed. A sheepskin was with difficulty gotten under the child, and finally the skin was pushed forward as the woman raised herself, and the child was taken by the doctress. The woman stood while the doctress raised the child and

the sister-in-law the placenta four times to her face, as she expressed the wish that the umbilical cord might be severed without danger to the child. She then deliberately removed her belt and woven dress and walked to the bed which had been prepared for her and lay down.

The husband of the woman gave an extra sharpening to the knife which had lain upon the shelf, and handed it to the doctress, who, first placing the child upon the sand-bed, tied the umbilical cord an inch and a quarter from the umbilicus, and after cutting it removed the child, while the sister-in-law laid the placenta upon the sheepskin and swept the sands of the sand-bed upon a piece of cloth, placing the latter on the back of one of the little boys. Taking half of the raw cotton from the shelf, she laid it on the placenta, with the wish that the umbilicus might soon be healed; and folding the sheepskin, she deposited it in a shallow bowl, and taking a pinch of shell mixture in her right hand she carried the bowl from the house, followed by the boy. The sand and placenta were cast into the river; the woman saying, "Go! and when other women bear children may they promptly follow," referring to the placenta.

To the doctress was brought a bowl of warm water, with which she bathed the child; then a bowl containing yucca and a small quantity of cold water and a vase of warm water were set by her, and after making a suds with the yucca she added warm water and thoroughly cleansed the child's head, and then bathed the child a second time, in yucca suds, and taking water into her mouth from the bowl, she threw a solid stream over the child for a remarkable length of time. The child was rubbed with the hand, no cloth being used in the bathing. The greatest care was observed in cleansing the infant, who was afterward wrapped in a blanket and patted dry. During the bathing the grandparents, father, and brothers of the little one looked admiringly upon it, with frequent expressions of delight. The remaining portion of the umbilical cord was drawn through a wad of raw cotton, which was wrapped closely about it, and ashes were then rubbed over the child. The infant, a boy, weighed some 8 or 9 pounds, and its head was covered with a profusion of black silky hair; it had quite a perceptible red mark covering the center of its forehead. It seemed brighter from its birth than children of civilized parentage, and when twenty days old was as observing as many of our children at two months.

The cradle was brought forward by the grandfather, and the diminutive Navajo blanket spread over it. The tiny sheet was laid on the doctress's lap under the child. The writer was then requested to rise and receive the child; and as she held the little one wrapped in the sheet the grandfather offered a prayer of thanksgiving, and after sprinkling meal upon the writer gave her a pinch of it. She could not dream what was expected of her, but she ventured to make four lines on the child's breast, and sprinkled the remainder of the meal to the east. The venture was a happy one, for it was just right. The grandfather

said: "The child is yours; I make it a gift to you." The writer then returned the child to the doctress, and the grandfather proceeded to arrange the cradle, which has a transverse ridge, provided with a niche for the neck. Two bits of calico, folded several times, were laid on the blanket, and on this a piece of white cotton. The infant was placed nude upon its bed, and a piece of white cotton was laid over it from the neck to the lower part of the abdomen, extending on either side of the body and passing under the arms, the ends of the cloth being folded over the arms and tucked in on the inner sides. The little sheet was laid over the child, and the blanket folded around it; and then it was strapped to the cradle, which was deposited to the left side of the mother, on a white sheepskin. The ear of corn which had been such an important element previous to the birth was laid by the right side of the child. The grandfather, taking his seat at the foot of the cradle, deposited before him the three medicine bags which had been used in the ritual previous to the birth, and, holding his eagle plumes in his right hand, repeated a prayer. Two loosely twisted cords of native cotton, which had been prepared by the father of the infant immediately after the birth of the child, were placed under the mother's pillow, to her right side; these were afterwards tied around the ankles of the infant, to indicate that it was a child of Sûs'sĭstinnako and that it might know this father. After the prayer the grandfather touched the head, either side and foot of the cradle, and the child's body, with a spear point of obsidian; this was repeated four times for strength of body, limbs, heart, and mind of the child; and the spear was passed over the mother's limbs and body for the same purpose. The grandfather then gave the child its first food by placing in his own mouth a pinch of a specially sacred and valuable medicine composed of the pollen of medicinal and edible plants and transferring it into the infant's mouth from his. He then placed a bit with his fingers in the mother's mouth. The medicine was given to the child that he might know all the medicines of the earth, and to the mother that her milk which was to nourish the infant might be good, so that the child's heart and mind would be good.

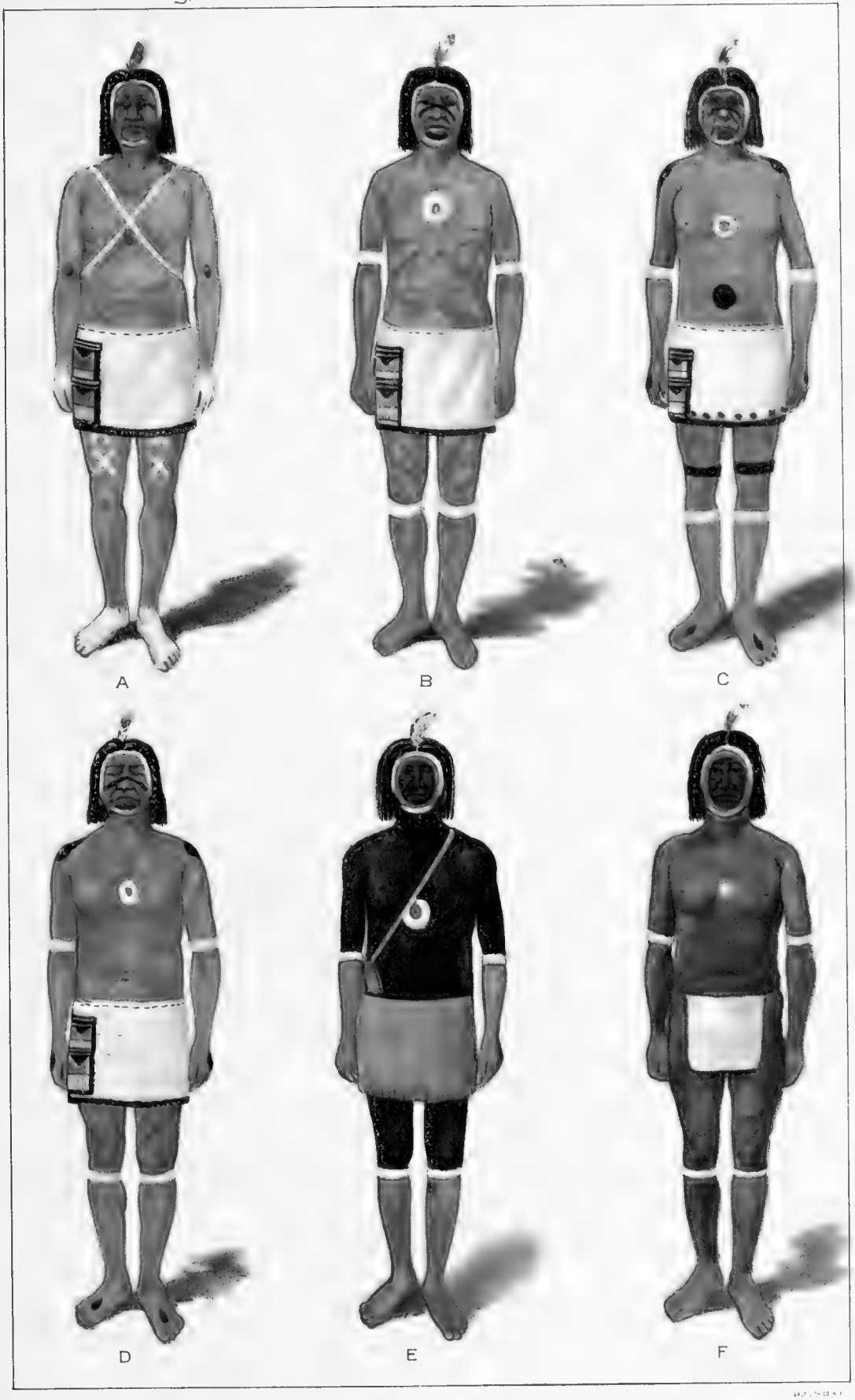
No attention was given to the woman by the doctress for two hours after the birth, when a fresh gown was put on, the gown being changed every morning and evening for four days, the one worn in the evening having been washed and dried the same day. The sheepskin on the bed was changed daily. About 9 o'clock a. m. the grandmother prepared a bowl of tea made from freshly gathered cedar twigs steeped in water, and the woman drank two gourdfuls. This tea is constantly drunk for a designated period, which differs with different clans; some drinking it regularly for four months, others taking it but three, and some only two months. No water is drunk during the time this liquid is used, and continency is observed for the two, three, or four months; the husband, however, sleeps during this time in the same room, and in this particular case the husband slept by his wife's side. Should a woman

break the continency, an animal would enter her abdomen and she would surely die, for so said the first mother of her clan.

After the first draft of the tea the woman ate a hearty breakfast of tortillas, jerked meat, and corn-meal gruel. Her female relatives and friends called to see her and the baby during the day, and she chatted as merrily as if nothing had happened.

The Sia infant is nourished regularly from the time it is born; and in this particular case the infant was nursed by a woman whose child was three months old, until the third morning, when the mother took it in charge. Though the door of the room could not be left open until the child should have passed out the fourth morning to see its sun father, and the two small windows being stationary, the most fastidious could have found no fault with the purity of the atmosphere. The father of the woman scarcely left her during the four days. He sat by her bedside, weaving garters, and showing her the tenderest care, and her mother did little else than look after the wants of the invalid and infant and admire and caress the latter. The woman's husband was absent all day working in the fields, but upon his return in the evening he could be found by his wife's side admiring the baby and saying pleasing words to the woman of his choice. The family all slept in the same room as usual with the addition the first two nights of the woman engaged to furnish nourishment to the child, who also had her infant with her.

By half-past 4 on the fourth morning the woman had donned her woolen dress and belt and sat upon the bed awaiting the arrival of the doctress, who soon came, and after a greeting handed ashes from the fireplace to the woman, who receiving the ashes in her right hand rubbed her legs and breast for purification, and then put on her moccasins. The grandmother took the infant from the cradle and wrapping it in its blanket handed it to the doctress, while the father of the woman gave her the two stone fetiches from under her pillow, which she placed in her bosom. The doctress then took from the fireplace a bit of charcoal and put it into the woman's mouth that the cold winds might not enter through her mouth and congeal her blood and prevent its flow, for should this occur the woman would surely die. The father then handed sacred meal to his daughter and the doctress, and again helping himself he gave some to the writer. The doctress led the way, carrying the infant in her arms and pressing to its breast the ear of corn which had played such an important part during parturition, and had since lain by the side of the child; the woman followed, also carrying an ear of corn, a companion of the first ear (everything associated with life must have its dual, and "corn is life itself, for it comes from the heart of Ût'sĕt; were it not for the mother corn none could live." These two ears of corn are afterwards wrapped together and laid under the child's cradle, where they must remain until the next corn-planting time, when it is sown in two or four rows, apart from the main field, and when ripe it



PERSONAL ADORNMENT WHEN RECEIVED INTO THE THIRD DEGREE
OF OFFICIAL MEMBERSHIP CULT, SOCIETY.

is eaten by the child, who takes the nourishment of the mother corn as it draws the milk from its mother's breast). The writer followed after the woman and, passing a few feet to the right of the entrance after leaving the house, they stood while the grandfather went from the door directly to the eastern gateway of his placita and stood facing east, where he was joined by the others, the doctress leading the way; she stooped at his right. The father of the infant was not present any of the time and the grandmother did not leave the house. The grandfather prayed and sprinkled meal to the east (Pl. XXXIII); the mother then whispered a short prayer and sprinkled meal to the same point; the doctress afterward stooping until she almost sat upon the ground bared the child's head as she held it toward the rising sun and repeated a long prayer, and addressing the child she said, "I bring you to see your sun father and Ko'pishtaia that you may know them and they you." At the close of the prayer she led the way to the house, and upon entering the woman sat on her bed with her legs extended and received the infant from the doctress, who laid the child across the mother's arms with its head to the east; the doctress then laying the ear of corn lengthwise on the child's breast requested the writer to hold the corn with her. The grandmother and the two boys stood to the left of the woman while the grandfather standing at the feet of the child offered a prayer. The doctress then repeated the long baptismal prayer, naming the child.[1]

She then placed the infant in the writer's arms, saying, "The child is named; it is yours." When the child was returned to her she washed its head in yucca suds, and bathed its body by again filling her mouth with water and spirting it over the child. It was afterwards rubbed with ashes, especially about its face, and the doctress gave it some warm water to drink by dipping her fingers into the vase and letting the drops fall from them into the infant's mouth; the child smacked its lips in evident satisfaction; and it was then strapped to the cradle which was handed the doctress by the grandmother; and the child in the cradle was placed on the mother's lap, and she proceeded to nourish it.

The grandfather brought an Apache basket containing a pyramid of meal and held it to the infant's face, then to the mother's, who blew upon the meal. The grandmother then blew upon it (that it might be blessed with the best thoughts of the breath of life) and, stooping, the grandfather held the basket with both hands while the doctress (Fig. 19) held it on the opposite side with her two hands, the grandfather whispering a prayer and then retiring to the far end of the room. The doctress offered a silent prayer, and left the room without farther ceremony, carrying the basket of meal, which was a gift to her from the infant, it

[1] The doctress names all infants, one name usually serving the female through life, but the male may have a plurality of names; for example, upon his return after a long journey, or after having performed some valorous deed his head is bathed in yucca suds by some female member of the cult society to which he belongs, or by a member of his clan, when she bestows an appropriate name.

being her only compensation for her services. The mother of the infant ate heartily and at half-past seven in the morning she walked fully 200 yards from the house down a declivity, and on her return to the house was bathed for the first time since her confinement, she herself doing the bathing.

Fig. 20 is the copy of a photograph of the infant the fourth morning after birth.

The lochial discharge ceased after the fourth day, and from this time until the expiration of the nine days but one fresh gown was worn each day. The infant was bathed each of the first four mornings by the doctress, and afterwards by the grandmother until the tenth morning, when the mother bathed the child. The infant's bed was changed several times daily, the bedding being put upon the cradle a couple of hours after washing. The night of the fourth day the doctress came about



FIG. 20.—Mother with her infant four days old.

9 o'clock and bathed the child; the ashes which had been applied to the child from its birth after each bath not being omitted. The fifth day the skin of the infant showed evidence of exfoliation, and the grandfather remarked, "When the new skin comes then all will be well." The sixth day the remnant of the umbilical cord was removed by lifting the raw cotton, and a finely powdered pigment of bluish-gray color was rubbed upon the umbilicus and a cotton cloth laid over it. When there is any appearance of suppuration the mother milks a few drops from her breast upon the umbilicus and applies fresh pigment.

Prof. F. W. Clark furnishes the following analysis of this pigment: "A slight amount is soluble in water, this consisting of sulphates of

lime and magnesia. The main portion consists of a mixture of a hydrous carbonate of copper (presumably malachite) with a ferruginous sand. The copper mineral dissolves readily in dilute acids and, in addition to the copper, contains traces of iron and of phosphoric acid. Probably an impure malachite pulverized."

Though the woman is considered an invalid and exempt from all household duties until the tenth morning after childbirth, she passes in and out of the house after the fourth morning and occupies herself sewing, not more than half of her time being spent in a reclining position.

The greatest attention was shown this woman and her child by her father, mother, and husband, the two men performing the most menial services for her and frequently waiting upon the infant.

MORTUARY BELIEFS AND CUSTOMS.

It was stated in a previous chapter that the Sia do not believe in a return of the spirits of their dead when they have once entered Shipapo. There was once, however, an exception to this. The story is here given in the theurgist's own words:

"When the years were new and this village had been built perhaps three years, all the spirits of our dead came here for a great feast. They had bodies such as they had before death; wives recognized husbands, husbands wives, children parents, and parents children. Just after sundown the spirits began arriving, only a few passing over the road by daylight, but after dark they came in great crowds and remained until near dawn. They tarried but one night; husbands and wives did not sleep together; had they done so the living would have surely died. When the hour of separation came there was much weeping, not only among the living but the dead. The living insisted upon going with the dead, but the dead declared they must wait; that they could not pass through the entrance to the other world; they must first die or grow old and again become little children to be able to pass through the door of the world for the departed. It was then that the Sia first learned all about their future home. They learned that the fields were vast, the pastures beautiful, the mountains high, the lakes and rivers clear like crystals, and the wheat and cornfields flourishing. During the day the spirits sleep, and at night they work industriously in the fields. The moon is father to the dead as the sun is father to the living; the dead resting when the sun travels, for at this time they see nothing; it is when the sun returns to his home at night that the departed spirits work and pass about in their world below. The home of the departed spirits is in the world first inhabited by the Sia."

It is the aim of the Sia to first reach the intermediate state at the time the body ceases to develop and then return gradually back to the first condition of infancy; at such period one does not die, but sleeps

to awake in the spirit world as a little child. Many stories have come to the Sia by those who have died only for a time; the heart becomes still and the lips cold and the spirit passes to the entrance of the other world and looks in, but it does not enter, and yet it sees all, and in a short time returns to inhabit its earthly body. Great alarm is felt when one returns in this way to life, but much faith is put in the stories afterwards told by the one who has passed over the road of death.

A ho'naaite holds a corresponding position in the spirit world.

When a death occurs any time before sundown, the body is buried as soon as it can be prepared for the grave; but if one dies after dark the body must not be touched until after sunrise, when it is bathed and buried as soon as possible. It is usual for an elderly woman of the clan to bathe the body, cold water being used; the head is washed first in yucca suds. Sometimes, however, this method is deviated from, if the remaining wife or husband has a special friend in some other clan. In the case of a man the breechcloth he has worn during his last illness is not removed. The immediate relatives in consanguinity and clan are present during the bathing and make the air hideous with their lamentations. The body is bathed on the bed upon which the party dies and here it remains until burial. The mourners are seated around the room, no one being near the bed but the woman who prepares the body for burial. If the corpse be a female, after the body is bathed a blanket is laid across the abdomen and limbs and tucked in on either side, the upper portion of the body being exposed.

The official members of the cult societies are painted after death, just as they were at their initiation into the society, the body having been previously bathed. The one exception to this rule—being the ho'naaite of warriors (Pl. XXXIV)—will show the change. The painting is done by the ho'naaite or vicar of the society to which the deceased belonged. Corn pollen is sprinkled on the head. Female officials have only their faces painted. When a man is not an official, neither his face nor body is painted, but as each man or woman of his clan looks upon the body a bit of corn pollen is sprinkled in a line under each eye and on the top of the head. While the body is being prepared for burial, the relatives who are present, amid lamentations, cut the apparel of the corpse, including his blankets, into strips and all is laid upon the body. After the body has been placed upon the blanket which is to wrap it for burial, if it be a man the wife places a quantity of food under the left arm, the arms hanging straight by the sides. If the wife does not perform this office then some member of his clan acts in her place. In the case of the death of a woman a member of her clan places the food. Again a small quantity of food is placed under the left arm by the man who principally officiates in the wrapping of the body. This is sometimes done by the son of the deceased. The blanket is first folded over one side of the body and then the other; then the end next to the head is caught together just above the

head and tied some little distance from the end, tassel fashion, with a rope. The rope is fastened around the throat of the corpse and then continued around the body to the feet, and the blanket is tied below the feet to correspond with the head. Two men perform this service and alone carry the body to the grave and bury it without further ceremony, though the wailing and weeping is kept up in the house for a considerable time.

If a husband dies the wife is bathed after the burial by a female member of her clan. This is done that the one remaining may be cleansed of much of her sorrow and be only a little sad. When a wife dies the husband is bathed by a female member of his clan. The bathing of the remaining husband or wife in Zuñi is done for a very different reason. When a child dies both the paternal and maternal parents are bathed; but children are not bathed when a parent dies.

The fourth day after death, when the spirit starts on its journey to the lower world, after hovering around the pueblo in the meantime, a ceremonial is held by the society to which deceased belonged. If the person was not a member of one of the cult societies the family select the ho'naaite they wish to have perform the ceremony. A hä'chamoni which was made on the third day by the theurgist is deposited on the north road for the spirit to carry to its future home. A vase of food is deposited at this time to feed the spirit on its journey, and if any other pieces of clothing have been found they are cut and thrown over the north road. The clothing must never be deposited whole as the spirit of the clothing could not leave the body if it was in perfect condition.

The road to the lower world, which is to the north (the dead returning to the world whence they came), is so crowded that the spirits are often in each other's way, for not only the spirits of the Sia pass over this road but the spirits of all Indians. The spirits of the dead are traveling to their first home and the unborn spirits are passing to the villages in which, after a time, they are to be born.

Upon reaching the entrance to the lower world a spirit is met by two guards to the entrance, who say to them, "So you have come here," and the spirit replies, "Yes." "Where is your credential?" inquires the chief guard, and the spirit shows his hä'chamoni, and the guard says, upon examining it, "Yes, here is your hä'chamoni to your mother, Sûs'sĭstinnako, that she may know you came promptly over the straight road; she will be pleased." If the spirit be not provided with hä'chamoni it can not enter the lower world, but must roam about somewhere in the north. After examining the hä'chamoni, the guard says, "You may enter Shipapo and go to your mother in the lower world." The first one met by the spirit in the lower world is Ût'sĕt, who says, "You have come from the other world?" and the spirit replies, "Yes." Then Ût'sĕt says, "You bring a hä'chamoni?" and the spirit replies, "Yes." "Let me see your hä'chamoni," and, after carefully looking over it, she hands it to Sûs'sĭstinnako, who says, "Good! good!" and, pointing to

the dead relatives of the newly arrived spirit, she adds, "There, my child, are your relatives; go join them and be happy." When one has been very wicked in this world he is not permitted to enter the lower world even though he has a hä'chamoni. The guards at the entrance can read all hearts and minds, and they put such spirits into a great fire which burns in the earth below somewhere not far distant from Shipapo. The spirit is burned to death in this fire and can never know anything, as it is entirely destroyed. When ti'ämonis and ho'naaites have performed their duties in this world with unwilling hearts, it is known to the mother in the lower world, and when such men enter after death they are made to live apart, and alone, and without nourishment for a certain period of time, depending upon the amount of purification required. Some sit alone for two years; others for five, and some for ten before the mother considers them worthy to enter into peace.

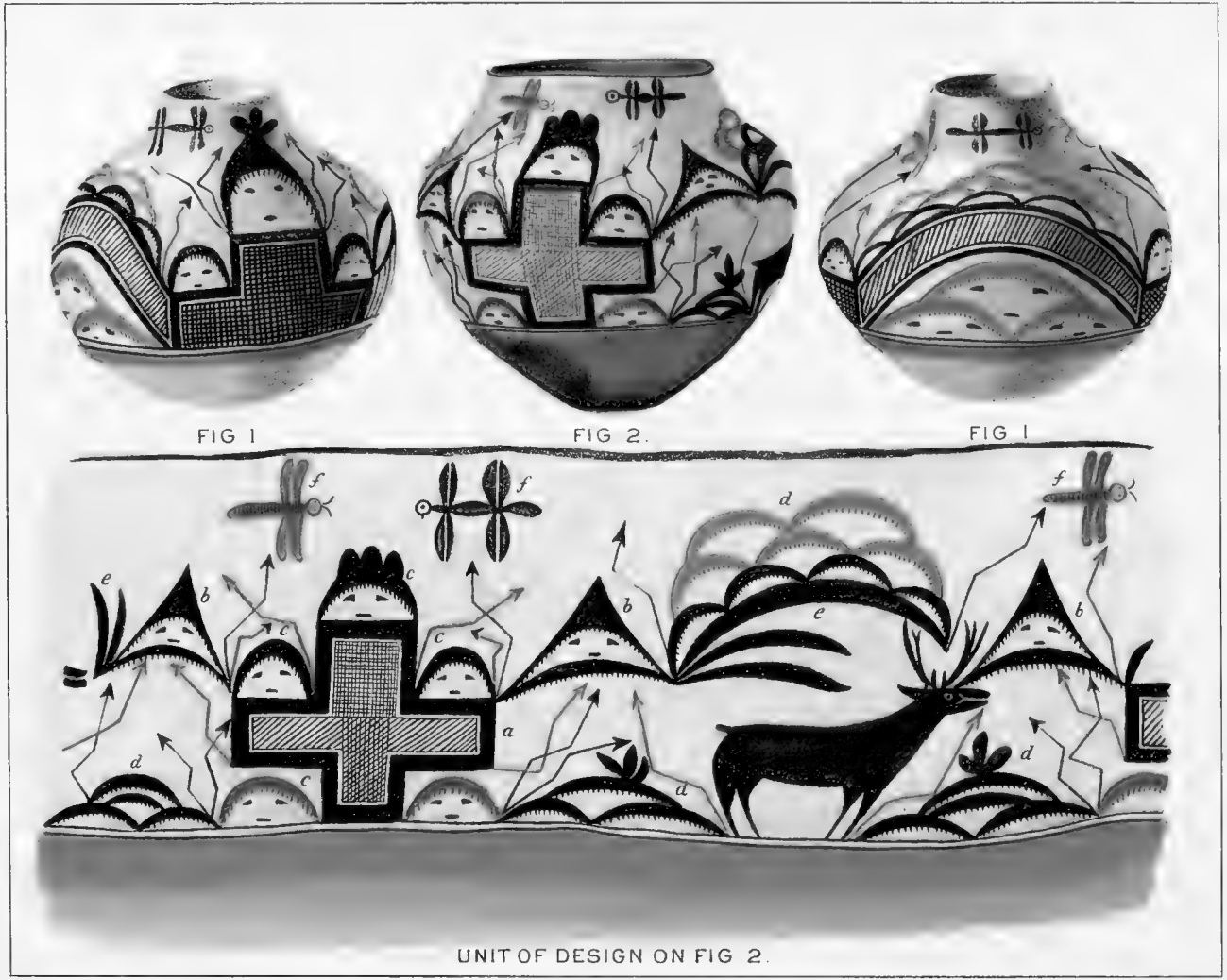
The spirits of all animals go to the lower world; domestic animals serving the masters there as they did here. The masters would not always recognize them, but Sûs'sĭstinnako knows the property of all. The spirits of the prey animals return, and know their friends, in the lower world. A hä'chamoni is made for the prey animal when he is killed, and a dance and ceremonial are held. The animal carries the hä'chamoni as his credential just as the spirit of the man does.

The cloud people never die; that is, no one, not even the oldest men's grandfathers ever knew of or saw a cloud person die.

MYTHS.

The writer gave but limited study while at Sia to myths not directly connected with their cosmogony and cult. The minds of several of the elder men are filled with the stories of the long-ago myth-makers, and they believe in the truth of these fables as they believe in their own existence, which is the cause, no doubt, for the absence of myth-making at the present time. It must be borne in mind, however, that these people have their winter tales and romances which they recognize as fiction. The animal myths here recorded were recited to the writer in a most dramatic manner by the vicar of the Snake Society, these portions of the stories where the coyote suffers disappointment, and is cheated of his prey, giving special delight to the narrator.

The coyote seems to be a despised though necessary object in the mythic world of the Indian of the Southwest. He is certainly not reverenced, nor is he a being for whom they feel terror. While he is the object of ridicule he is also often of great service. Through his cunning he supplied the Sia of the upper world with fire by stealing it from Sûs'sĭstinnako in the lower world. When the world was new, people were depilous except upon their heads. The coyote said (animals could communicate with men then): "It is not well for you to be depilous," and from the pilous growth about his mouth and belly he clothed the pubes and axilla of the Sia.



CEREMONIAL WATER VASES - SIA.

THE COYOTE ENCOUNTERS DISAPPOINTMENTS.

One day a shurtsûnna (coyote) was passing about and saw a hare sitting before his house, and the coyote thought, "In a minute I will catch you," and he sprang and caught the hare, who cried, "Man coyote, do not eat me; wait just a minute, I have something to tell you, something that you will be glad to hear, something you must hear." "Well," said the coyote, "I will wait." "Let me sit at the entrance of my house and I can talk to you," and, standing near, he allowed the hare to take his seat there. The hare said, "What are you thinking of, coyote?" "Nothing," said the coyote. "Listen, then, to what I have to say; I am a hare, and I am much afraid of people; when they come carrying arrows I am very afraid of them, for when they see me they aim their arrows at me and I am very afraid, and oh! how I tremble;" and suiting the action to his words the hare trembled violently, until he saw the coyote was a little off his guard; at this instant the hare started off at a run. It took a moment for the coyote to collect his thoughts, when he followed the hare, but he was always a little behind; after running some distance the hare entered the house of his companion just in time to escape the coyote. The coyote upon reaching the house found it was hard stone and he became very angry. "Alas!" cried he, "I was very stupid. Why did I allow this hare to fool me? I was so anxious to kill him; I must have him. How can I catch him? Alas! this house is very strong, how can I open it?" and he began to work, but after a while he cried, "The stone is so strong I can not open it." Presently the hare called, "Man coyote, how are you going to kill me?" "I know how I am going to kill you," replied the coyote, "I will kill you with fire." "Where is the wood?" cried the hare, for there was no wood at the house of the hare. "I will bring grass," said the coyote, "and set fire to it and the fire will enter your house and go into your eyes, nose, and mouth, and kill you." "Oh," said the hare, "the grass is mine, it is my food, it will not kill me; why would my food kill me? It is my friend. No, grass will not kill me." "Then," cried the coyote, "I will bring all the trees of the woods and set fire to them," and the hare replied, "all the trees know me, they too are my food, they will not kill me, they are my friends." The coyote said, "I will bring the gum of the piñon and set fire to it," and the hare cried, "Oh, now I am much afraid, I do not eat that and it is not my friend," and the coyote rejoiced that he had discovered a plan for getting the hare. He hurried and brought all the gum he could carry and placed it at the door of the hare's house and set fire to it and in a short time the gum boiled like hot grease, and the hare cried, "Now I know I shall die, what shall I do?" and the coyote's heart was glad. In a little while the hare called, "The fire is entering my house," and the coyote cried to him, "Blow it out". At the same time, drawing near to the fire, he blew with all his might to increase the flame. "Oh!"

cried the hare, "your mouth is so close you are blowing the fire on to me, and I will soon die;" and the coyote put his mouth still closer to the fire and thought the hare must die; he blew with all his strength, drawing nearer in his eagerness to destroy the hare, until his face was very close to him, when the hare threw the boiling gum into the face of the coyote and escaped. The coyote's thoughts were now directed to the removal of the hot gum from his eyes and face. It was a long time before he could see anything, and his eyes were painful. When he realized the hare had again escaped him he cried, "I am very, very stupid;" and he started off disgusted with himself, and was very sad. After traveling a long distance and crossing a mountain he came to a man (lynx) sleeping. The coyote was pleased to see the man, and thought, "Here is a companion. I guess the fellow has either worked hard all night or traveled much, for he sleeps soundly." And after thinking quite a while, the coyote procured a slender round stick and thrust it into his stomach and twisted it very carefully to gather fat. The lynx still slept soundly. "I will tell my companion when he awakes," said the coyote, "that I have the fat of the deer on my stick," and he laid it to one side and began thinking. "Ah, I have a thought. In the old days my companion's mouth was not so large; it was small; I will make it as it was. His ears were not so large; I will make them as they were. His tail was not so long; I will shorten it. His legs and arms and body were longer; I will lengthen them;" and he worked and pressed about the mouth until it was reduced in size, and so he labored over the ears until they were small, and pressed the tail until it grew shorter, and then pulled the legs and arms and body until they were the proper length. After his work was completed the coyote thought, "This is well." Still the lynx slept, and the coyote called, "Companion!" but no answer; the second time, "Companion!" and no answer; none coming to the third call, the coyote thought, "Why is it my companion sleeps so soundly? he must have traveled hard or worked hard all night," and again he called, "Companion!" and the lynx opened his eyes and looked about as one does when he has just awakened, but did not speak.

When he discovered that he was unlike his former self he said nothing, but thought, "That coyote man has done this work." The coyote then bringing the stick, with the fat upon it, said, "Companion, I wish much to talk with you; you have slept very soundly; I have brought you some fat from the deer; eat it; you will like it. I killed a deer the other day, and this is the reason I can bring you some fat;" and the lynx, thinking the coyote spoke the truth, ate the fat with much relish. When the fat had been consumed the coyote said, "Well, companion, what do you think of the deer fat?" but before the lynx made any reply the coyote added, "I lied to you; it is your own fat which I took from your stomach while you slept." The lynx at once became very sick and began vomiting. "I did not eat it," cried the

lynx. "Yes, you did," said the coyote. "See, you can not keep it;" and the lynx continued vomiting until all the fat had been thrown from his stomach. He was very angry with the coyote, and thought, "Some time I will play the same trick upon you, man coyote."

The two now separated, taking opposite roads; but in a short time the lynx returned and followed the coyote, aiming to keep close to him; but the coyote soon distanced the lynx, leaving him far behind; the coyote, however, did not know that the lynx was following him. After he had traveled a long distance he became tired and lay down to rest and sleep. After a time the lynx arrived, and finding the coyote sleeping, said: "Ah! ah! now I will play my trick;" and he called to the coyote, "Companion!" and no answer; again he called, "Companion!" and no answer; and the third and fourth calls brought no reply. The coyote was sleeping soundly. "He is surely asleep," said the lynx, and with a stick similar to the one employed by the coyote, he drew the fat from the coyote's stomach and placed it to one side; he then proceeded to change the appearance of the coyote; he pulled upon the mouth until he made it project, and it was much larger than before; then he pulled upon the ears until they became long, and he lengthened the tail to twice its size, and he also stretched the body and the arms. When he had completed his work he cried four times to the coyote, "Companion!" The fourth time the coyote awoke, and the lynx said, "I have brought you some deer fat;" and the coyote was stupid enough to believe the story, and ate the fat, for he was very hungry. Then, said the lynx, "Man, what do you think? Do you think I have lied to you? Well, I have lied to you; for the fat is from your own stomach;" and the coyote was very angry and vomited all that he had eaten. And he cried, "Man lynx, we are even;" and in a little while they separated, taking opposite roads.

The coyote traveled a great distance, and in the middle of the day it was very hot, and he sat down and rested, and he thought as he looked up to ti'nia, "How I wish the cloud people would freshen my path and make it cool;" and in a little while the cloud people gathered above the road the coyote was to travel over, and he rejoiced that his path was to be shady and cool; but after he had traveled a short distance, he again sat down, and, looking upward, said, "I wish much the cloud people would send rain, that my road would be fresher and cooler." In a little while a shower came, and the coyote was contented and went on his way rejoicing; but in a short time he again sat down and wished that the road could be very moist, that it would be fresh to his feet, and almost immediately the road was wet as though a river had passed over it, and the coyote was very contented.

But after going a short distance he again took his seat and said to himself, "I guess I will talk again to the cloud people;" and he said to them, "I wish for water over my road; water to my elbows, that I may travel on my hands and feet in the cool waters; then I shall be refreshed

and happy;" and in a little while his road was covered with the water and the coyote moved on; but after a time he wished for something more, and he sat down and said to the cloud people, "I wish much for water to my shoulders; I will then be very happy and contented;" and in a moment the waters arose as he had wished; but he did not go far before he again sat down and talked to the cloud people, saying, "If you will only give me water so high that my eyes, nose, mouth, and ears are alone above it I will be happy and contented; then my road will indeed be cool;" and his prayer was answered.

But even this did not satisfy him, and after traveling a short distance he sat down and implored the cloud people to give him a river that he might float over the road, and immediately a river appeared and the coyote floated with the stream. He was high in the mountains and wished to go below to the hare land. After floating a long distance he came to the hare land and saw many hares a little distance off, both large and small, and they were on both sides of the river. The coyote lay down as though he were dead (he was covered in mud), and listened, and presently he saw a woman ka'wate (mephitis) approaching, carrying her vase and gourd; she was coming for water. Before the coyote saw the ka'wate he heard the gourd striking against the vase. As she drew near the coyote peeped at her and she looked at him and said: "Here is a dead coyote. Where did he come from? I guess from the mountains above. I guess he fell into the water and died." When she came closer he looked at her and said: "Come here, woman." "What do you want?" said the ka'wate. "I want you to be my companion," said the coyote. "I know all the hares and other small animals well, and I guess in a little while they will all come here, and when they think I am dead they will be very happy." And the two talked much together and the coyote said: "Let us be companions, what do you think about it?" "I have no thoughts at all," said the ka'wate. "I," said the coyote, "think we had better work together." And the ka'wate replied: "It is well." Then said the coyote: "Go and bring me four clubs; I want them for the hares." When the ka'wate returned with the clubs the coyote said: "Put them on the ground and cover them with earth." When this was done he lay upon them. Then said the coyote: "Go and bring me the seeds from the pátiän." (A very tall grass: the seeds when ripe are black.) He put the seeds on his mouth, nostrils, eyes, and ears and scattered them over his body. This he did that the hares might think him dead and being eaten by worms. Then he said to the ka'wate: "Look around everywhere for the hares; when you see them, say a coyote is dead; they will soon come to look at me and they will dance around me for joy because I am dead. You return with them, and when they dance tell them to look to the cloud people while they dance, and then throw your poison (mephitic fluid) up and let it fall upon their faces like rain, and when it goes in their eyes they can not see, for the poison of the ka'wate burns

like red pepper, and when they become blind we can kill them; you will take two of the clubs and I will take two, one in either hand." When the ka'wate reached the hares she spoke to the hare chief. "Hare, listen; I saw a dead coyote over there." "Where?" cried the chief. "There by the river." "You are not lying?" said the chief. "No; I speak the truth, there is a dead coyote." "What killed the coyote?" "I don't know what killed him, but I think he must have fallen into the water far above and was brought here by the river." And the chief communicated the news to all of his companions and they concluded to send one hare alone to see if the ka'wate spoke the truth. "Go quickly," said they to the hare, "and see if the woman speaks the truth." The hare hastened off, and when he reached the coyote he looked carefully all about and concluded the coyote had been dead some time, for he saw that the body was covered with worms, and returning he told his people what he had seen, but some refused to believe that the coyote was dead. It was decided to send another messenger, and a second hare was dispatched to see if the first one's story was correct. He returned with the same news and so a third and fourth were sent, and each came bearing the story that a coyote was dead and being eaten by worms. Then the hares decided to go in a body and see the dead coyote. The men, women, and children hastened to look upon the dead body of the coyote, and rejoicing over his death they struck him with their hands and kicked him. There were crowds of hares and they decided to have a great dance. Now and then a hare would leave the group of dancers and stamp upon the coyote, who lay all the time as though he were dead, and during the dance they clapped their hands over their mouths and gave a whoop like the war whoop.

After a time the ka'wate stepped apart from the group and said, "All of you hares look up, do not hold your heads down, look up to the cloud people while you sing and dance; it is much better to hold your heads up." All threw their heads back and looked to ti'ni'a. Then the ka'wate threw high her mephitic fluid, which fell like rain upon the faces and into the eyes of all the hares, and their eyes were on fire; all they could do was to rub them; they could not see anything. And the coyote quickly rose, and handed the ka'wate two of the clubs, keeping two himself, and they killed all of the hares; there was a great number, and they were piled up like stones. Then said the coyote, "Where shall I find fire to cook the hares? Ah," said he, pointing across to a very high rock, "that rock gives good shade and it is cool; I will find the fire and cook my meat near the shade of the rock;" and he and the ka'wate carried all of the hares to this point and the coyote made a large fire and threw them into it. When this was done he was very warm from his work about the fire and he was also tired, and he lay down close to the rock in the shade. He was now perfectly happy, and contented to be quiet, but only for a short time. He must be at work

about something, and he said to the ka'wate, "What shall we do now?" and she answered; "I do not know," then the coyote said, "We will work together for something pretty; we will run a race and the one who wins will have all the hares." "Oh," said the ka'wate, "how could I beat you? your feet are so much larger than mine." "Well," said the coyote, "I will allow you the start of me." The coyote made a torch of the inner shreds of the cedar bark and wrapped it with yucca thread and lighting it tied this torch to the end of his tail. The fire was attached to his tail to light the grass that he might see everywhere about him to watch the ka'wate that she might not escape him. He then said, "Woman, I know you can not run fast, you must go first and I will wait until you have gone a certain distance." The ka'wate started off, but when out of sight of the coyote she slipped into the house of the badger. At the proper time the coyote started with the fire attached to his tail. Wherever he touched the grass he set fire to it. The ka'wate waited for him to pass and then came out of the house of the badger and hastening back to the rock she carried all the hares to a high ledge, leaving but four tiny little ones below. The coyote was surprised in his run not to overtake the ka'wate. "She must be very quick," thought he. "How could she run so fast," and after passing around the mountain, all the time expecting to see the ka'wate ahead of him, he returned to the rock surely expecting to find her there. Not seeing her, he cried, "Where can the ka'wate be?"

He was tired and sat down in the shade of the rock. "Why does she not come," thought the coyote; "perhaps she will not return before night, her feet are so small; perhaps she will not come at all. Strange I have not seen her; she must be far off." The Ka'wate, who was just above him, heard all that he said. She watched him and saw him take a stick and look into the mound for the hares. (They had covered the hares before leaving the place.) He pulled out a very small one which he threw away. He then drew a second one, still smaller than the first, and this he also threw off, and again a third, and a fourth, each one smaller than the other. "I do not care for the little ones," he said, "I have many here, I will not eat the smaller ones," and he hunted and hunted in the mound for the hares, but found no more; all were gone, and he looked about him and said, "That woman has robbed me," and he was glad to collect the four he had cast away and eat them, for he was very hungry. After his meal he looked about him and found the ka'wate's footprints on the rocks. He hunted everywhere for her, but he did not think to look above, and after searching a long time he became weary and laid down to rest. As he looked upward, he saw the woman sitting on the ledge of the rock with the hares piled beside her. The coyote was hungry for the hares, and he begged the ka'wate to bring him some, and she threw him down a very small one, and the coyote was angry with her and still more angry with himself, because he could not climb the rock; she had gone where he could not go. The

coyote was very angry when he parted from the ka'wate. After traveling a little way he saw a small bird. The bird was hopping about contentedly and the coyote thought, "What a beautiful bird, it moves about so gracefully. I guess I will work awhile with that bird," and drawing nearer to the bird, he asked, "What beautiful things are you working at?" but the bird could not understand the coyote, and he could only stand and admire the bird. He saw the bird take out his two eyes and throw them straight up, like two stones, to ti'nia, and then look upward, but he had no eyes in his head; presently the bird said, "Come my eyes, come quickly, down into my head," and immediately the eyes fell into the sockets of the bird, and the bird was apparently pleased, and the eyes appeared much brighter than before. The coyote discovering how improved the bird's eyes were, he asked the bird to take out his eyes and throw them up that they might become brighter, and the bird took out the coyote's eyes and held an eye in either hand for a little while, then threw them to ti'nia, and the coyote looked upward, but he had no eyes, and he cried, "Come back, my eyes, come quickly," and the eyes fell into the coyote's head. He was delighted with the improvement in his eyes, and, thinking that they might be made still more brilliant and penetrating by throwing them up a second time, he asked the bird to repeat the performance. The bird did not care to work any more for the coyote and told him so, but the coyote persistently urged the bird to throw his eyes up once more. The bird, growing a little angry, said, "Why should I work for you, coyote? No, I work no more for you," but the coyote was persistent, and the bird a second time took out his eyes, this time causing the coyote such pain that he cried. As the bird threw up the eyes the coyote looked up to ti'nia and cried, "Come my eyes come to me!" but the eyes continued to ascend and did not return. The coyote was much grieved and moved about slowly and awkwardly, for he could not see, and he wept bitterly over the loss of his eyes.

The bird was very much annoyed to be thus bothered with the coyote, and said to him, "Go away now; I am tired of you, go off and hunt for other eyes, do not remain to weep and bother me," but the coyote refused to leave and begged and entreated the bird to find eyes for him. Finally the bird gathered gum from a piñon tree and rolled two small bits between the palms of his hands, and, when they were round, he placed the two balls into the eye sockets of the coyote, who was then able to see, but not clearly as before, and these eyes, instead of being black like his other eyes, were slightly yellow. "Now," said the bird, "you can remain no longer."

After traveling some little distance the coyote met a deer with two fawns; the fawns were beautifully spotted, and he said to the deer, "How did you paint your children, they are so beautiful?" The deer replied, "I painted them with fire from the cedar." "And how did you do the work?" inquired the coyote. "I put my children into a

cave," answered the deer, "and built a fire of cedar in front of the cave, and every time a spark flew from the fire it struck my children, making a beautiful spot." "Oh," said the coyote, "I will do the same and make my children beautiful," and he hurried to his house and put his children into a cave and built a fire of cedar, and then stood off to watch the fire. The children cried much, because the fire was very hot. The coyote tried to stop their cries by telling them they would soon be beautiful like the children of the deer. After a time their weeping ceased and the coyote thought his words had comforted them, but, in fact, the children were burned to death. When the cedar was consumed the coyote hastened to the cave, expecting to find his children very beautiful, but instead he found them dead; he was enraged with the deer and ran fast to hunt her, but he could find her nowhere, and he returned to his house much distressed and much disgusted with himself for having been so easily fooled by the deer.

THE COYOTE AND THE COUGAR.

When the world was new the coyote was very industrious. He was always at work passing around the world everywhere. He was never lazy, but his thoughts were not good. He visited one camp of people and told them he belonged to the Corn people; at another camp he said he belonged to the Knife people. Both times he lied. After a while the coyote told the cougar, who was the father of all game, that he would like to be a ho'naaite. The cougar replied, "When your thoughts are good, then you may become one." "I guess the coyote is not lying, he has good thoughts now," and the cougar said to him, "Come in four days to me and we will make hä'chamoni." The coyote returned on the fourth day and worked eight days with the cougar preparing hä'chamoni. He was supposed to abstain during this time from food, drink, and smoking, and to practice continency. The cougar also fasted and practiced continency for the same period of time. Each night when it was dark the cougar said, "You, man coyote, now it is night, take this food which I give you and offer it to Ko'pĭshtaia." The first night the coyote returned with a contented heart, and upon entering the cougar's house he sat down. The second night after the coyote left the house with the food for Ko'pĭshtaia, he felt a little hungry, and he said to himself, "Last night I was not hungry, now I am hungry, alas! I am afraid or I would eat this food. Why have I wished to be a ho'naaite? I have food here and I wish to eat it, for I am hungry and yet I am afraid." And so he argued with himself until he overcame all scruples and ate the food. "Now," said he, "I am contented; I am no longer hungry;" and he returned to the cougar, pretending he had offered the food to Ko'pĭshtaia, and so the remaining eight nights the coyote ate the food which was given him by the cougar to offer to Ko'pĭshtaia, but he said nothing of this to anyone. The cougar grew

to be straight and had no belly, but the coyote did not change in appearance, and the sixth night the cougar began to suspect that the coyote was not making his offerings to Ko'pĭshtaia. The coyote told the cougar each night that he was contented and was not hungry. "I think you are a little sad," the cougar replied. "No, I am not sad; my stomach is strong," said the coyote, "I can fast eight days; I wonder that I am not a little sad. Why am I not hungry? I feel strong all the time that I am passing about."

On the seventh day the cougar and the coyote worked very hard all day making hä'chamoni, and when the work was completed the cougar taught the coyote the song which he would sing as ho'naaite of the Coyote Society. They sang all the eighth day and night and at the conclusion of the song the coyote was ordained a ho'naaite. Then said the cougar to the coyote, "Go now and kill a deer, and when you kill the deer bring the meat here and we will eat," and the coyote said, "It is well;" and he went to hunt the deer. In the early morning the coyote saw a deer, but the deer ran fast, and, though he followed him all day, he could not get close enough to catch him; he did not carry arrows, but was to catch him with his hands, and at night the coyote returned worn out. While the coyote was absent the cougar thought, "I guess the coyote will be gone all day," and when evening came and the coyote was still absent he thought, "The coyote has not a good head or thoughts for a ho'naaite." When the coyote returned at night the cougar said, "Why have you been gone all day and come back without a deer?" "I saw a deer," said the coyote, "early this morning, and I ran all day following him; I went very far and am tired." "Well," said the cougar, "why is it your head and heart cared to be a ho'naaite? I gave you food for Ko'pĭshtaia and you, coyote, you ate the food that should have been given to Ko'pĭshtaia; this is why you did not catch the deer to-day. Had you given the food to Ko'pĭshtaiă, instead of eating it, you would have caught the deer." The coyote thought much, but did not say a word. He slept that night in the cougar's house, and at dawn the cougar said to one of his own people, "you go and catch a deer." "Well, be it so," said the companion, and he started for the deer before the sun was up. In a short time he saw one; it was very near him, and with one jump he sprang upon the game and caught it before the sun was yet up, and hurrying back to the house of his chief he said, "Here is the meat of the deer."

The chief was much pleased and contented, but the coyote was very sad. All the companions of the cougar were happy and rejoiced. "Good, my son!" said the cougar, "I am much contented; we will pay the Ko'pĭshtaia with plumes; now we will eat the flesh of the deer." The chief ate first and the others after him; he would not give any of the meat to the coyote, because the coyote's thoughts were not good. The chief enjoyed his food greatly, this being the ninth morning from the beginning of his fast. The cougar said to the coyote, "Your

thoughts and heart are not good; you are no longer a ho'naaite; go! You will henceforth travel quickly over and about the world; you will work much, passing about, but you will never understand how to kill the deer, antelope, or any game; I do not travel fast, but my thoughts are good, and when I call the deer they come quickly." Since that time the coyote is always hunting the deer, rabbit, and other game, but is not successful.

THE COYOTE AND RATTLESNAKE.

The coyote's house was near the house of the rattlesnake. The coyote said to the snake, "Let us walk together," and while walking he said to the snake, "To-morrow come to my house." In the morning the snake went to the house of the coyote and moved along slowly on the floor, shaking his rattle. The coyote sat to one side, much afraid; he became frightened after watching the movements of the snake and hearing the noise of the rattle. The coyote had a pot of rabbit meat cooking on the fire, which he placed in front of the snake, inviting him to eat, saying, "Companion, eat." "No, companion, I will not eat your meat; I do not understand your food," said the snake. "What food do you eat?" asked the coyote. "I eat the yellow flowers of the corn," was the reply, and the coyote immediately began to look around for some, and when he found the pollen, the snake said, "Put some on the top of my head that I may eat it," and the coyote, standing as far off as possible, dropped a little on the snake's head. The snake said, "Come nearer and put enough on my head that I may find it." He was very much afraid, but after a while he came close to the snake and put the pollen on his head, and after eating the pollen the snake thanked the coyote saying, "I will go now and pass about," but before leaving he invited the coyote to his house: "Companion, to-morrow you come to my house." "Very well," said the coyote, "to-morrow I will go to your house." The coyote thought much what the snake would do on the morrow. He made a small rattle (by placing tiny pebbles in a gourd) and attached it to the end of his tail, and, testing it, he was well satisfied and said: "This is well;" he then proceeded to the house of the snake. When he was near the house he shook his tail and said to himself, "This is good; I guess when I go into the house the snake will be very much afraid of me." He did not walk into the house, but moved like a snake. The coyote could not shake the rattle as the snake did his; he had to hold his tail in his hand. When he shook his rattle the snake appeared afraid and said, "Companion, I am much afraid of you." The snake had a stew of rats on the fire, which he placed before the coyote and invited him to eat, saying, "Companion, eat some of my food," and the coyote replied, "I do not understand your food; I can not eat it, because I do not understand it." The snake insisted upon his eating, but the coyote continued to refuse, saying, "If you will put some of

the flower of the corn on my head I will eat; I understand that food." The snake quickly procured some corn pollen, but he pretended to be afraid to go too near the coyote, and stood off a distance. The coyote told him to come nearer and put it well on the top of his head; but the snake replied, "I am afraid of you." The coyote said, "Come nearer to me; I am not bad," and the snake came closer and put the pollen on the coyote's head and the coyote tried to eat the pollen; but he had not the tongue of the snake, so could not take it from his head. He made many attempts to reach the top of his head, putting his tongue first on one side of his nose and then on the other, but he could only reach either side of his nose. His repeated failures made the snake laugh heartily. The snake put his hand over his mouth, so that the coyote should not see him laugh; he really hid his head in his body. The coyote was not aware that the snake discovered that he could not obtain the food. As he left the snake's house he held his tail in his hand and shook the rattle; and the snake cried, "Oh companion! I am so afraid of you," but in reality the snake shook with laughter. The coyote, returning to his house, said to himself, "I was such a fool; the snake had much food to eat and I would not take it. Now I am very hungry," and he went out in search of food.

THE SKÁTONA.

The myth of the ska'tona (a monster plumed serpent) who, in the old time, ate the people, is familliar to every man, woman, and child of Sia. This serpent, who lived in the mountains, did not move to catch the people, but drew them to him with his breath; he never called but one person at a time, compelling each one to approach sidewise so that he could not be seen. The hand was usually grabbed first, then the serpent would take the hand into his mouth and gradually devour his victim.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION—BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.

ETHNOLOGY

OF THE

UNGAVA DISTRICT, HUDSON BAY TERRITORY.

By LUCIEN M. TURNER.

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ETHNOLOGY OF THE UNGAVA DISTRICT, HUDSON BAY TERRITORY.

By Lucien M. Turner.

(Edited by John Murdoch.)

INTRODUCTION.

Ungava bay is on the northern coast of old Labrador—the last great bight of the strait between the ocean and the mouth of Hudson bay. Its chief affluent is Koksoak or South river, which is several hundred miles long and takes its rise in a picturesque festoonery of lakes looped through the highlands half way down to Quebec.

FORT CHIMO AND THE SURROUNDING REGION.

Fort Chimo is in longitude 68° 16′ west of Greenwich and latitude 58° 8′ north. The post is on the right bank of the Koksoak river, about 27 miles from its mouth. The elevation of the level tract on which the houses are situated is but a few feet above high-water mark. The location was selected on account of its comparative dryness, and also because the river affords a safer anchorage in that vicinity than lower down.

The early Moravian missionaries, long before established on the Atlantic coast, desired to extend their labors for the conversion of the Eskimo to their teachings. About the year 1825 a vessel ascended the Koksoak river for the purpose of selecting a new missionary station. Nearly opposite Fort Chimo is a beacon, yet standing, erected by the people of that vessel. Their reception among the natives was such that they gave a glowing account of it on their return. The Hudson Bay Company immediately took steps to erect a trading post upon the river, and a small party was sent in the year 1831 from Moose Factory to establish a trading post where the trade would appear to promise future development. The men remained there, obtaining a precarious subsistence, as the vessel delivering them supplies visited that place only once in two years. Their houses were simple, consisting of a single structure for the official in charge, another for the servants, and two more for the storage of goods. A palisade was erected around the

houses to prevent the intrusion of the natives, Indians and Eskimo, who were so lately at war with each other that the rancorous feeling had not subsided and might break out afresh at any moment without warning. The remnants of the palisade were yet visible in 1882. The establishment of this trading post had a pacifying influence upon the natives, who soon found they could do better by procuring the many valuable fur-bearing animals than by engaging in a bloody strife, which the traders always deprecate and endeavor to prevent or suppress. After many trials to establish an overland communication with the stations on Hamilton inlet, it was found to be impracticable, and in 1843 the station was abandoned.

John M'Lean, in a work entitled "Twenty-five Years in the Hudson's Bay Territory,"[1] gives an account of that portion of the country that came under his knowledge from the year 1838 to 1843.

In the year 1866 the steamer *Labrador* was built and sent with a party to reestablish the post at Fort Chimo. Since 1866 the post has been a paying station, and in later years a good profit has been made.

Fort Chimo is the chief trading station of the Ungava district. The Ungava district proper is the area embraced by the watershed whose outflow drains into Ungava bay. The eastern boundary is formed by the foothills on the west side of the coast range, which is the western limit of Labrador. This range has a trend northwest and southeast to latitude 60°, where it makes a somewhat abrupt angle and pursues a nearly north course, terminating with Cape Chidley and the Buttons, the latter a low group of islets some 7 miles north of the cape. The southern boundary is the "Height of Land," near latitude 55°. This region is estimated to be from 1,000 to 3,000 feet above sea level. The greater portion of it is comparatively level, and on its surface are innumerable lakes of various sizes, some of which are quite large. The western boundary is not so well known in the southern part of the region, as it has been seldom traversed. It seems to be a high elevation extending toward the north-northwest, as numerous streams run from the southwest and west toward the central or Koksoak valley. Eskimo who have traversed the region many times report that the elevated land abruptly ends near 58° 30′, and that there is formed a wide swampy tract, estimated to be about 80 miles wide, which opens to the northeast and southwest. The northwestern portion of the district is a great area abounding in abrupt hills and precipitous mountains of various heights. These heights, estimated to range no higher than 2,600 feet, terminate abruptly on the western end of the strait, and the numerous islands in that portion of the water are, doubtless, peaks of this same range continuing to the northwest.

It will be thus seen that the district of Ungava is a huge amphitheater opening to the north. The interior of the district is excessively varied by ridges and spurs of greater or less elevation. The

[1] Two vols. in one. London, 1849.

farther south one travels, the higher and more irregularly disposed are the hills and mountains. These spurs are usually parallel to the main ranges, although isolated spurs occur which extend at right angles to the main range. The tops of the higher elevations are covered with snow for the entire year. The summits of the lower ones are shrouded with snow as early as the 1st of September, and by the 1st of October the snow line descends nearly to their bases. The lower lands are full of swampy tracts, lakes, and ponds.

The more elevated regions are totally destitute of vegetation, except the tripe des roches, which gives to the hills a somber color, anything but inspiring. Fully three-fourths of the more elevated region is, with the exception of black lichens, barren rock. Everywhere is the evidence of long continued glacial action. The southern exposures of all the hills show the same character of wearing, and, in many instances, a fine polish on the rocks forming their bases. This smoothness extends nearly to the summits of the higher peaks. These again are somewhat rougher and often broken into jagged, angular fragments, frequently of immense size. The more moderate elevations are usually rounded summits on whose higher portions may be found huge bowlders of rock having a different character from that upon which they rest, proving that they were carried there by masses of ice in the glacial ages. The northern extremity of all the ridges and spurs indicate that the glacial sheet moved to the north-northwest, for these portions of the rocks are so jagged and sharp edged as to appear to have been broken but yesterday.

The rivers of this district are numerous and several are of great size, although but two of them are navigable for more than 100 miles, and this only for boats of light draft.

The river usually known as George's river (Kan'gûk¢lua'luksoak) is the largest on the eastern side. This stream takes its rise about latitude 55° and pursues a moderately tortuous course nearly northward and falls into the eastern side of Ungava Bay. It has a wide bay-like mouth narrowing rapidly at the mouth proper. Swift rapids are formed here on account of an island near the center. Beyond this the river expands and has an average width of half a mile for a distance of about 18 miles where the river bends eastward and forms rapids for over 2 miles. It is navigable for the steamer *Labrador* only about 12 miles. Beyond the rapids it runs tolerably smooth and deep for nearly 40 miles and thence to the source is a series of rapids and falls, rendering portages frequent, and making it utterly impracticable for even a heavy skiff to ascend beyond 70 miles from the mouth. Indians assert that high falls occur about 150 miles from the mouth of the George's river. The water is said to fall from a terrific height, almost perpendicularly, and it causes the ground to tremble so that the thundering noise may be heard for more than a day's journey from it.

The tide at the mouth of George's river rises 53 feet, and at the

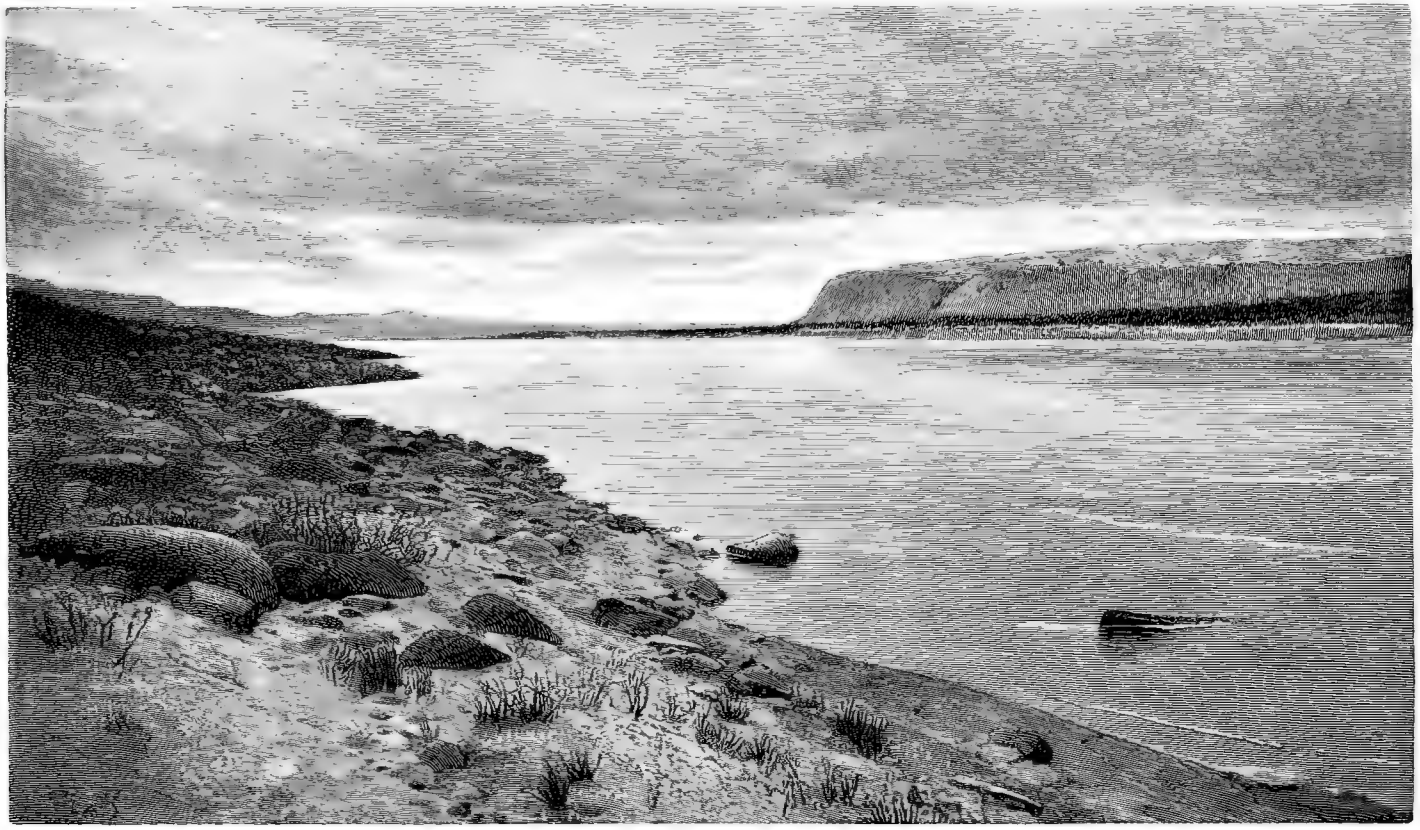
Anchorage, opposite the newly established station of Fort George, some 12 miles from its mouth, 42 feet.

Whale river is the next important river toward the east. Off the mouth of this river is a huge island, locally known as Big island. This high island extends parallel to the course of the river, and a reef, connecting its upper end with the mainland, becomes dry at low water. The course of Whale river is not well known. About 40 miles up this stream it suddenly contracts and becomes a mere creek, forming the outlet of a large lake, whose position is not satisfactorily determined. It is to the banks of this lake that certain families of the Indians repair for summer fishing.

The next large river is the Koksoak. This stream is the largest in the district. It takes its rise from lakes situated on the plateau—the "Height of Land,"—and pursues a course having a general direction north-northeast. On emerging from the lake it is rather small, but forks and unites again about 40 miles below. The current is is sluggish at the upper end, and the eastern branch is so narrow that the Indians have to part the overhanging alders and willows to afford their canoes a passage. This branch is said to be the shorter way to the lake and is not so difficult to ascend, the eastern branch being shallow and containing a number of rapids.

Below the junction of the branches the river rapidly becomes larger and contains several very high falls, below which the river flows northwest for a couple of hundred yards and then curves to the north-northeast for a distance of 5 miles. This portion is only about 700 feet wide. It then turns abruptly westward and rushes swiftly through a narrow gorge only 200 feet wide for a distance of about 7 miles. This course is noted for several rapids, through which a boat can not make its way without great difficulty. At the end of this 7-mile run the river again bends abruptly to the east, and continues that course with little northing until the last bend, some 65 miles below, is reached. At the lower end of the 7-mile run the ledges and reefs are too numerous to count. From this place to the mouth of the Larch river the Koksoak is obstructed by islands, bars, and shoals. Below these, however, it becomes quite broad, until nearly opposite the high point or promontory below the mouth of the Larch (Pl. XXXVI). From this locality it is monotonous till the last bend is reached, some 4 miles above Fort Chimo, where it suddenly turns to the north and pursues that direction to the sea with little variation. At the last bend, however, a large island, locally known as Big island, not only obstructs but ends navigation for boats drawing over 6 feet. Small boats, such as skiffs and native boats, ascend to the lower end of 7-mile run. The principal obstruction to travel in any kind of vessel in the Koksoak from Big island to the mouth of the Larch river is the presence of two falls or rapids about 40 miles from Fort Chimo.

The extreme rise and fall of the tide at the mouth of the river is 62



VIEW ON KOKSOAK RIVER.

feet 3 inches. The usual rise and fall is from 8 to 12 feet less, depending on the stage of the river. At Fort Chimo the tide rises as much as 31 feet. The backwater is held in check as far as the upper rapids in a common stage of water, and during a high rise in the month of June the water is "backed" some 3 miles beyond the upper rapids.

The branches of the Koksoak river are few and unimportant. The larger tributary is the Larch river. It is a rapid and almost unnavigable stream of variable depth, mostly shallow, and 100 to nearly 400 yards wide.

At about 40 miles from its mouth the Larch forks, the lower or southwest fork draining the eastern sides of the same mountains whose western slopes are drained by the Little Whale river. This southwest fork of the Larch river is quite small and scarcely capable of being ascended, although it may, with great caution, be descended. This is the course followed by the Little Whale river Indians when they traverse the country to join the Naskopies of the Koksoak valley. The northwest branch of the Larch is still smaller and is reported to issue from the swampy tract of land in about latitude 58° 30′.

The next large river is the Leaf. Its mouth is about 34 miles northwest of Fort Chimo, and it flows into a peculiarly shaped bay named Tass'iyak, or "like a lake." The length of the river proper is estimated to be but 40 miles, flowing from a very long and narrow lake, having its longer axis extending southwestward and draining the greater part of the swampy tract lying in latitude 58° 30′. The southwestern portion of this tract is merely an area covered with innumerable small lakes so intimately connected by short water courses that it is difficult to determine whether water or land constitutes the greater part of the area. The rivers to the west are of less importance and drain the rugged area forming the northwestern portion of the district, or that part lying under the western third of Hudson strait.

The principal portion of Hudson strait that came under my observation is Ungava bay. This bay is a pocket-shaped body of water lying south of the strait and toward its eastern end. Soundings in various portions of this bay indicate a depth of 28 to 70 fathoms for the central area. The bottom appears to be uniformly the washings from the freshwater streams. The extreme tides of Hudson strait tend to produce the most violent currents in this bay. Opposite the entrance of Leaf river bay is a whirlpool of considerable size, which causes much trouble to navigation. It is safe enough at high water but very dangerous at half-tide.

The large island known as Akpatok lies in such a position as to break much of the current along the south side of the middle of the strait, but to give additional force to the currents at either end. This island is about 100 miles long and has an average width of 18 miles. It is the largest island in the strait proper.

The coast line of the northwest portion of the mainland is imperfectly

known, as is the western coast forming the eastern shore of Hudson bay. Navigation in any portion of Hudson strait is attended with much danger, not alone from the tremendous energy of the tides but also from the quantity of ice to be found at all times. During the months of August and September the strait is comparatively free from large fields of ice, but after that date the harbors, coves, and other anchorages are apt to be frozen up in a single night.

CLIMATE.

The temperature is controlled by the direction of the wind. The warmest winds are southeast, south, and southwest during the summer. The northeast winds bring (if backing) fog, rain, or snow; the north wind is usually cold and disposed to disperse the clouds. The northwest wind is always very cold in winter and chilly in summer. Westerly winds are moderate in winter and summer. The southerly winds are warm at all seasons if blowing hard, but very cold if blowing lightly in winter. I think the coldest light winds of the winter are from a point little west of south. They are doubtless due to the cold from the elevated region—the Height of Land.

The greatest amount of cloudiness occurs in the spring and fall; rather less in July and August, and least during December, January, and February. The average cloudiness for the entire year is not less than eighty-two hundredths of the visible sky.

Sleet falls mostly from the middle of September to the beginning of December. Snow then succeeds it and continues to be the only form of precipitation until the middle of April, when sleet and snow fall until the first rain sets in. The season of rain is very erratic. It may rain by the first of May, but rarely does. Snow falls every month in the year; the 2d of July and the 6th of August were the dates farthest apart for this form of precipitation. The character of the rain is usually moderate to hard for the summer showers; although several notable exceptions of abundant dashes occur during late June and all of July. The August and September rains are usually light to moderate, but often persistent for several days. The snowfalls are light to heavy in character, rarely, however, lasting more than twenty-four hours. The sleet is usually precipitated in severe squalls. The lower grounds are permanently covered with snow by the 1st of December, this covering remaining until the 10th of June. At the latter date only the heavier drifts and the snow of the ravines remain. It entirely disappears by the last of July at all elevations no higher than that of Fort Chimo.

The higher hills retain snow until the last of August, but none is to be seen in the vicinity of Fort Chimo after that date. By the middle of September snow again covers the tops of the distant high hills.

Fogs rarely occur so far inland as Fort Chimo. Those occurring are in July and August. At times they are very dense; and, as they form during the earliest hours of the day, they are usually dissipated by 4

to 7 a. m. While the ice is setting in the river, and driven back and forth by the tides, huge volumes of steam arise from the inky water and are spread over the land by the light winds prevailing at that season. This moisture deposited on the bushes and trees forms a most beautiful sight.

AURORAS.

Auroras may be seen on most of the clear nights of the year. The month of June is, on account of its light nights, the only month in which an aurora is not observable.

VEGETATION.

The northern limit of trees on the Labrador coast is in latitude 57°. Here the conifers are stunted and straggling. Beyond the coast range they attain a slightly higher altitude and thence continue to a point about thirty miles north of the mouth of George's river. On the western side of the mouth of this river the trees are pushed back 15 to 20 miles from the sea. At the mouth of Whale river, the trees attain a height of 30 to 50 feet on the eastern (right) bank and within 2 miles of the shore. On the left bank the trees do not approach to within 10 to 15 miles of the coast. At the mouth of False river they form a triangular extension and attain considerable size, due in great measure to the peculiar formation of a huge amphitheater whose north wall serves as an admirable protection against the cold winds from the bay. On the western side of False river the tree line extends in a southwesterly direction across the Koksoak and to the banks of the Leaf river nearly at its source from the large lake. From the south side of this lake the trees are very much scattered and attain inconsiderable size, scarcely fitted for other uses than fuel.

A line from this lake southwest to the eastern shore of Hudson bay forms the northern limit of trees for the northwest portion of the region. The people (Eskimo only) who dwell north of this line are dependent upon the stunted willows and alders, growing in the deeper ravines and valleys having a southern exposure. Large pieces of wood are much sought for by the Eskimo of the northwest portion, for use in constructing their kaiaks, umiaks and paddles, as well as spear shafts and smaller requirements for which the distorted stems of willow and alder will not suffice.

South of the line given as the northern limit of trees the growth slowly attains greater size and extension of area. The timber north of the Height of Land is comparatively small, the spruce and larch rarely attaining a size greater than 12 to 15 inches at the ground and rapidly tapering up for 2 feet or so above the surface. Above the height of 2 feet the stems slowly taper and, in a few instances, produce symmetrical stems for more than 15 feet. The trees growing within 40 miles of Fort Chimo seldom exceed 10 inches in diameter, and of the larger

trunks the logs are selected to form the material from which the walls of all the buildings at that place are constructed.

The alders, willows, and a few other bushes attain a greater or less size, depending upon the situation and amount of protection afforded. I have seen as large stems of these shrubs growing within a mile of Fort Chimo as I have seen at either Davis inlet or Rigolet.

The flowering plants are sparsely scattered over the northern areas, and then only in most suitable soils. The ground remains frozen from the last of October—earlier some seasons—to the last of May, or even into the middle of June. The appearance of the annuals is sudden, and they rapidly attain their full size and quickly fall before the chilling winds of autumn.

ANIMAL LIFE.

MAMMALS.

The marine mammals alone appear to be well known, but the number of cetaceans can certainly be increased above the number usually reported inhabiting the waters immediately bordering upon the region.

The phocids are best known for the reason that off the shores of southeast Labrador the pursuit of species of this family is carried on each spring to an extent probably surpassing that anywhere else on the face of the globe.

At the mouth of Little Whale river, the white whale is taken to the number of 500 each year, although the capture is steadily decreasing. The Indians here do the greater part of the labor of driving, killing, flaying, and preserving them. At Fort Chimo another station for the pursuit of white whales is carried on. Here the Eskimo do the driving and killing, while the Indians perform the labor of removing the blubber and rendering it fit for the oil tanks into which it is placed to put it beyond the action of the weather. The skin of the white whale is tanned and converted into a leather of remarkably good quality, especially noted for being nearly waterproof.

Of the land mammals, the reindeer is probably the most abundant of all. It is found in immense numbers in certain localities, and forms for many of the inhabitants the principal source of subsistence, while to nearly all the residents its skins are absolutely necessary to protect them from the severity of the winter.

The black, white and brown bears are common enough in their respective areas. The former rarely ranges beyond the woodlands, never being found so far north as Fort Chimo. The white bear is common in the northern portions bordering the sea and is occasionally found as far south as the strait of Belleisle, to which it has been carried on icebergs or fields of ice. Akpatok island and the vicinity of Cape Chidley are reported to be localities infested with these brutes. The brown or barren-ground bear appears to be restricted to a narrow area and is not

plentiful, yet is common enough to keep the Indian in wholsome dread of its vicious disposition when enraged.

The smaller mammals occur in greater or less abundance according to the quality and quantity of food to be obtained. The wolves, foxes, and wolverines are pretty evenly distributed throughout the region. The hares are found in the wooded tracts for the smaller species and on the barren regions for the larger species.

BIRDS.

The actual residents were accertained to be less than twenty species for the northern portion of the Ungava district.

Of the actual residents the two species of the genus *Lagopus* are the most abundant of all birds in the region, and form an important article of food for all classes of people inhabiting the district. The winter exerts an important influence on the smaller resident species. During the winter of 1882–'83 the number of the four species obtained of the genus *Acanthis* was almost incredible. Their notes might be heard at any time during that season, which was cold, though regularly so, and not specially stormy. In the winter of 1883–'84 not a single individual was observed from the middle of November to the last of March. The same remarks may well apply to the white-winged crossbill (*Loxia leucoptera*), which was very abundant the first winter, but during the last winter a very small flock only was observed and these were apparently vagrants.

Among the water birds, certain species which were expected to occur were conspicuously absent. The character of the country forbids them rearing their young, as there is little to feed upon; and only a few breed in the immediate vicinity of Fort Chimo. Among the gulls, *Larus argentatus smithsonianus* is certainly the only one breeding in abundance within Ungava bay. Of the terns, the Arctic tern (*Sterna paradiseæ*) was the only one ascertained to breed in Hudson strait. I am not certain that they do breed there every year. Although I saw them in early July, 1883, under conditions that led me to believe that they were on their way to their nests, yet it was not until 1884 that a number of eggs were secured near that locality.

Of the smaller waders, but two species were actually ascertained to breed in the vicinity of Fort Chimo, yet two or three other species were observed under such circumstances as to leave no doubt that they also breed there.

THE NATIVE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTRY—GENERAL SKETCH.

THE ESKIMO.

The northern portions of the coast of the region under consideration are inhabited by the Eskimo, who designate themselves, as usual, by the term "Innuit," people (plural of innuls, "a person"). That they have been much modified by contact with the whites is not to be doubted,

and it is equally certain that their language is constantly undergoing modifications to suit the purposes of the missionary and trader, who, not being able to pronounce the difficult guttural speech of these people, require them to conform to their own pronunciation. The region inhabited by the Innuit is strictly littoral. Their distribution falls properly into three subdivisions, due to the three subtribal distinctions which they maintain among themselves. The first subdivision embraces all the Innuit dwelling on the Labrador coast proper and along the south side of Hudson strait to the mouth of Leaf river, which flows into Ungava bay.

These people apply the term Sû hi′ nĭ myut to themselves and are thus known by the other subdivisions. This term is derived from Sû hi′ nûk, the sun, and the latter part of the word, meaning people (literally "those that dwell at or in"); hence, people of the sun, sunny side, because the sun shines on them first. At the present time these people are confined to the seashore and the adjacent islands, to which they repair for seals and other food. South of Hamilton inlet I could learn of but one of these people.

The Innuit of pure blood do not begin to appear until the missionary station of Hopedale is reached. Here a number of families dwell, although mostly at the instigation of the missionaries. Between this station and Hebron are several other Moravian missionary stations, at each of which dwell a greater or less number of pure Innuit. North of Hebron to Cape Chidley there are but few families, some seven in all, embracing a population of less than 40 souls. On the west side of Cape Chidley, as far as the mouth of George's river, only about eight families live. These with the George's river Innuit comprise less than 50 individuals. There is a stretch of coast bordering Ungava bay, from George's river to the Koksoak river, which is uninhabited.

The Koksoak river people include only four or five families and number less than 30 souls. The next people are those dwelling at the mouth of Leaf river, but they are more properly to be considered under the next subdivision.

The exact number of the Sûhĭnĭmyut could not be definitely determined. They are subdivided into a number of small communities, each bearing a name compounded of the name of their home and myut, "the people of."

The inhabitants of Cape Chidley are known as Ki lĭn′ĭg myut, from the word ki lĭn′ĭk, wounded, cut, incised, lacerated; hence, serrated, on account of the character of the rough rocks and mountains.

The natives of George's river are known as Kan′gûk¢lua′luksoagmyut; those of the Koksoak river are known as Koksoagmyut.

The second subdivision includes the Innuit dwelling on the area lying between the mouth of Leaf river, thence northward, and along the south side of Hudson strait. Their western and southern limit extends to about latitude 60°.

These Innuit are known by the other subdivisions as Ta hág myut. They apply the same term to themselves. The word is derived from Tá hak, a shadow; hence people of the shade or shadow as distinguished from the Sû hĭ′ nĭ myut, or people of the light or sunshine. These people are but little influenced by contact with the white traders, who apply to them the term "Northerners." Their habits and customs are primitive, and many appear to be entirely distinct from the customs of their neighbors south and east. The character of the region in which they dwell is very rugged. Huge mountain spurs and short ranges ramify in every direction, forming deep valleys and ravines, along which these people must travel to reach the trading station of Fort Chimo of the Ungava district, or else to Fort George of the Moose district.

The distance to the former is so great that only three, four, or five sledges are annually sent to the trading post for the purpose of conveying the furs and other more valuable commodities to be bartered for ammunition, guns, knives, files and other kinds of hardware, and tobacco. Certain persons are selected from the various camps who have personally made the trip and know the trail. These are commissioned to barter the furs of each individual for special articles, which are mentioned and impressed upon the mind of the man who is to effect the trade. The principal furs are those of the various foxes. Among them are to be found the best class of silver foxes, and wolverenes and wolves. Those to be sent are procured the previous winter, and when the snow falls in November or early December the line of sleds starts out for the trading post. The sled which represents the wants of the more western of these Innuit speeds to where the second may be, and they repair to the place of meeting with the third, and thus by traversing the line of coast the arctic caravan is made up. Provisions are supplied by the wayside, and when all is in readiness a southern course is traveled until the frozen morasses on the south of the hills are reached. Thence the course is toward Leaf river and across to Fort Chimo. By the last week of April or the first week of May the visitors are expected at the trading post. They usually bring with them about two-fifths of all the furs obtained in the district; indeed, the quantity often exceeds this amount. They seldom remain longer than the time needed to complete their bartering, as the rapidly melting snow warns them that each day of delay adds to their labor in returning.

The homeward journey is more frequently made along the coast, as there the snow is certain to remain longer upon the ground. It is not infrequent that these travelers experience warm weather, which detains them so long that they do not reach the end of their journey until the middle of the summer or even until the beginning of the next winter. Many of the Innuit who accompany these parties have never seen white men until they arrive at Fort Chimo; women are often of the party. These people are usually tall and of fine physique. The men are larger

than the average white man, while the women compare favorably in stature with the women of medium height in other countries.

They have quite different customs from those of their present neighbors. Their language is dialectically distinct; about as much so as the Malimyut differ from the Kaviagmyut of Norton Sound, Alaska. The Tahagmyut have a rather harsh tone; their gutturals are deeper and the vowels usually rather more prolonged. They are much given to amusement and still retain many of the old games, which the Sûhĭ'nĭmyut have forgotten or no longer engage in. Their dead are treated with no ceremony. They simply lash the limbs of the deceased to the body and expose the corpse to the elements, removing it, however, from immediate sight of the camp. Old and infirm people are treated with severity, and when dependent upon others for their food they are summarily disposed of by strangulation or left to perish when the camp is moved.

Women are held in little respect, although the men are very jealous of the favors of their wives, and incontinence on the part of the latter is certain to be more or less severely punished. The male offender, if notoriously persistent in his efforts to obtain forbidden favors, is usually killed by the injured lover or husband.

Gambling is carried on to such a degree among both sexes that even their own lives are staked upon the issue of a game. The winner often obtains the wife of his opponent, and holds her until some tempting offer is made for her return. The only article they possess is frequently wagered, and when they lose they are greeted with derision. The women, especially, stake their only garment rather than be without opportunity to play. The usual game is played with a number of flattened pieces of walrus ivory. On one side are a number of dots forming various crude designs, which have received names from their fancied resemblance to other objects. These must be matched. The game somewhat resembles dominoes, and whether it is original with these Innuit I was unable to conclude. They stoutly maintain that it originated with themselves. I suspect, however, it had its origin in the imitation of some one who had observed the playing of dominoes on board of some of the whaling vessels visiting these waters.

For other amusements these Innuit indulge in a number of tests of personal strength, such as wrestling and leaping.

Feasts are held at stated times in huge structures built of snow blocks. The exact signification of these feasts was not learned, owing to the limited stay these people made each year at Fort Chimo. Their dress consists of the skins of seals and reindeer. The sealskins are worn during rainy weather and by those who are in the canoe or kaiak. The skirts of their garments are ornamented with an edging of ivory pieces cut into a pear-shape, having a small hole pierced through the smaller end.

These pieces of ivory, often to the number of many scores, give a

peculiar rattle as the wearer walks along. Their boots are noticeably different from those made by the Koksoak river people, inasmuch as the soles are often made with strips of sealskin thongs sewed on a false sole, which is attached to the under surface of the sole proper. The strips of thong are tacked on by a stout stitch, then a short loop is taken up, and another stitch sews a portion of the remainder of the strip. This is continued until the entire under surface consists of a series of short loops, which, when in contact with the smooth ice, prevents the foot from slipping. This sort of footgear is not made in any other portion of the district.

The third subdivision comprises the Innuit dwelling on the eastern shore of Hudson bay, between latitudes 53° and 58°.

The number of these Innuit could not be definitely ascertained, as they trade, for the most part, at Fort George, belonging to the Moose district. Each year, however, a party of less than a dozen indiviuals journey to Fort Chimo for the purpose of bartering furs and other valuables. Those who come to Fort Chimo are usually the same each year. In language they differ greatly from the Koksoak Innuit, inasmuch as their speech is very rapid and much harsher. Many of the words are quite dissimilar, and even where the word has the same sound it is not unusual that it has a meaning more or less different from that used by the Koksoak Innuit. As these people have been long under the advice and teachings of the missionary society of London, it is to be expected that they, especially those nearer the trading station, are more or less influenced by its teachings. Their customs differ somewhat from the other Innuit, though this is due in a great measure to the impossibility of procuring the necessary food, and skins for garments, unless they are constantly scouring the plains and hills for reindeer or the shore for seals and other marine creatures.

These people are called by their neighbors and themselves I'tivi' myut, Iti'vûk signifies the other, farther, distant side (of a portion of land); hence, the word Itivimyut means people of the other side. The northern Itivimyut are probably the most superstitious of all the Innuit dwelling in the region under consideration.

Although the missionaries have devoted considerable energy to the work of converting these people, and though many of them profess Christianity, these professions prove on examination to be merely nominal. As soon as the converts are beyond the teacher's influence, they return to the shaman for guidance.

In the spring of 1883 a party of these people visited Fort Chimo. A great number of the Koksoak people were ill, some 30 miles above the station. The visitors had among them a shaman renowned throughout the land. He, with the connivance of two or three of the people with whom he stopped, began some of the most astonishing intrigues to dispel the evil spirit afflicting the people. Several men were parted from their wives, and these were compelled to dwell with other men

who were at the bottom of the conspiracy. Other couples had to flee from that place to prevent being divorced, at least temporarily. After a time the visitors descended to Fort Chimo, and while the bartering was going on the shaman announced his conversion to Christianity, and vowed never again to return to practicing shamanism. On the return of the harried fugitives they passed the camp of the Koksoak river people, where they had a few days before been the guests, and stole their supplies of reindeer meat and other valuable property, even attempting to purloin a kaiak; and they had proceeded many miles thence before they were overtaken and compelled to relinquish the stolen property. They were seen some months after by some Tahagmyut, to whom they stated their fear of returning among the Koksoak people. A more plausible scamp does not dwell in those regions than this shaman, whose name is Sápa. His power over the spirit controlling the reindeer is widely believed in and invoked by the other shamans, who feel incapable of turning the heads of the deer and thus compelling them to wander in the desired direction.

Among these people only have I heard of a son who took his mother as a wife, and when the sentiment of the community compelled him to discard her he took two other women, who were so persecuted by the mother that they believed themselves to be wholly under her influence. She even caused them to believe they were ill, and when they actually did become so they both died.

In former years the Innuit extended entirely around the shore of Hudson bay. Now there is a very wide gap, extending from the vicinity of Fort George, on the eastern coast, to the vicinity of Fort Churchill, on the western coast. At the present time the Innuit occupy the areas designated in these remarks. That they formerly extended along the Atlantic coast far to the south of their present limit is attested by an abundance of facts.

The Innuit of the eastern shore of Hudson bay, the Itivimyut, informed me that the Innuit dwelling on the islands of Hudson bay, more or less remote from the mainland to the east, are termed Ki′gĭktag′myut, or island people. They relate that those islanders have quite different customs from the mainland people, inasmuch as their clothing consists of the skins of seals and dogs, rarely of reindeer skins, as the latter are procurable only when one of their number comes to the shore to trade for such articles as can not be obtained on his locality. The spear, kaiak, bow and arrow are used, and they have but little knowledge of firearms. These people are represented as often being driven to greatest extremity for food. It is said that their language differs considerably from that of their neighbors.

The Innuit, as a rule, are peaceful and mild-tempered, except when aroused by jealousy. They are, however, quick enough to resent an insult or avenge an injury. They form a permanent attachment for the white man who deals honestly and truthfully with them, but

if he attempts any deception or trickery they are certain to be ever suspicious of him, and it is difficult to regain their favor.

Their courage and ability are not to be doubted, and when they are given a due amount of encouragement they will perform the most arduous tasks without complaint.

THE INDIANS.

The Indian inhabitants of this region may be divided into three groups, differing but slightly in speech, and even less in habits.

(1) The Mountaineers, "Montagnais" of the early Jesuit missionaries, roam over the areas south of the Hamilton inlet and as far as the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Their western limits are imperfectly known. They trade at all the stations along the accessible coast. Many of them barter at Rigolet and Northwest river.

In customs they differ little from the Indians to the north of them. Their means of subsistence are the flesh of reindeer, porcupines, and various birds, such as geese, ducks, ptarmigan, and grouse.

The habits of the reindeer in this portion of the country are very erratic. They are often absent from large tracts for several years, and appearing in abundance when little expected. The scarcity of the reindeer renders the food supply quite precarious; hence, the Indians rely much upon the flesh of the porcupine, hare and birds for their principal food.

Their clothing is of the tanned skin of the deer when they are able to procure it. As nearly all the skins of the reindeer are used for garments, few are prepared for other purposes; hence the northern stations (Fort Chimo) furnish great numbers of these skins in the parchment condition to be purchased by the Mountaineers, who cut them into fine lines for snowshoe netting and other purposes.

They procure the furs of marten, mink, fur beaver, muskrats, lynxes, wolverines, wolves, and foxes. A considerable number of black bears are also obtained by these Indians. By the barter of these furs they procure the articles made necessary by the advent of the white people among them. They are quiet and peaceable. Many of them profess a regard for the teachings of the Roman missionaries, who have visited them more or less frequently for over a hundred and fifty years. I was unable to obtain the term by which they distinguish themselves from their neighbors. That they are later comers in the region than the Innuit is attested by the bloody warfare formerly carried on between them, of which many proofs yet exist. The Mountaineers applied to the more northern Indians the term of reproach, "Naskopie." This word denotes the contempt the Mountaineers felt for the Naskopies when the latter failed to fulfill their promise to assist in driving the Innuit from the country.

It was impossible to obtain a satisfactory estimate of the numbers of the Mountaineers. My stay in their vicinity was too short to learn as much about them as was desired.

(2) The Indians dwelling to the southwest of the Ungava district differ rather more than the Mountaineers, in their speech, from the Indians of the Ungava district. They average, for both sexes, slightly taller than the Naskopies. The men are spare, and have small limbs and extremities. The cheek bones are also more prominent, although this is partly due to the thin visage. The women are disposed to be stout, and in the older women there is a decided tendency to corpulence. The complexion, too, is considerably darker. The men wear long hair, usually cut so as to fall just upon the shoulders. The hair of the women is quite heavy, and is worn either in braids or done up in folds upon the side of the head.

In their personal habits they are much more tidy than their eastern relations. Their dress differs but little from that of their neighbors. The women dress in cloth made of material procured from the traders, and some of these appear respectable enough when so dressed. They have been so long in contact with the white people at Moose Factory, some of whom had brought their wives from home with them, that the women have imitated the dress of the latter. Certain of these women are skillful in working fancy articles. The men occupy their time in hunting and fishing. The reindeer have in recent years become so scarce in the vicinity of Fort George that many of the Indians have left that locality and journeyed to the eastward, dwelling in proximity to the Naskopies, or even with them.

Both sexes are mild and sedate, although the women are exceedingly garrulous when well acquainted.

These Indians are often employed to assist in the capture of the white whale, which ascends the lower portions of the larger streams of that district. They are the only Indians whom I have seen eating the flesh and blubber of these whales. The Naskopies will not touch it, declaring it to be too fat. The fins and tail are portions highly prized while they are helping render out the blubber of these whales at Fort Chimo.

A point of great dissimilarity between the Naskopies and the Little Whale river Indians is that the birch-bark canoe of the latter is much more turned up at each end, producing a craft well adapted to the swift currents of the rivers. The occupants are skillful boatmen, and will fearlessly face wind and wave that would appall the heart of the Naskopie. Sails are sometimes erected in a single canoe. At times two canoes are lashed together and a sail spread from a single mast. This double boat is very convenient for the traveler. These people are strongly addicted to the practice of polygamy; and while they are Christians externally, they are so only as long as they are within the reach of the missionary.

Among those who had come to dwell in the Ungava district were several who had, because of the opportunity, taken two wives. The missionary, E. J. Peck, suddenly appeared among them as he was on

his way to London. On learning of the conduct of the people he gave them a sound rating and besought them to relinquish the practice. They assented, and sent the second wives away until the missionary was out of the country, and then they took them back.

Girls are often taken as wives before they attain puberty, and for this reason they seldom have large families. Two, three, or four children form the usual number for each family. They are satisfied if the first child is a male; and to the mother who delivers only female children a term of contempt is often applied. The women appear to be well treated, and occasional laxity of morals is not noticed among them so long as it is not notorious.

Their beliefs and traditions were not learned by me, on account of the presence of these people at Fort Chimo when other labors occupied my entire time.

Their purchases are made with furs of the same kinds as those procured in the Ungava district. The black bear is procured in great numbers by these Indians. They preserve the under lip, dressed and ornamented with beads and strips of cloth, as a trophy of their prowess.

The harpoon used in striking the white whale of their rivers is an implement doubtless peculiar to those people, and much resembles that of the Innuit.

(3) The third division of Indians includes those dwelling for the most part in the Ungava district. The total number of these Indians is about 350. They apply the term Ne né not—true, ideal men—to themselves, although known by the epithet Naskopie, which was applied to them by the Mountaineers of the southeastern portion of the region.

They differ slightly in customs from their neighbors, but their speech is somewhat different, being very rapidly uttered and with most singular inflections of the voice. A conversation may be begun in the usual tone, and in a moment changed to that of a whining or petulant child. It is impossible for the white man to imitate this abrupt inflection, which appears to be more common among the males than the females. During ordinary conversation one would erroneously suppose, from the vehemence of gesture, that the speaker was angry. They are much more demonstrative than their neighbors, often shouting at the full strength of their voices when an ordinary tone would apparently suffice. That their voice is penetrating may be inferred from the fact that during quiet days it is not unusual for parties to converse from opposite sides of the Koksoak river, at Fort Chimo, where the river is nearly a mile and a half wide.

As certain words are spoken in a voice scarcely louder than a whisper, I did not believe it possible that they could understand each other at so great a distance, until I saw the people on the opposite shore doing what they were bidden by those with me.

When the women get together it is amusing to observe the eagerness

of the old crones endeavoring to make their voices heard above the rest. The clerk, while trading with them, often teases them until the entire number turn their voices on him, and the only relief he has is to expel them all from the store and admit one or two at a time, while the remainder throng the windows and shout at the top of their voices.

During the spring, when flocks of Canada geese are winging their way northward, the Indians will imitate their notes so closely that the birds do not discover the source until too late. Some of the party make one note, while the others imitate the other note. It seldom fails to beguile the geese to the spot.

Owing to the impossibility of getting a reliable person to teach me the language of these people I was able to procure but few words. The number obtained, however, is sufficient to prove that the people of this region, excluding the Innuit and whites, belong to the Cree branch. The Mountaineers and Little Whale river Indians belong to the same stock, and the difference in their language is due wholly to environment.

The Indians and Innuit of this region are more or less directly in contact. At Fort Chimo it is especially so. Here, as elsewhere, they do not intermix, an Indian never taking an Innuit wife or the Innuit taking a squaw for a wife. I knew of one instance where a Naskopie went to dwell with some Innuit camped near the mouth of the Koksoak, but after remaining away for a few days he returned to his own people.

SPECIAL ACCOUNT OF THE PEOPLE AROUND FORT CHIMO.

THE KOKSOAGMYUT.

The Eskimo with whom I was brought in contact at Fort Chimo were those belonging to that immediate vicinity. They term themselves Koksoagmyut, or people of the Koksoak or Big river.

The people who apply this name to themselves do not number more than a score and a half. There are but four families, and among these are some who belong to other localities, but now dwell with the Koksoagmyut. They consider themselves a part of the people dwelling as far to the north as the western end of Akpatok island, and to the east as far as George's river. The Eskimo dwelling between those points have similar habits, and range indiscriminately over the hunting grounds of that locality, seldom going farther southward than the confluence of the Larch river or the North river with the Koksoak.

Among these few natives now inhabiting the Koksoak valley we find the men to be above the stature usually ascribed to the Eskimo. All but one of the adult males are above 5 feet 8 inches. The smallest man is little more than 5½ feet tall. All are well proportioned and present an exceptionally good physique. The females are also well proportioned, and, in fact, appear to compare well with females of civilized

countries as far as their stature is concerned. The lower extremities of both sexes really are shorter than the general appearance would indicate, and thus the body is somewhat longer. The great individual variation in the proportional length of the legs is doubtless the result of the way infants are carried in the hood on the backs of the mothers. In this constrained position the limbs were obliged to conform to the shape of the body on which the child, in a manner, grew. While the limbs are not decidedly curved, yet they are not so nearly under the body as those of the whites. In walking, the inner edges of the feet often touch each other, and, in a manner, tend to cause the boots to slip outward on the feet.

The head, hands, and feet appear fairly proportioned; although, as a rule, they have small hands and feet. The females have proportionally smaller feet than hands. The head may seem larger than it really is, on account of the flattened features of the face.

The average nose is large and flat, and the prominence of this organ is often diminished by the wide cheeks and overhanging forehead. In most cases the chin projects less than the nose. The average face is round and flat, but there are exceptions, as I have seen one or two persons whose faces were a regular oval, and with the exception of the flat front, seen from a side view, were as well formed as one will meet among other people.

The skin has the same differences of color as among white people. The greater number of people are moderately dark, but this depends very greatly on the season of the year. I have not seen any white people so much changed as these are by the exposure to the summer sunshine. In the winter they are confined to their huts and bleach to a lighter color. A couple of weeks' exposure renders them scarcely recognizable as the same persons. The young children are usually lighter than the adults, although some are quite dark. The hair is coarse, long and abundant, and always straight.

The few half-breeds seen at Fort Chimo are the young children of the male servants of the company, who have in two instances taken full-blooded Eskimo women for wives and who were married by the agent of the company. These children are quite pretty, the male favoring the mother and the girl resembling the father. With these, as with the children of natives, much depends on the cleanliness of the person. The soot and other filth accumulating on their faces and hands, seldom washed, of course modifies the appearance of the exposed portions of the body. Some of the girls would be attractive enough if a copious amount of water was used to remove the ridges of dirt which are too plainly visible. The hands are often much disfigured from numerous cuts and bruises, which, when healed over, leave a heightened scar of a whitish color quite different in color from the surrounding tissue and often presenting an unsightly appearance.

By the time puberty is attained the girls quickly change, and in a few

years begin to show the result of their arduous life by the appearance of wrinkles, haggardness, and general breaking down, which, although it may progress slowly, is seldom recovered from.

Like the rest of the Innuit, the Koksoagmyut are usually peaceful and mild tempered. Among themselves affrays are of rare occurrence. Jealousy arouses the worst passions, and the murder of the offender is generally the result. When a person becomes so bad in character that the community will no longer tolerate his presence he is forbidden to enter the huts, partake of food, or hold any intercourse with the rest. Nevertheless, as long as he threatens no one's life, but little attention is paid to him. Should he be guilty of a murder, several men watch their opportunity to surprise him and put him to death, usually by stoning. The executioners make no concealment of their action, and are supported by public opinion in the community.

In the case of a premeditated murder, it is the duty of the next of kin to avenge the deed, though years may pass, while the murderer pursues his usual occupations undisturbed, before an opportunity occurs to the relative for taking him by surprise. Sometimes the victim is not overcome and turns upon the assailant and kills him. The man, now guilty of two murders, is suffered to live only at the pleasure of the people, who soon decree his death. That murder is not approved, either by the individual or the community, is well attested by the fact that the island of Akpatok is now tabooed since the murder of part of the crew of a wrecked vessel, who camped on that island. Such a terrible scene was too much, even for them; and now not a soul visits that locality, lest the ghosts of the victims should appear and supplicate relief from the natives, who have not the proper offerings to make to appease them.

Aged people who have no relatives on whom they may depend for subsistence are often quietly put to death. When an old woman, for instance, becomes a burden to the community it is usual for her to be neglected until so weak from want of food that she will be unable to keep up with the people, who suddenly are seized with a desire to remove to a distant locality. If she regains their camp, well for her; otherwise, she struggles along until exhausted and soon perishes. Sometimes three or four of the males retrace their steps to recover a lost whip or a forgotten ammunition bag. They rarely go farther than where they find the helpless person, and if their track be followed it will be found that the corpse has stones piled around it and is bound with thongs.

An old woman at Fort Chimo had but one eye, and this was continually sore and very annoying to the people with whom she lived. They proposed to strangle her to relieve her from her misery. The next morning the eye was much better and the proposed cure was postponed.

Cases of suicide are not rare, considering the few people of that

locality. Pitching themselves from a cliff or producing strangulation are the usual methods. Sometimes a gun is used. Remorse and disappointed love are the only causes of suicide.

A man discovered, during a period of great scarcity or food, that while he went in quest of food his wife had secretly stored away a quantity of fish and ate of them during his absence only. Coming home unexpectedly, he caught her eating and she endeavored to secrete the remainder. He quietly went out of the snow hut and blocked up the entrance. She inquired why he did so. His reply was for her to come out and she would discover why it was done. His tone was not at all reassuring. She remained within the hut and perished from starvation, knowing she would be killed if she went out.

Instances are reported where, in times of great scarcity, families have been driven to cannibalism after eating their dogs and the clothing and other articles made of skins. Unlucky or disliked women are often driven from the camp, and such must journey until they find relief or perish by the wayside.

DISEASES.

The principal diseases from which these people suffer are pulmonary troubles, chiefly arising from their filthy manner of living in crowded huts, too ill ventilated to allow the escape of the odors emanating from their own bodies and from accumulations of slowly decomposing animal food. All openings must be closed as quickly as possible in order to economize the heat within, for when once chilled it is difficult to restore the house to the proper degree of warmth. An Eskimo would always prefer to erect a new hut of snow rather than pass the night in one which has been deserted for only a single night if the doorway has not been tightly closed with a block of snow.

Within the walls, reeking with the exhalations of various putrid matters, the people breathe and rebreathe the air filled with poisonous gases; so fully one-half of the Eskimo die of pulmonary troubles. The other prevailing diseases are those causing devitalization of the blood, such as scurvy. Sores break out on the shoulders, elbows, knees, and ankles. The ravages of these diseases proceed at an astonishing rate, soon carrying off the afflicted person.

The means of relief usually employed are those which the shaman (or conjurer, as he is locally known) is able to effect by working on the imagination of the sick, who is in this condition easily influenced. The will power of both the patient and shaman is stretched to its utmost tension, and as faith with them, as with many others of fairer skins, often produces more of the relief than the ministrations of drugs or drafts, the cure is effected, or else the shaman, like the physician, has not the devil on his side.

The magnitude of the disease is generally measured by the amount of the patient's worldly wealth.

MARRIAGE.

A woman is married as soon after puberty as a male comes along who has the requisite physical strength to force her to become his wife. Many of the females are taken before that period, and the result is that few children are born to such unions and the children are generally weakly.

The ceremony between the couples is quite simple. The sanction of the parents is sometimes obtained by favor or else bought by making certain presents of skins, furs, and other valuables to the father and mother. The girl is sometimes asked for her consent, and, if unwilling, often enlists the sympathy of the mother, and the affair is postponed to a more favorable opportunity, or till the suitor becomes disgusted with her and takes somebody else.

If the parents are not living, the brothers or sisters must be favorable to the union. There is often so much intriguing in these matters that the exact truth can seldom be ascertained.

Where all obstacles are removed and only the girl refuses, it is not long before she disappears mysteriously to remain out for two or three nights with her best female friend, who thoroughly sympathizes with her. They return, and before long she is abducted by her lover, and they remain away until she proves to be thoroughly subjected to his will. I knew of an instance where a girl was tied in a snow house for a period of two weeks, and not allowed to go out. She finally submitted, and they returned with the other couple, who were less obstreperous, and doubtless went along to help their male friend and companion. The woman left her husband in the course of two or three weeks, and when he was asked about it he acknowledged that she had pulled nearly all the hair from his head and showed numerous bruises where she had struck him. This same woman was afterward tied to a sled to make her accompany the man she subsequently chose as her husband, who wished her to go to another part of the country. It was a lively time, some of the old women pushing her and persuading, the younger ones doing all in their power to obstruct her. Children are often mated at an early age, and I have known of several instances where two friends, desirous of cementing their ties of fellowship, engage that their children yet unborn shall be mated. In such instances the children are always recognized as married, and they are allowed by the parents to be so called. I knew a small boy of less than seven years who always addressed a girl of apparently a year older as his wife.

The marriageable age of the female varies greatly, although puberty takes place early. I have known of a child of fourteen having children. I heard of a half-breed girl, on the Labrador coast, who became a mother a few months after the age of thirteen.

Monogamy is generally the rule, but as there are so many counteracting influences it is seldom that a man keeps a wife for a number of years. Jealousy resulting from a laxity of morals produces so much

disagreement that one or the other of the parties usually leave with little ceremony.

In rare instances, where there is a compatibility of temper and a disposition to continence, the pair remain together for life.

Many of the girls bear children before they are taken for wives, but as such incidents do not destroy the respectability of the mother the girl does not experience any difficulty in procuring a husband. Illegitimate children are usually taken care of by some aged woman, who devotes to it all her energies and affections.

The number of children born varies greatly, for, although these Eskimos are not a prolific race, a couple may occasionally claim parentage of as many as ten children. Two or three is the usual number, and many die in early childhood.

When the family is prosperous the husband often takes a second wife, either with or without the approval of the first, who knows that her household duties will be lessened, but knows also that the favors of her husband will have to be divided with the second wife. The second wife is often the cause of the first wife's leaving, though sometimes she is sent away herself. Three or four wives are sometimes attained by a prosperous man, and one instance was known where the head of the family had no less than five wives. The occupation of a single snow house by two or three wives brings them into close intimacy and often produces quarreling. The man hears but little of it, as he is strong enough to settle their difficulties without ceremony, and in a manner better adapted to create respect for brute strength than affection for him.

The females outnumber the males, but the relationship among the Koksoagmyut is now so close that many of the males seek their wives from other localities. This, of course, connects distant people, and interchange of the natives of both sexes is common.

Separation of couples is effected in a simple manner. The one who so desires leaves with little ceremony, but is sometimes sought for and compelled to return. Wives are often taken for a period, and an exchange of wives is frequent, either party being often happy to be released for a time, and returning without concern. There is so much intriguing and scandal-mongering among these people that a woman is often compelled by the sentiment of the community to relinquish her choice and join another who has bribed a conjurer to decide that until she comes to live with him a certain person will not be relieved from the evil spirit now tormenting him with disease.

The only way for the couple against whom such a plot has been laid to escape separation is for them to flee to another locality and remain there until the person gets well or dies, whereupon the conjurer declares it was their cohabitation as man and wife which afflicted the invalid. A designing woman will often cause a man to cast off the legal wife to whom he is much attached and come and live with her. In such in-

stances the former wife seldom resents the intrusion upon her affections and rights but occasionally gives the other a severe thrashing and an injunction to look to herself lest she be discarded also. The children of the cast-off woman are frequently taken by her and they go to live with her relatives as menials on whom devolve the labor of severest kinds, she being glad to obtain the refuse of the hovel to support her life in order that her children may be well taken care of.

Some wives are considered as very "unlucky" and after trial are cast off to shift for themselves. A woman who has obtained the reputation of being unlucky for her husband is eschewed by all the men lest she work some charm on them.

In social relations the head of the family comes first, and the oldest son second, the other sons following according to respective ages.

The sons of the first wife, if there be more than one wife, take precedence over those of the second or third wife. It may be that a man has lost his first wife and takes another. The sons of these two are considered as those of one wife so far as their relation to each other is concerned. When the father becomes superannuated or his sons are old enough to enable him to live without exertion, the management of affairs devolves on the eldest son, and to the second is delegated the second place. Each may be occupied in different affairs, but the elder alone chooses what he himself shall do.

If the father live to a great age, and some of the men certainly attain the age of more than 80 years, he may have great grandchildren about him, and these never fail to show respect for their ancestor.

All this family may dwell in a single tent, or in two or more tents. Where the leader directs, there they all repair, although each one who is at the head of a family may be left to employ himself as he may prefer. These sons, with their wives and children, form a community, which may have other persons added to it, namely, the persons who are related to the wives of the sons. There may be but one community in a locality, and this is locally known to the white people as the "gang" of the head man.

Families whose members have decreased in number by death or by marriage may seek the companionship of one of these communities for protection. The new arrival at once acknowledges his dependence and is, in a manner, under the influence, if not control, of the leader of the community which he joins.

DREN.

A new born babe must not be washed until six or eight hours have elapsed. It is then placed to the breast and rarely gets any water to drink until old enough to help itself to it.

The child may be named while yet in utero. There being no distinctions for sex in names the appellation can scarcely be amiss. Several names may be acquired from the most trivial circumstances. Old

names may be discarded and new names substituted or certain names applied by certain people and not used by others.

Love for offspring is of the deepest and purest character. I have never seen a disrespectful Eskimo child. Mothers and fathers never inflict corporal punishment on their children, for these are early taught to obey, or rather they are quick to perceive that their parents are their protectors and to them they must go for assistance. Orphan girls are taken as nurses for small children, and the nurse so employed has seldom any trouble in controlling the child.

Among young children at play the greatest harmony prevails. An accident resulting in sufficient harm to cause tears obtains the sympathy of all, who strive to appease the injured child by offers of the greatest share of the game, the little fellow often smiling with the prospective pleasure while the tears yet course down his begrimed cheeks. In a moment all is forgotten and joyous shouts sound merrily as the chubby youngsters of both sexes redouble their exertion in playing football or building toy houses in the newly fallen snow, where, on the bed of snow within the wall of the hut, the doll of ivory, wood or rags rolled into its semblance, plays the part of hostess whom they pretend to visit and with whom they converse.

Among the younger boys and girls, of 10 or 12, there is a great spirit of cheerful rivalry, to prove their ability to secure such food as they are able to capture. If they can procure enough to purchase some ammunition with which to kill ptarmigan they soon have a certain amount of credit. This enables them to provide some coveted luxury for their parents, who, of course, aid and encourage them to become successful hunters. Within the huts the girls display their skill by sewing fragments of cloth into garments for dolls or striving to patch their tattered clothes.

The older boys look with contempt upon these childish occupations and, to show their superiority, often torment the younger ones until the father or mother compels them to desist. Pranks of various kinds are played upon each other and they often exhibit great cunning in their devices to annoy. These boys are able to accompany their elders on hunting trips and run ahead of the team of dogs attached to the sled-

BURIAL CUSTOMS.

When a person dies the body is prepared by binding it with cords, the knees being drawn up and the heels placed against the body. The arms are tied down, and a covering of deerskin or sealskin is wrapped around the body and fastened. The nearest relatives on approach of death remove the invalid to the outside of the house, for if he should die within he must not be carried out of the door but through a hole cut in the side wall, and it must then be carefully closed to prevent the spirit of the person from returning. The body is exposed in the open air along the side of a large rock, or taken to the shore or hilltop, where

stones of different sizes are piled around it to prevent the birds and animals from getting at it. (See Fig. 21.) It is considered a great offense if a dog be seen eating the flesh from a body. In case of a beloved child dying it is sometimes taken with the people to whom it belonged if they start for another locality before decomposition has progressed too far.



FIG. 21. Eskimo grave.

The dying person resigns himself to fate with great calmness. During illness, even though it be of most painful character, complaint is seldom heard; and so great is fortitude that the severest paroxysms of pain rarely produce even a movement of the muscles of the countenance.

The friends often exhibit an excessive amount of grief, but only in exceptional instances is much weeping indulged in. The loss of a husband often entails great hardships on the wife and small children, who eke out a scanty living by the aid of others who are scarcely able to maintain themselves.

These people have an idea of a future state and believe that death is merely the separation of the soul and the material body. The spirits of the soul go either up to the sky, "keluk," when they are called Kelugmyut, or down into the earth, "Nuna," and are called "Nunamyut." These two classes of spirits can hold communication with each other.

The place to which the soul goes depends on the conduct of the person on earth and especially on the manner of his death. Those who have died by violence or starvation and women who die in childbirth are supposed to go to the region above, where, though not absolutely in

want, they still lack many of the luxuries enjoyed by the Nunamyut. All desire to go to the lower region and afterwards enjoy the pleasure of communicating with the living, which privilege is denied to those who go above.

If death result from natural causes the spirit is supposed to dwell on the earth after having undergone a probation of four years rest in the grave. During this time the grave may be visited and food offered and songs sung, and the offering, consisting of oil and flesh, with tobacco for smoking and chewing, is consumed by the living at the grave. Articles of clothing may also be deposited near the grave for the spirit to clothe itself after the garments have disappeared in the process of decay. It is customary to place such articles as may be deemed of immediate use for the departed soul in the grave at the time the body is interred. Ammunition, gun, kaiak and its appurtenances, with a shirt, gloves, knife, and a cup from which to drink are usually so deposited. The spirit of the dead man appropriates the spirits of these articles as soon as they decay. It is often said when an article becomes lost that so-and-so (mentioning his name), has taken it.

Some of the people prefer to expose their dead on the flat top of a high point extending into the water. The remains of others are placed along the shore and covered with rocks, while still others are taken to the smooth ridges on which may nearly always be found a huge bowlder carried by glacial action and deposited there. Here generally on the south side the body is placed on the bare rocky ridge and stones are piled around and upon it.

While these people have but little fear of the dead man's bones they do not approve of their being disturbed by others. The Indians, however, are known to rifle the graves of Eskimo to obtain the guns, clothing, etc., which the relatives of the deceased have placed there.

There are no such elaborate ceremonies pertaining to the festivals of the dead among the people of Hudson strait as obtain among the Eskimo of Alaska.

RELIGION.

Among these people there is no such person as chief; yet there is a recognized leader who is influenced by another, and this last is the conjurer or medicine-man. These two persons determine among themselves what shall be done. It sometimes happens that slight differences of opinion on the proper course to pursue collectively will cause them to go in different directions to meet after a few months' separation, by which time all is forgotten and former relations are resumed.

All the affairs of life are supposed to be under the control of spirits, each of which rules over a certain element, and all of which are under the direction of a greater spirit. Each person is supposed to be attended by a special guardian who is malignant in character, ever ready to seize upon the least occasion to work harm upon the individual whom

it accompanies. As this is an evil spirit its good offices and assistance can be obtained by propitiation only. The person strives to keep the good will of the evil spirit by offerings of food, water, and clothing.

The spirit is often in a material form in the shape of a doll, carried somewhere about the person. If it is wanted to insure success in the chase, it is carried in the bag containing the ammunition.

When an individual fails to overcome the obstacles in his path the misfortune is attributed to the evil wrought by his attending spirit, whose good will must be invoked. If the spirit prove stubborn and reluctant to grant the needed assistance the person sometimes becomes angry with it and inflicts a serious chastisement upon it, deprives it of food, or strips it of its garments, until after a time it proves less refractory and yields obedience to its master. It often happens that the person is unable to control the influence of the evil-disposed spirit and the only way is to give it to some person without his knowledge. The latter becomes immediately under the control of the spirit, and the former, released from its baleful effects, is able successfully to prosecute the affairs of life. In the course of time the person generally relents and takes back the spirit he gave to another. The person on whom the spirit has been imposed should know nothing of it lest he should refuse to accept it. It is often given in the form of a bundle of clothing. It is supposed that if in hunting somebody merely takes the bag to hang it up the influence will pass to him. The spirit is supposed to be able to exert its influence only when carried by some object having life. Hence the person may cast it away for a time, and during that period it remains inert.

Besides this class of spirits, there are the spirits of the sea, the land, the sky (for be it understood that the Eskimo know nothing of the air), the winds, the clouds, and everything in nature. Every cove of the seashore, every point, island, and prominent rock has its guardian spirit. All are of the malignant type and to be propitiated only by acceptable offerings from persons who desire to visit the locality where it is supposed to reside. Of course some of the spirits are more powerful than others, and these are more to be dreaded than those able to inflict less harm.

These minor spirits are under the control of the great spirit, whose name is "Tung ak." This one great spirit is more powerful than all the rest besides. The lesser spirits are immediately under his control and ever ready to obey his command. The shaman (or conjurer) alone is supposed to be able to deal with the Tung ak. While the shaman does not profess to be superior to the Tung ak, he is able to enlist his assistance and thus be able to control all the undertakings his profession may call for.

This Tung ak is nothing more or less than death, which ever seeks to torment and harass the lives of people that their spirits may go to dwell with him.

A legend related of the origin of the Tung ak is as follows: A father had a son and daughter whom he loved very much. The children fell ill and at last died, although the father did all in his power to alleviate their sufferings, showing his kindness and attentions to the last moment. At their death the father became changed to a vicious spirit, roaming the world to destroy any person whom he might meet, determined that, as his dear children died, none others should live.

Tung ak visits people of all ages, constantly placing obstacles in their pathway to prevent the accomplishment of their desires, and provoking them beyond endurance so as to cause them to become ill and die and go to live with him. Tung ak no longer knows his own children and imagines all persons that he meets to be his children. Famine, disease, and death are sent abroad to search for these lost children.

People at last began to devise some means of thwarting the designs of Tung ak and discovered that a period of fasting and abstinence from contact with other people endowed a person with supernatural powers and enabled him to learn the secrets of Tung ak. This is accomplished by repairing to some lonely spot, where for a greater or less period the hermit abstains from food or water until the imagination is so worked upon that he believes himself imbued with the power to heal the sick and control all the destinies of life. Tung ak is supposed to stand near and reveal these things while the person is undergoing the test. When the person sees the evil one ready to seize upon him if he fails in the self-imposed task to become an "Angekok" or great one, he is much frightened and beseeches the terrible visitor to spare his life and give him the power to relieve his people from misfortune. Tung ak then takes pity on him, and imparts to him the secret of preserving life, or driving out the evil which causes death.

This is still the process by which the would-be shaman fits himself for his supernatural duties.

The newly fledged angekok returns to his people and relates what he has seen and what he has done. The listeners are awed by the recitals of the sufferings and ordeal, and he is now ready to accomplish his mission. When his services are required he is crafty enough to demand sufficient compensation, and frankly states that the greater the pay the greater the good bestowed. A native racked with pain will gladly part with all of his worldly possessions in order to be restored to health.

The shaman is blindfolded, or else has a covering thrown over his head to prevent his countenance from being seen during the incantation. The patient lies on the ground before him and when the shaman is worked up to the proper state of frenzy he prostrates himself upon the afflicted person and begins to chase the evil from its seat. The patient often receives blows and jerks sufficiently hard to dislocate the joints. As the spell progresses the shaman utters the most hideous noises,

shouting here and there as the evil flees to another portion of the body, seeking a retreat from which the shaman shall be unable to dislodge it. After a time victory is declared; the operator claims to have the disease under his control, and although it should escape and make itself again felt in the patient, the shaman continues until the person either gets well or dies. If the former, the reputation of the shaman is increased proportionally to the payment bestowed by the afflicted one. If he dies, however, the conjurer simply refers his failure to the interference of something which was beyond his control. This may have been the influence of anything the shaman may at the moment think of, such as a sudden appearance in the changing auroras, a fall of snow, or a dog knocking down something outside of the house. If the people deny that the dog did the act, the shaman replies that the dog was the instrument in the hands of a spirit which escaped him. Any little incident is sufficient to thwart the success of his manipulations. If any person be the subject of the shaman's displeasure he or she must undergo some sort of punishment or do an act of penance for the interference. It is not unusual to see a person with the harness of a dog on his back. This is worn to relieve him or somebody else of a spell of the evil spirit. The tail of a living dog is often cut from its body in order that the fresh blood may be cast upon the ground to be seen by the spirit who has caused the harm, and thus he may be appeased. Numerous mutilations are inflicted upon animals at the command of the conjurer, who must be consulted on nearly all the important undertakings of life in order that he may manage the spirits which will insure success.

The implicit belief in these personages is wonderful. Almost every person who can do anything not fully understood by others has more or less reputation as a shaman.

Some men, by observation, become skilled in weather lore, and get a great reputation for supernatural knowledge of the future weather. Others again are famous for suggesting charms to insure success in hunting, and, in fact, the occasions for consulting the conjurer are practically innumerable. One special qualification of a good shaman is the ability to attract large numbers of deer or other game into the region where he and his friends are hunting.

Some of these shamans are superior hunters and, as their experience teaches them the habits of the deer, they know at any season exactly where the animals are and can anticipate their future movements, influenced greatly by the weather. Thus the prophet is able to estimate the proximity or remoteness of the various herds of stragglers from the main body of deer which were in the locality during the preceding fall months. These hunters have not only a local reputation but are known as far as the people have any means of communication.

In order to cause the deer to move toward the locality where they may be desired the shaman will erect, on a pole placed in a favorable

position, an image of some famous hunter and conjurer. The image will represent the power of the person as conjurer and the various paraphernalia attached to the image assist in controlling the movements of the animals.

I obtained one of these objects at Fort Chimo. (Fig. 22.) It is quite elaborate and requires a detailed description. It is intended to repre-



FIG. 22. Magic doll.

sent a celebrated conjurer living on the eastern shore of Hudson bay. He occasionally visited Fort Chimo where his reputation as a hunter had preceded him. His name is Sa'pa.

He is dressed in a complete suit of the woolen stuff called "strouds" at Fort Chimo, trimmed with black and with fancy tartan gartering. In

the belt of polar-bear skin (kak-cung′-unt) (Fig. 23) are hung strings of colored beads and various amulets. These are, first, a wooden doll (Fig. 24) (inug′-wak, a little man) hung to the belt so that he faces outward and is always on the alert; then, two bits of wood (agówak) (Fig. 25) to which hang strands of beads and lead drops; next, a string of three bullets (Fig. 26) to symbolize the readiness of the hunter when game approaches; and, last, a semicircular piece of wood ornamented with strings of beads (Fig. 27).

This last is called the tu-a′-vi-tok, or hastener. The hunter holds it in his hand when he sights the game, and the tighter he grasps it the

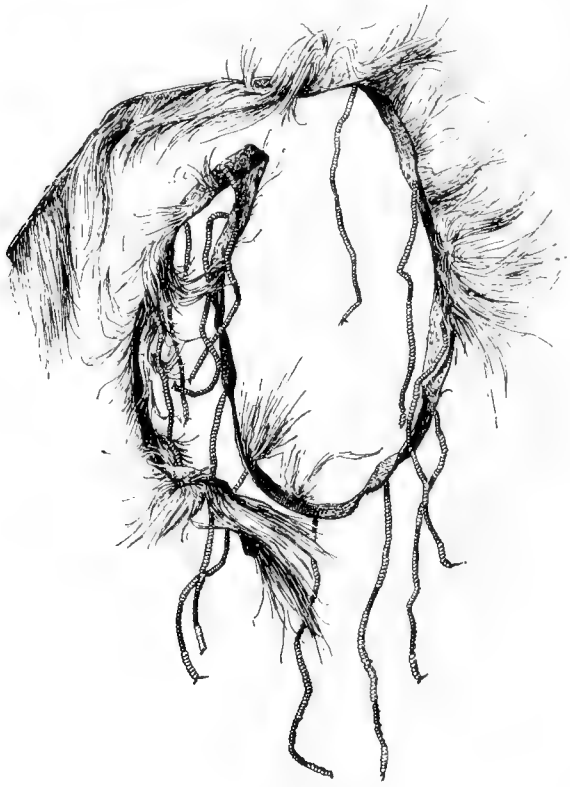


FIG. 23. Belt of magic doll.

faster he is supposed to get over the ground. It is supposed that by the use of this one may be able to travel faster than the wind and not even touch the earth over which he passes with such incredible speed that he overtakes the deer in a moment. The entire affair, as it hung on the pole, was called tung wa′gn e′nog ang′, or a materialization of a Tung ak.

This object hung there for several days until I thought it had served its purpose and could now afford to change ownership. The local con-

jurer was thus compelled to invoke the assistance of another. I am happy to add that the deer did come, and in thousands, actually running among the houses of the station.

The shaman of the community possesses great influence over its members. He very frequently decides the course to be pursued by man and wife in their relations with each other, and, conspiring with some evil old woman who loves to show preference for a young man, he often decrees that husband or wife shall be cast off.

If the person become ill the wife is often accused of working some charm on her husband in order that she may enjoy the favors of another.



FIG. 24. Talisman attached to magic doll.

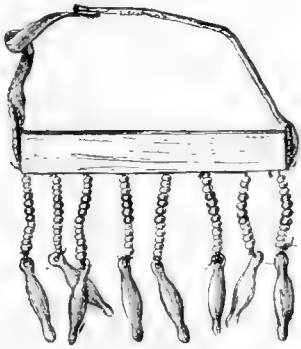


FIG. 25. Talisman.



FIG. 26. Talisman.

A woman whose husband had recently died was espoused by another who soon after became violently ill. She nursed him with the greatest assiduity until he convalesced. At this period his mother, with the advice of some old hags, decreed that she had been the sole cause of her husband's illness and must leave the tent. Her things were pitched out and she was compelled to journey in quest of her relatives.

Another illustration came under my notice.

A widow was taken to wife by a Koksoak Eskimo. He was soon taken violently ill and she was accused by the shaman of being the cause of it, as the spirit of her deceased husband was jealous. Unless she were cast off the Koksoak man would never recover. It was then

also found that unless the wife of another man should desert him and become the wife of a man who already had two of this woman's sisters as wives the sick man would die. The woman and her husband escaped divorce by fleeing from the camp.

The shaman may do about as he pleases with the marriage ties, which oftener consist of sealskin thongs than respect and love. Many old hags have acquired great reputations for being able to interpret dreams. An instance of dream interpretation, which also illustrates how a person may acquire a new name, came under my observation. A woman, sitting alone, heard a noise like the rapping of someone at the door desiring admittance. She said, "Come in." No one appeared, and she inquired of the girl who acted as nurse for her child if anyone had knocked at the door. A negative answer was given. Further questioning of a white man, who was asleep near by, revealed that he had made no such sound. The woman knew that no man had died within the place and so his spirit could not be seeking admittance. She went to an old woman and related the affair, and was informed that it was the rapping of her brother, who had died suddenly some two years before. She must go home and prepare a cup of tea, with a slice of bread, and give it to the nurse, as her brother, Nakvak (the one who died) was hungry and wanted food. She especially enjoined upon the woman that the girl must now be known as Nakvak (meaning "found") and that through her the dead would procure the food which, although it subserves a good purpose in nourishing the living, tends, by its accompanying spirit, to allay the pangs of hunger in the dead.

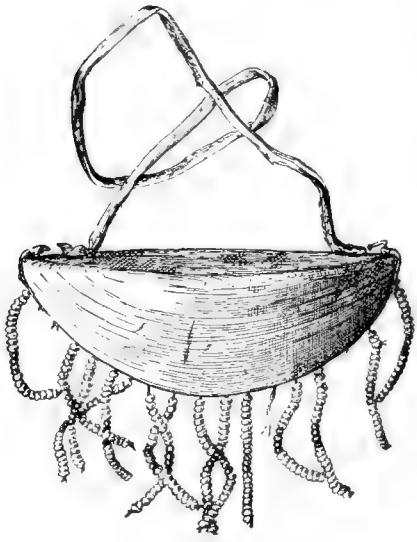


FIG. 27. Talisman.

As I have already said, everything in the world is believed to have its attendant spirit. The spirits of the lower animals are like those of men, but of an inferior order. As these spirits, of course, can not be destroyed by killing the animals, the Eskimo believe that no amount of slaughter can realy decrease the numbers of the game.

A great spirit controls the reindeer. He dwells in a huge cavern near the end of Cape Chidley. He obtains and controls the spirit of every deer which is slain or dies, and it depends on his good will whether the people shall obtain future supplies. The form of the spirit is that of a huge white bear. The shaman has the power to prevail upon the spirit to send the deer to the people who are represented as suffering

for want of food. The spirit is informed that the people have in no way offended him, as the shaman, as a mediator between the spirit and the people, has taken great care that the past food was all eaten and that last spring, when the female deer were returning to him to be delivered of their young, none of the young (or fœtal) deer were devoured by the dogs. After much incantation the shaman announces that the spirit condescends to supply the people with spirits of the deer in a material form and that soon an abundance will be in the land. He enjoins upon the people to slay and thus obtain the approval of the spirit, which loves to see good people enjoy an abundance, knowing that so long as the people refrain from feeding their dogs with the unborn young, the spirits of the deer will in time return again to his guardianship.

Certain parts of the first deer killed must be eaten raw, others discarded, and others must be eaten cooked. The dogs must not be allowed to taste of the flesh, and not until an abundance has been obtained must they be allowed to gnaw at the leg bones, lest the guardian spirit of the deer be offended and refuse to send further supplies. If by some misfortune the dogs get at the meat, a piece of the offending dog's tail is cut off or his ear is cropped to allow a flow of blood.

Ceremonies of some kind attend the capture of the first slain animal of all the more important kinds. I unfortunately had no opportunity of witnessing many of these ceremonies.

As a natural consequence of the superstitious beliefs that I have described, the use of amulets is universal. Some charms are worn to ward off the attacks of evil-disposed spirits. Other charms are worn as remembrances of deceased relatives. These have the form of a headless doll depending from some portion of the garment worn on the upper part of the body.

As many of their personal names are derived from natural objects, it is usual for the person to wear a little image of the object for which he is named or a portion of it; for example, a wing of the bird, or a bit of the animal's skin. This is supposed to gratify the spirit of the object. Strange or curious objects never before seen are sometimes considered to bring success to the finder

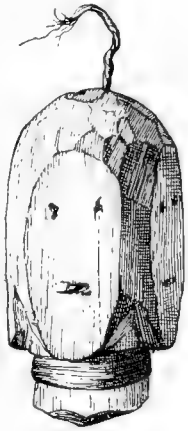


Fig. 28. Eskimo woman's amulet.

Two articles selected from my collection will illustrate different forms of amulets. The first, No. 3018, is a little wooden model of a kaiak. The other (3090, Fig. 28) was worn on the back of a woman's coat. It is a small block of wood carved into four human heads. These heads represent four famous conjurers noted for their skill in driving away diseases. The woman, who came from the eastern shore of Hudson's bay, was troubled with rheumatism and wore this charm from time to time as she felt the twinges of pain. She assured me that the pain

always disappeared in a few hours when she wore it. It was with the greatest difficulty that I persuaded her to part with it. She was, however, about to return home, and could get another there.

OUTDOOR LIFE.

The Eskimo acquire an extended knowledge of the country by early accompanying their parents on hunting trips, and as they have to rely upon memory alone, they must be observant and carefully mark the surroundings from all the views afforded. The faculty of memory is thus cultivated to an astonishing degree, and seldom fails, even in the most severe weather, to insure safety for the individual. I knew a native stick his ramrod in the ground among scattered stalks of grass which attained the height of the rod, yet after several hours he found the spot again without the least hesitation. Every rise of land, every curve of a stream, every cove in the seashore, has a name descriptive of something connected with it, and these names are known to all who have occasion to visit the place. Though the aspect of the land is entirely changed by the mantle of snow which covers all the smaller objects, a hunter will go straight to the place where the carcass of a single deer was cached many months before on the open beach. The Eskimo are faithful guides, and when confidence is shown to be reposed in them they take a pride in leading the party by the best route. In traveling by night they use the north star for the guide. Experience teaches them to foretell the weather, and some reliance may be placed on their predictions.

Their knowledge of the seasons is also wonderful. The year begins when the sun has reached its lowest point, that is, at the winter solstice, and summer begins with the summer solstice. They recognize the arrival of the solstices by the bearing of the sun with reference to certain fixed landmarks.

The seasons have distinctive names, and these are again subdivided into a great number, of which there are more during the warmer weather than during the winter. The reason for this is obvious: so many changes are going on during the summer and so few during the winter. The principal events are the return of the sun, always a signal of joy to the people; the lengthening of the day; the warm weather in March when the sun has attained sufficient height to make his rays less slanting and thus be more fervent; the melting of the snow; the breaking up of the ice; the open water; the time of birth of various seals; the advent of exotic birds; the nesting of gulls, eiders, and other native birds; the arrival of white whales and the whaling season; salmon fishing; the ripening of salmonberries and other species of edibles; the time of reindeer crossing the river; the trapping of fur-bearing animals and hunting on land and water for food. Each of these periods has a special name applied to it, although several may overlap each other. The appearance of mosquitoes, sand-

flies, and horseflies are marked by dates anticipated with considerable apprehension of annoyance.

In order to sketch the annual routine of life, I will begin with the breaking up of the ice in spring. The Koksoak river breaks its ice about the last of May. This period, however, may vary as much as ten days earlier and twenty days later than the date specified. The ice in Ungava bay, into which that river flows, must be free from the greater portion of the shore ice before the river ice can push its way out to sea. The winds alone influence the bay ice, and the character of the weather toward the head waters of the river determines its time of breaking.

The Eskimo has naturally a keen perception of the signs in the sky and is often able to predict with certainty the effects of the preceding weather. When the season has sufficiently advanced all the belongings of each family are put together and transported down the river on sleds to where the ice has not yet gone from the mouth of the river. It is very seldom that the river ice extends down so far. To the edge of the ice the tent and dogs, with the umiak, kaiak, and other personal property, are taken and then stored on shore until the outside ice is free.

The men wander along the beach or inland hunting for reindeer, ptarmigan, hares, and other land game. The edge of the water is searched for waterfowl of various kinds which appear earliest. Some venturesome seals appear. In the course of a few days the ice in the river breaks up and the shore ice of the bay is free; and if there is a favorable wind it soon permits the umiak to be put into the water, where, by easy stages, depending on the weather, the quantity of floating ice, and the food supply, the hunters creep alongshore to the objective point, be it either east or west of the Koksoak. Sometimes the party divide, some going in one direction and others in another.

The men seek for seals, hunting in the kaiak, the women and children searching the islets and coves for anything edible. As soon as the season arrives for the various gulls, eiders, and other sea birds to nest the women and children are in high glee. Every spot is carefully examined, and every accessible nest of a bird is robbed of its contents. By the 25th of June the people have exhausted the supply of eggs from the last situations visited and now think of returning, as the birds have again deposited eggs and the seals are becoming scarcer.

The Eskimo arrange to assist the company to drive white whales when the season arrives. This is as soon as they appear in the river at a sufficient distance up to warrant that the measures pursued will not drive them out of the fresh water, for if they left they would not soon return. The date usually fixed upon is about the 12th of July. The natives are summoned, and a large sailboat or the small steam launch is sent along the coast to the place where the people were expected to arrive the 5th of the month. The natives are brought to the

whaling station, where they encamp, to await the setting of the nets forming the sides of the inclosure into which the whales are to be driven.

The natives spear the whales in the pound, drag them ashore, skin them, and help take the oil and skins to the post, some eight miles farther up the river.

The same natives who engaged in the whaling are employed to attend the nets for salmon, which arrive at variable dates from the 25th of July to the 1st of September. Two or more adult male Eskimo, with their relatives, occupy a certain locality, generally known by the name of the person in charge of that season's work. The place is occupied until the runs of the fish are over, when it is time for the natives to be up the river to spear reindeer which cross the river.

This hunting lasts until the deer have begun to rut and the males have lost the fat from the small of the back. The season is now so far advanced that the ice is already forming along the shore, and unless the hunter intends to remain in that locality he would better begin to descend the river to a place nearer the sea. The river may freeze in a single night and the umiak be unable to withstand the constant strain of the sharp-edged cakes of floating ice.

The head of the family decides where the winter is to be passed and moves thither with his party at once. Here he has a few weeks of rest from the season's labors, or spends the time constructing a sled for the winter journeys he may have in view. The snow has now fallen so that a snow house may be constructed and winter quarters taken up. A number of steel traps are procured to be set for foxes and other fur-bearing animals. The ptarmigans arrive in large flocks and are eagerly hunted for their flesh and feathers. The birds are either consumed for food or sold to the company, which pays $6\frac{1}{4}$ cents for four, and purchases the body feathers of the birds at the rate of 4 pounds of the feathers for 25 cents.

The Eskimo soon consume the amount of deer meat they brought with them on their return and subsist on the flesh of the ptarmigan until the ice is firm enough to allow the sleds to be used to transport to the present camp meat of animals slain in the fall.

The traps are visited and the furs are sold to the company in exchange for flour, tea, sugar, molasses, biscuit, clothing, and ammunition. Hunting excursions are made to various localities for stray bands of deer that have become separated from the larger herds.

The white men employés of the company have been engaged in cutting wood for the next year's fuel, and the Eskimo with their dog teams are hired to haul it to the bank, where it may be floated down in rafts when the river opens.

Thus passes the year in the life of the Eskimo of the immediate vicinity of Fort Chimo. Some of the Koksoagmyut do not engage in these occupations. Some go to another locality to live by themselves; others do not work or hunt, because it is not their nature to do so.

In all undertakings for themselves they deliberate long, with much hesitation and apparent reluctance, before they decide upon the line of action. They consult each other and weigh the advantages of this over that locality for game, and speculate on whether they will be afflicted with illness of themselves or family. When the resolution is finally made to journey to a certain place, only the most serious obstacles can thwart their purpose.

At all seasons of the year the women have their allotted duties, which they perform without hesitation. They bring the wood and the water, and the food from the field, if it is not too distant, in which case the men go after it with the dog teams. The women also fashion the skins into clothing and other articles, and do the cooking. After a hunt of several days' duration the husband's appearance is anxiously awaited, as is indicated by the family scanning the direction whence he is expected. The load is taken from the sled or boat and the incidents of the chase recited to the ever ready listeners.

In the early spring the women are busily engaged in making boots for summer wear. The skins of the seals have been prepared the fall before and stored away until wanted. The method of tanning the skins is the same for each species, differing only in its size and weight.

Certain large vessels made of wood or metal, chiefly the latter, as they are easily procured from the traders, are used to hold a liquid, which is from time to time added to. When a sufficient amount is collected it is allowed to ferment. During the interval the skin of the seal is cleansed from fat and flesh. The hair has been removed by shaving it off or by pulling it out. The skin is then dressed with an instrument designed for that purpose, made of ivory, deerhorn, stone, or even a piece of tin set in the end of a stout stick several inches long. The skin is held in the hand and the chisel-shaped implement is repeatedly pushed from the person and against a portion of the skin until that part becomes pliable and soft enough to work. It is further softened by rubbing between the hands with a motion similar to that of the washerwoman rubbing clothing of the wash. Any portion of the skin which will not readily yield to this manipulation is chewed with the front teeth until it is reduced to the required pliability. After this operation has been completed the skin is soaked in the liquid, which has now ripened to a sufficient degree to be effective. In this it is laid for a period lasting from several hours to two or three days. The skin is now taken out and dried. The subsequent operation of softening is similar to that just described, and is final. It is now ready to be cut into the required shape for the various articles for which it is intended. If it is designed for boots for a man, the measure of the height of the leg is taken. The length and width of the sole is measured by the hand, stretching so far and then bending down the long or middle finger until the length is measured. The width of one, two, or more fingers is sometimes used in addition to the span. The

length is thus marked and the skin folded over so as to have it doubled. The knife used in cutting is shaped like the round knife used by the harness-maker or shoemaker.

There is in our collection a wooden model of this form of knife (No. 3022), which nowadays always has a blade of metal. Formerly slate, flint, or ivory was used for these blades.

The instrument is always pushed by the person using it. The eye alone guides the knife, except on work for a white man, and then greater care is exercised and marks employed indicating the required size. This round knife is called úlo.

Another important duty of the women is taking care of the family boots. When a pair of boots has been worn for some time, during a few hours in warm weather they absorb moisture and become nearly half an inch thick on the soles. When taken off they must be turned inside out and dried, then chewed and scraped by some old woman, who is only too glad to have the work for the two or three biscuit she may receive as pay. Any leak or hole is stitched, and when the sole has holes worn through it, it is patched by sewing a piece on the under side. The thread used in sewing the boots is selected from the best strips of sinew from the reindeer or seal.

Some women excel in boot-making, and at some seasons do nothing but make boots, while the others in return prepare the other garments. When the time comes in spring for making sealskin clothes, the women must not sew on any piece of deerskin which has not yet been sewed, lest the seals take offense and desert the locality which has been selected for the spring seal hunt, to which all the people look forward with longing, that they may obtain a supply of food different from that which they have had during the long winter months. As there can be no harm in killing a deer at this season, the flesh may be used, but the skin must be cast away.

As before stated, the entire family accompany the expeditions; and as the females are often the more numerous portion of the population, they row the umiak at their leisure, now and then stopping to have a few hours' run on shore and again embarking. While thus journeying they are at times a sleepy crowd, until something ahead attracts attention; then all become animated, pursuing the object, if it be a half-fledged bird, until it is captured. Great amusement is thus afforded for the time, after which they relapse until some excitement again arouses them from their apparent lethargy. At the camp the men go in quest of larger game, leaving the women and children, who search the shore for any living creature they may find, destroying all that comes in their way. Smoking, eating, and sleeping occupy them until they arrive at a locality where food is abundant. There they earnestly strive to slay all that comes within reach, and thus often obtain much more than they require, and the remainder is left to putrefy on the rocks. The women do the skinning of the seals and birds obtained on

this trip. The skins of birds are removed in a peculiar manner. The wings are cut off at the body, and through the incision all the flesh and bones are taken out. The skin is then turned inside out. The grease is removed by scraping and chewing. The skin is dried and preserved for wear on the feet or for the purpose of cleansing the hands, which have become soiled with blood or other offal in skinning large game.

When the season arrives for hunting the reindeer for their skins, with which to make clothing for winter, the women help to prepare the flesh and bring the wood and water for the camp, while the men are ever on the alert for the herds of deer on the land or crossing the water. The women hang the skins over poles until the greater portion of the animal matter is dry, when they roll them up and store them away until the party is ready to return to the permanent camp for the winter. Here the skins collected are carefully examined and suitable ones selected for winter garments.

The skins are moistened with water and the adherent fleshy particles are removed with a knife. They are then roughly scraped and again wetted, this time with urine, which is supposed to render them more pliable. The operation is practically the same as that of tanning sealskins. The hair is, of course, left on the skin. When the skins are finally dry and worked to the required pliability, they are cut into shape for the various articles of apparel. The thread used in sewing is simply a strip of sinew of the proper size. The fibers are separated by splitting off a sufficient amount, and with the finger nail the strip is freed from all knots or smaller strands which would prevent drawing through the needle holes. The thread for this purpose is never twisted or plaited. The needle is one procured from the trader. Small bone needles, imitations of these, are sometimes used. In former years the bone needle was the only means of carrying the thread, but this has now, except in the rarest instances, been entirely superseded by one of metal.

The thimble is simply a piece of stiff sealskin sewed into a ring half an inch wide to slip on the first finger, and has the same name as that member. In sewing of all kinds the needle is pointed toward the operator. The knife used in cutting skins is the same as that previously described. Scissors are not adapted to cutting a skin which retains the fur. So far as my observations goes, scissors are used only for cutting textile fabrics procured from the store.

In the use of a knife women acquire a wonderous dexterity, guiding it to the desired curve with much skill, or using the heel of the blade to remove strips which may need trimming off.

TATTOOING.

In former years the women were fancifully tattooed with curved lines and rows of dots on the face, neck, and arms, and on the legs up to mid-thigh. This custom, however, fell into disuse because some

shaman declared that a prevailing misfortune was the result of the tattooing. At present the tattooing is confined to a few single dots on the body and face. When a girl arrives at puberty she is taken to a secluded locality by some old woman versed in the art and stripped of her clothing. A small quantity of half-charred lamp wick of moss is mixed with oil from the lamp. A needle is used to prick the skin, and the pasty substance is smeared over the wound. The blood mixes with it, and in a day or two a dark-bluish spot alone is left. The operation continues four days. When the girl returns to the tent it is known that she has begun to menstruate. A menstruating woman must not wear the lower garments she does at other times. The hind flap of her coat must be turned up and stitched to the back of the garment. Her right hand must be half-gloved, or, in other words, the first two joints of each finger of that hand must be uncovered. The left hand also remains uncovered. She must not touch certain skins and food which at that particular season are in use.

CLOTHING.

Like most Eskimo, the Koksoagmyut are clothed almost entirely in the skins of animals, though the men now wear breeches of moleskin, duck, jeans, or denim procured from the trading store. Reindeerskin is the favorite material for clothing, though skins of the different seals are also used. The usual garments are a hooded frock, of different shapes for the sexes, with breeches and boots. The latter are of various shapes for different weather, and there are many patterns of mittens. Rain frocks of seal entrail are also worn over the furs in stormy weather. Some of the people are very tidy and keep their clothing in a respectable condition. Others are careless and often present a most filthy sight. The aged and orphans, unless the latter be adopted by some well-to-do person, must often be content with the cast-off apparel of their more fortunate fellow-beings.

The hair of the skins wears off in those places most liable to be in contact with other objects. The elbows, wrists, and knees often are without a vestige of hair on the clothing. The skin wears through and then is patched with any kind of a piece, which often presents a ludicrous appearance.

The young boys and girls are dressed alike, and the females do not wear the garments of the adults until they arrive at puberty. It is a ludicrous sight to witness some of the little ones scarcely able to walk dressed in heavy deerskin clothing, which makes them appear as thick as they are tall. They exhibit about the same amount of pride of their new suits as the civilized boy does. They are now able to go out into the severest weather, and seem to delight in rolling around in the snow.

Infants at the breast, so small as to be carried in the mother's hood, are often dressed in skins of the reindeer fawns. The garment

for these is a kind of "combination," the trousers and body sewed together and cut down the back to enable the infant to get them on. A cap of calico or other cloth and a pair of skin stockings completes the suit.

Both men and women wear, as an additional protection for their feet in cold weather, a pair or two of short stockings, locally known as "duffles," from the name of the material of which they are made. These "duffles" are cut into the form of a slipper and incase the stockings of the feet. Over these are worn the moccasins, made of tanned and smoked deerskin. The Eskimo women are not adepts in making moccasins; a few only can form a well-fitting pair. They often employ the Indian women to make them, and, in return, give a pair of sealskin boots, which the Indian is unable to make, but highly prizes for summer wear in the swamps.

The Koksoagmyut do not wear caps, the hood of the frocks being the only head covering. There is, however, in my collection a cap obtained from one of the so-called "Northerners," who came to Fort Chimo to trade. This cap (No. 3242, Fig. 29) was evidently copied from some white man's cap. The front and crown of the cap are made of guillemot and sea-pigeon skins, and the sealskin neckpiece also is lined with these skins, so that when it is turned up the whole cap seems to be made of bird skins.

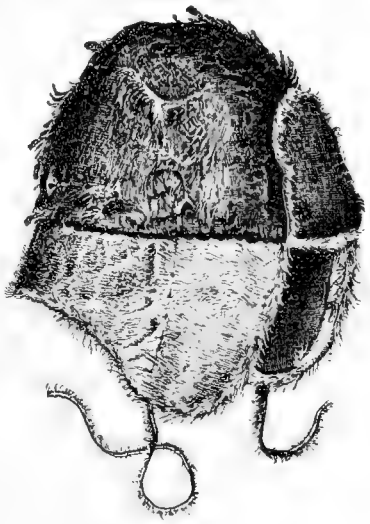


FIG. 29. Eskimo birdskin cap.

We may now proceed to the description of the different garments in detail.

The coat worn by the men and boys, and by the girls until they arrive at womanhood, has the form of a loose shirt, seldom reaching more than 2 or 3 inches below the hips, and often barely covering the hips. The neck hole is large enough to admit the head into the hood, which may be thrown back or worn over the head in place of a cap.

The Innuit of the southern shore of the western end of Hudson Strait often cut the coat open in front as far up as the breast (Figs. 30 and 31, No. 3224). The favorite material for these coats is the skin of the reindeer, three good-sized skins being required to make a full-sized coat for a man. Coats made of light summer skins are used as underclothing in winter and for the only body clothing in summer. The skin of the harp seal (*Phoca grœnlandica*) is also used for coats, but only when the supply of reindeerskin runs short, or when a man can afford to have an extra coat to wear in wet weather. It is not a very good

material for clothing, as the skin is roughly tanned, and no amount of working will render it more than moderately pliable. Figs. 32 and 33 represent a sealskin coat. These coats are often trimmed round the edges with fringes of deerskin 2 or 3 inches wide, or little pendants of ivory.



FIG. 30. Eskimo man's deerskin coat (front).

The collection contains eleven of these coats, Nos. 3221, 3498–3500, and 3558 of deerskin, and Nos. 3228, 3533–3537 of sealskin.

The peculiar shape of the woman's coat is best understood by reference to the accompanying figures (Figs. 34, 35, 36, 37 and 38). The enormous hood is used for carrying the infant. When sitting, the female usually disposes the front flap so that it will lie spread upon the thighs, or else pushes it between her legs, while the hind flap is either thrown aside or sat upon.

It is not unusual for the women to display considerable taste in ornamenting their garments, using the steel-gray pelt of the harp seal to contrast with the black of the harbor seal, and so on. The edges of the hood and sleeves are frequently trimmed with skin from a dark

colored young dog, or a strip of polar bear skin, whose long white hairs shed the rain better than those of any other mammal.

It is not rare to find loops of sinew or of sealskin attached to the breast or back of a woman's garments. These are for tying small articles, such as a needle case or a snuff-bag, to the clothing for convenience and to prevent loss.

A peculiar style of ornamentation is shown in Fig. 39 and 40, No. 3005, a woman's coat from Fort Chimo. The front of the skirt is fringed



FIG. 31. Eskimo man's deerskin coat (back.)

with little lead drops, bean-shaped in the upper row and pear-shaped in the lower, and pierced so that they can be sewed on. These lead drops are furnished by the trader at the price of about a cent and a half each, in trade. The trimming of this frock cost, therefore, about $4. The four objects dangling from the front of the frock are pewter spoon-bowls. Across the breast is a fringe of short strings of different colored beads, red, black, yellow, white, and blue. Jingling ornaments are much prized.

The tin tags from plug tobacco are eagerly sought for, perforated and attached in pendant strands 3 or 4 inches long to sealskin strips and thus serve the place of beads. I saw one woman who certainly had not less than a thousand of these tags jingling as she walked. I have also seen coins of various countries attached to the arms and dress. One coin was Brazilian, another Spanish, and several were



FIG. 32. Eskimo man's sealskin coat (front).

English. Coins of the provinces were quite numerous. These were all doubtless obtained from the sailors who annually visit the place, in exchange for little trinkets prepared by the men and women.

The collection contains five of these coats, Nos. 3005, 3225–3227 of deerskin, and 3504 of sealskin. The last is a very elaborate garment, made of handsomely contrasted pieces of the skin of two kinds of seals, the harbor seal and the harp seal, arranged in a neat pattern.

It is not common to come across a garment of this kind, as the skins of the proper or desired kinds are sometimes hard to obtain.

The woman may be several years in getting the right kind and may have effected many exchanges before being suited with the quality and color. The darkest skins of the Ka sig yak (harbor seal) are highly prized by both sexes. The women set the higher value upon them. The men wear two styles of leg covering, namely, breeches like a white man's, but not open in front, and reaching but a short distance below the knees, or trousers ending in stocking feet. Sometimes in very cold weather these trousers may be worn under the breeches. Both breeches and trousers are very short-waisted. Long stockings of short-haired deerskin with the hair in are also worn. The women in winter wear breeches made of deerskin fastened around the hips by means of a drawstring and extending down the legs to where the tops of the boots will cover them a few inches. Some of the women wear trousers which reach only to the upper part of the thighs and are continuous with the boot which covers the foot, though in that case a pair of half-boots are added to protect the feet. The hips are covered with breeches which descend low enough on the thigh to be covered by the leggings. This style of apparel for the lower portion of the body is often extravagantly patched with various colored pieces of white and dark strips of skin from the abdomen and sides of the reindeer. When new and not soiled they are quite attractive and often contrast well with the tastefully ornamented coat.



FIG. 33.—Eskimo man's sealskin coat (side).

The long boots or leggings are removed when dirty work is to be done. Thus, skins to be scraped and dressed are held against the bare leg.

The leggings also serve as pockets to hold various kinds of little things, like knives, tobacco, and so on.

A person rarely owns more than a single pair of breeches; consequently I was unable to obtain any for the collection.

The boots and shoes are of different materials and somewhat different patterns for different seasons of the year. All have moccasin

soles of stout material turned up an inch or two all round the foot, a tongue covering the top of the foot, joined to a broad heel band which passes round behind the ankle. Then the legs are either made long enough to reach to the knee or else almost to the ankle. These half-boots are worn over the fur stockings in warm weather, or outside the



FIG. 34. Eskimo woman's deerskin coat.

long boots in very severe weather. Indian moccasins are also worn, sometimes over a pair of inside shoes and sometimes as inside shoes.

For thick waterproof soles the skin of the beaver or the harp seal is used. The former wears the better. White whale skin is also used

for indoor shoes, or for shoes to be worn in cold dry weather; the skins of the smaller seals are used, sometimes with the flesh side out and the hair in, sometimes with the grain side out. These thinner skins are comparatively waterproof if the black epidermis is allowed to remain



FIG. 35. Eskimo woman's deerskin coat.



FIG. 36. Eskimo women's deerskin coat.

on. The beautiful creamy-white leather, made by allowing the skin to ferment until hair and epidermis are scraped off together and then stretching the skin and exposing it to dry cold air, does not resist water at all, and can only be used for soles in perfectly dry weather.

Buckskin soles are also used to enable the wearer to walk better with snowshoes on, as the feet are not so liable to slip or clog with

snow as they would be if the footing were of sealskin. This latter has also another serious disadvantage. If it is very cold it does not permit the moisture from the feet to pass out as it freezes, rendering the boot stiff and slippery on the snowshoe, while the buckskin is porous and readily allows the moisture to escape.

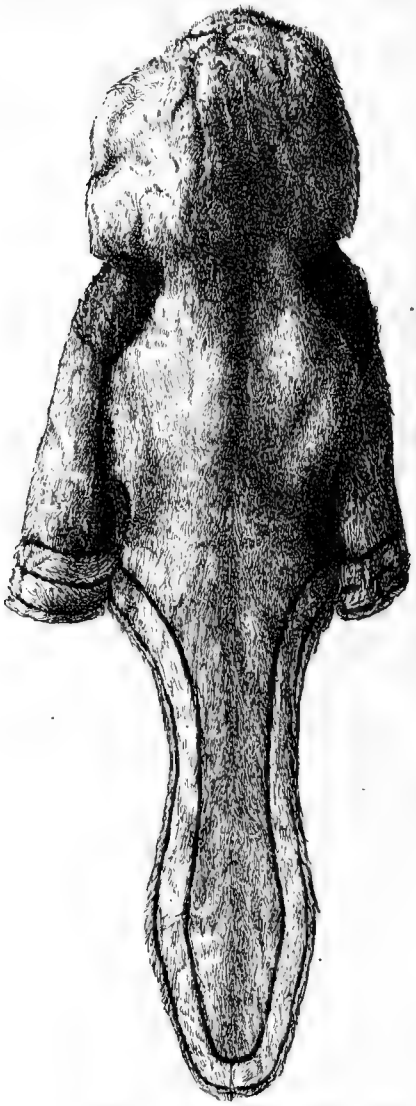


FIG. 37. Eskimo women's deerskin coat (back).



FIG. 38.—Eskimo woman's deerskin coat (side).

The tongue and heel band are generally made of tanned sealskin, contrasting colors being often used. The legs are of sealskin, with the hair on, or of reindeer skin.

The figures represent a pair of sealskin boots with buckskin feet (Fig. 41) and a pair of half boots with white sealskin soles, black seal-

skin tongue and heelstrap, and buckskin tops (Fig. 42). The tanned and smoked reindeer skin for these tops was purchased from the Nascopie Indians.

A peculiar style of shoe (Fig. 43), of which I collected four pairs, is used by the so-called "Northerners," who derive most of their subsistence from the sea in winter, and who constantly have to travel on the ice, which is often very slippery. To prevent slipping, narrow strips of



FIG. 39.—Eskimo woman's deerskin coat.

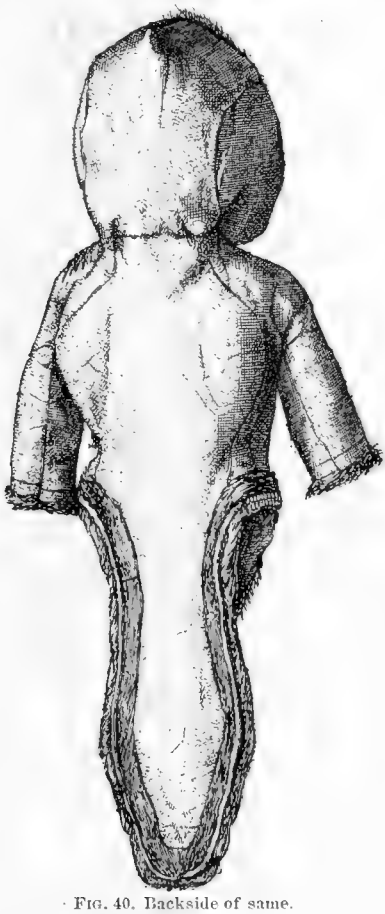


FIG. 40. Backside of same.

sealskin are sewed upon a piece of leather, which makes an undersole for the shoe, in the manner shown in the figure.

One end of the strip is first sewed to the subsole and the strip pushed up into a loop and stitched again, and so on till a piece is made big enough to cover the sole of the shoe, to which it is sewed. These ice shoes are worn over the ordinary waterproof boots.

As I have already said, these boots are all made by the women. The sole is cut out by eye and is broadly elliptical in shape, somewhat pointed at the toe and heel. The leg is formed of a single piece, so that

there is but one seam; the tongue or piece to cover the instep may or may not be a separate piece. If it is, the leg seam comes in front; if it forms one piece with the leg piece, the seam is behind. When the leg is sewed up and the tongue properly inserted the sole is sewed on. It is tacked at the heel, toe, and once on opposite sides of the foot, to the upper. The sewing of the sole to the upper is generally begun at the side of the seam and continued around. Perpendicular creases at the heel, and more numerously around the toes, take up the slack of the sole and are carefully worked in. The making of this part of the shoe is most difficult, for unless it is well sewed it is liable to admit water. The creases or "gathers" are stitched through and through with a stout thread, which holds them in place while the operation proceeds, and which besides has a tendency to prevent the gathers from breaking down. The heel, which comes well up the back of the boot, is stiffened by means of several threads sewed perpendicularly, and as they are drawn shorter than the skin, they prevent the heel from falling and thus getting "run down."

The seams of the boots, which are turned inside out during the operation, are so arranged on the edges that one will overlap and be tacked with close stitches over the rest of the seam. This is done not only for comfort when the boot becomes dry and hard while being worn, but also to take the strain from the stitches which hold the edges together. The value of a pair of boots depends much on the care bestowed in tanning and in sewing.



FIG. 41. Eskimo boots.

The hands are protected by mittens of different materials. Fur or hair mittens are worn only in dry weather, as the hair would retain too much moisture.

Among the Innuit the mammals are divided into two classes: the noble and the inferior beasts. The skins of the former are used, though not exclusively, by the men, while the latter may be worn only by the women. No man would debase himself by wearing a particle of the fur of the hare or of the white fox; the skins of these timid creatures are reserved for the women alone. Either sex may wear the skins of all other mammals, except at certain times, under restrictions imposed by superstition.

The women wear mittens of hare or fox skin, with palms of sealskin or Indian-tanned bird's skin. Reindeer skin with the hair on is also used for mittens. The heavy skin from the body is selected for the sake of warmth. When these mittens are to be used when driving dogs the palm is made of sealskin, to enable the wearer to get a firm grasp on

the whip handle. The skin of the deer's forelegs, which has hair of a different character from that on the body, also makes excellent mittens, specially suited for handling snow in building the snow huts. Mittens are sometimes fringed round the wrist with a strip of white bearskin to keep out the wind.

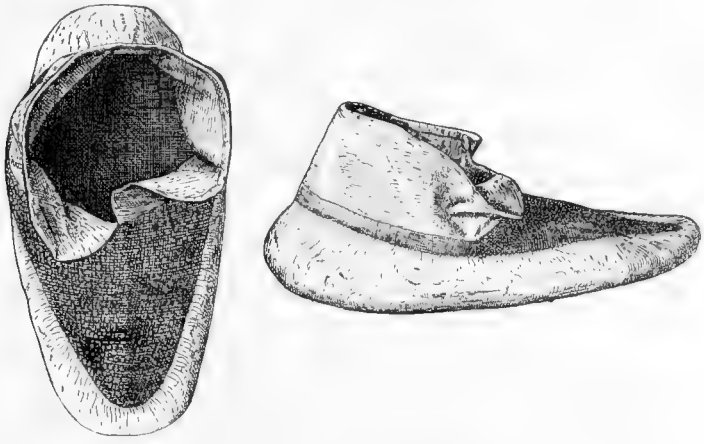


FIG. 42. Eskimo shoes

All mittens have such short thumbs that they are very inconvenient for a white man, who habitually holds his thumb spread away from the palm, whereas the Innuit usually keep the thumb apposed to the palm. The wrists of the mitten also are so short that considerable of the wrist is often exposed. The sleeves of the jacket are generally fringed with wolf or dog skin to protect this exposed portion of the wrist.

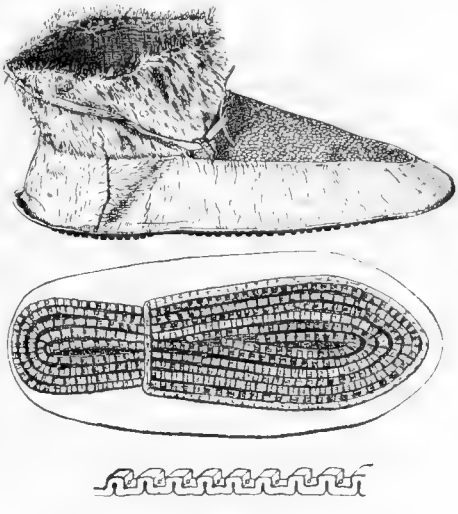


FIG. 43. Ice-shoes, Hudson strait Eskimo.

Similar mittens of black sealskin are also worn by the men during damp weather, or when handling objects which would easily soil a pair of furred mittens. I have never seen a woman wear this kind of covering for the hand. It appears to be exclusively worn by the men.

The men who engage in the late fall seal hunting protect their hands with waterproof gauntlets, which reach well up over the forearm. These keep the hands from being wet by the spray and by the drip

from the paddle. Fig. 44, No. 90074, represents one of these long mittens, made of black tanned sealskin, and edged with a strip of hairy sealskin over an inch wide. The back or upper portion of the mitten is made of a single piece of black skin, the edge of which is crimped and turned under to protect the fingers. The palm is a separate piece, joined to the back piece, and on it is a projecting part to form the inner half of the thumb. The outer half of the thumb and the under side of the forearm are made of a single piece, stitched to the palm portion and that which covers the back of the hand and arm, so that, including the edging of hairy skin, there are only four pieces of skin entering into the make of a pair of these mittens. They are worn only by the men, and only when they are engaged in work where the hands would be immersed in water during cold weather. As the skin from which they are made is the same as that used for water-tight boots, it is obvious that no moisture can touch the skin of the hand.

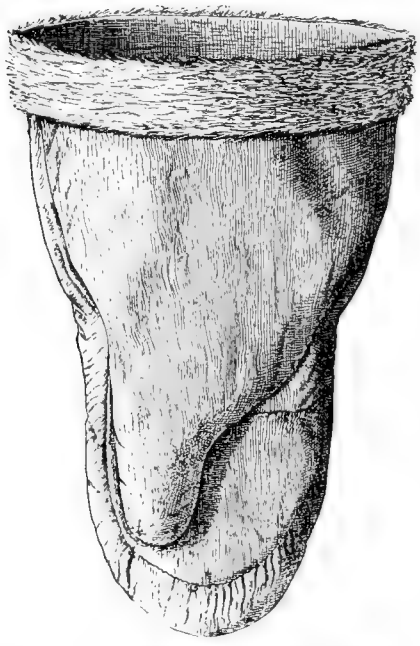


FIG. 44. Long waterproof sealskin mitten.

For protection from rain and wet they wear over their other clothes a waterproof hooded frock (Fig. 45) made of seal entrails, preferably the intestines of the bearded seal (*Erignathus barbatus*). The intestines of animals killed in October are considered the best for this purpose. They then are not so fat and require less dressing to clean them. The contents are removed and they are filled with water and thoroughly washed out. The fat and other fleshy matter adhering are removed by means of a knife used as a scraper. This being done, the intestine is inflated with air and strung along the tops of the rocks to dry. When dry it is carefully flattened and rolled into tight bundles, like a spool of ribbon, and laid away until wanted.

When required for use it is split longitudinally, and when spread open is of variable width from 3 to 5 inches, depending on the size of the animal. The edges of the strips are examined and any uneven portions are cut off, making the strip of uniform width. There are three separate pieces in a garment—the body and hood as one and the sleeves as two. Sometimes the sleeves are made first and sometimes the body is sewed first, and of this latter portion the hood is first formed. Strips

are sewed edge to edge with the exterior of the intestine to form the outside of the garment. The edge is turned down, so as to leave a width of a third of an inch, and turned to the right; the other strip is similarly folded, but turned to the left and laid on the other strip. Sinew from the back of a reindeer or from a seal is made into threads a yard or more in length and of the thickness of medium-sized wrapping cord. The needle is usually of a number 3 or 4 in size or of less diameter than the thread in order that the thread shall the more effectually fill up the hole made by the needle. The two strips are then sewed with stitches about nine to the inch, through and through, in a man-



FIG. 45. Waterproof gutfrock.

ner, I believe, termed running stitches. When a sufficient length is obtained a third strip is added, and so on until the required number of perpendicular strips form a sufficient width to surround the body. The outer edges are then joined and the body of the garment is complete. Portions are cut out and the hood assumes the desired shape, resembling a nightcap attached to the body of a nightgown. The sleeves are sewed in a similar manner and affixed to the body of the garment. The seams run perpendicularly and not around the body in a spiral manner as in garments made by the natives of Alaska for similar purposes. The edge of the hood, the wrists, and the bottom of the garment are

strengthened by means of thin strips of sealskin sewed on the outside of those parts where they are most liable to be torn. The garment is worn during wet weather or while in the kaiak traveling on a rough sea. The bottom of the garment is tied around the hoop of the kaiak in which the wearer sits and thus effectually sheds the water from the body, except the face, and keeps it from entering the kaiak.

Sometimes a drawstring closes the hood tightly around the face and prevents the spray from entering. The string is usually tied at the top of the hood, in which case it is rather difficult to untie.

When not in use the material must be well oiled and rolled up or it will become so stiff that it can not be worn until it has been relaxed by dipping in water. The sinew with which it is sewed swells when wet and tightens the seams.

There is great difference in the length of the garments worn by the eastern and the western Eskimo as well as in the manner of arranging the strips of which they are made. The one worn by the people of Hudson strait scarcely reaches to the hips of the wearer and is long enough only to tie around the hoop of the kaiak. The ones worn by the Eskimo of Northern sound, Alaska, falls to the knees, and those made by the Aleuts are so long that they interfere with the feet in walking. The material prepared by the eastern natives is not so good, as it is coarser and stiffer than that of the sea lion (*Eumatopias stelleri*), used by the natives of Alaska.

The weight of one of these garments when dry scarcely exceeds 6 or 7 ounces.

To protect the eyes from the glare of the snow, which is especially trying when the sun is still low in early spring, snow goggles are worn made to admit the light only through a narrow slit. (Figs. 46,

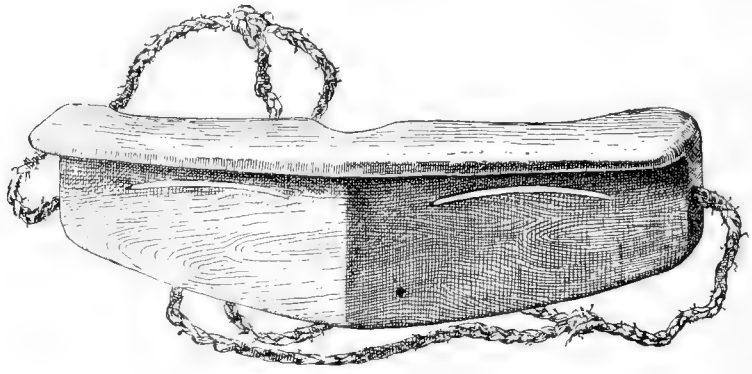


FIG. 46. Snow goggles—front.

and 47.) Nos. 3186, 3187, 3188, 3189, 3190, 3191, 3192, 3193, 3197, 3198, 3199, 3200, and 3201 in the collection show such snow goggles made of wood. A somewhat curved piece of wood is fashioned to fit the face over the eyes; a notch is fitted for the nose to rest in. The lower side

is about half an inch thick, forming a flat surface. The front is perpendicular and blackened with soot or gunpowder mixed with oil and applied to darken the front surface to absorb the light of the sun's rays. Above this is a ledge of half an inch projecting over the narrow longitudinal slit through which the wearer may look. This projection is sometimes not blackened on the underside, and where wood is scarce it is left off altogether. Within, on the side next to the eyes, it is usually

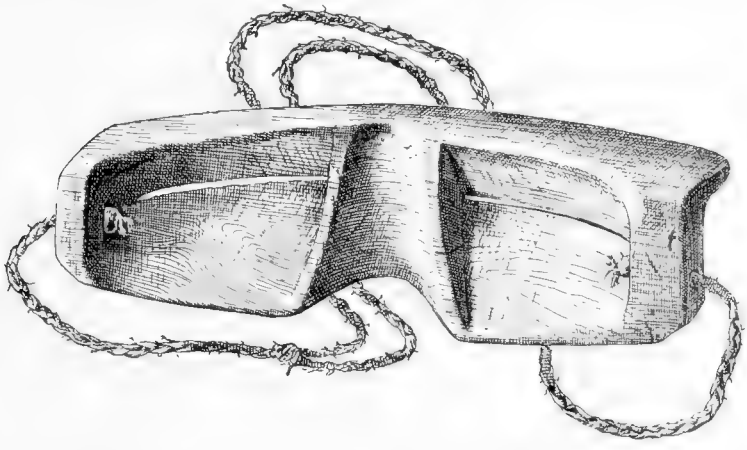


FIG. 47. Snow-goggles—rear.

gouged out to allow the eyelashes free movement. A piece of sealskin is affixed at each end and either tied in a knot over the head to hold the wood in position, or else a wider strip of skin is slit and one portion worn on the top of the head while the other fits the back of the head to prevent the goggles from falling off when the wearer stoops down.

DWELLINGS.

The winter dwellings of the Eskimo of Hudson strait consist of the usual form of snow house. In this connection I may as well state that the popular impression that the snow house described by Arctic travelers is the only thing to be called an iglu is quite erroneous. The word "iglu" is as fully generic in the Eskimo language as the word "house" is in the English language. The correct term, as applied by the Eskimo, to the snow house used as a dwelling is "ig lú ge ak" (Fig. 48.)

The first requisite for a snow house is snow. It must be of sufficient depth and possess certain well-defined qualities. The snow may fall, but until it has acquired sufficient depth for the size of blocks required and firmness enough for strength to withstand the superposed weight of the structure it is useless. An instrument termed snowknife (pŭnŭk), shaped like a short sword, is used for the purpose of cutting the blocks. The Eskimo seeks a place where the insertion of the knife into the bed of snow will prove that the snow is in the proper condition. He must

then cut out a block of a size convenient to be lifted. This is usually rejected as it may be irregular or broken. Additional blocks, in size from 8 to 10 inches thick, 2 feet wide, and slightly more in length are cut by a motion much resembling the act of sawing, cutting the depth of the blade. The knife then cuts the bottom off squarely and the block is lifted out, the builder standing where the first blocks were cut from. The blocks are arranged on the bank of snow around the pit in which the man stands. The first block usually is somewhat triangular

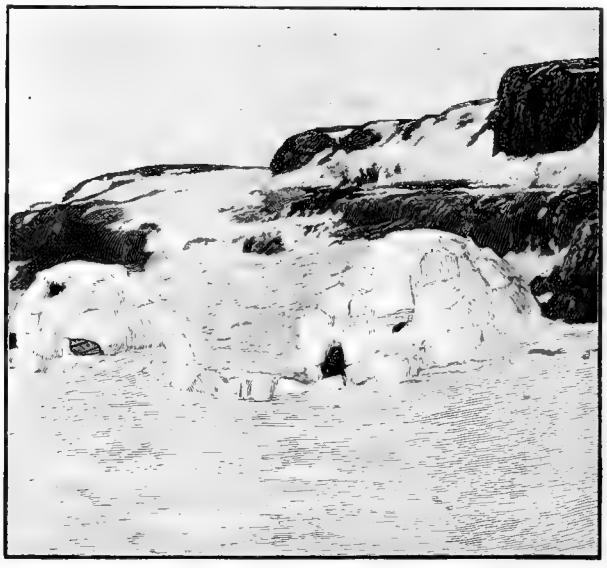


FIG. 48. Deserted Eskimo snow houses, near Fort Chimo.

in shape for a purpose hereafter mentioned. The second block is cut out and placed near the first, the end clipped with the knife to allow the first joint to be close together. A third block is cut and placed by the end of the second. It will now be seen that the line of blocks is not straight, but curved concavely within. Additional blocks are cut and placed end to end with each other until the first one laid is reached. Here a longer block is cut to lay upon the inclined side of the triangular-shaped block first used and so placed as to "break" the joints, and thus render the structure more stable. Additional blocks are placed on the first row, and as the operation proceeds it will be seen that the blocks lie in a spiral form, gradually drawing in as the structure rises, forming a dome-shaped wall of snow. The key block at the top is carefully cut to fit the aperture and inserted from the outside by the assistance of another person. All the joints are carefully stopped up with spawls of snow or with snow crushed between the hands and forced within the crevices.

The floor of the snow house is the bed of snow from which the build-

ing material was taken. The door is cut by taking blocks of snow from under the bottom row of the foundation blocks. A trench is made, and along the side of it the blocks are placed. An arched covering of the material forms a sheltered passageway to the door.

When the snow house is to be occupied for a considerable time the doorway may have walls of snow blocks piled as high as the shoulders, with the top left open. This shields the entrance from wind and drifting snow. Various forms of entrance are constructed, often very tortuous; and when made a refuge by the numerous dogs they are not pleasant paths along which to creep on hands and knees, for a panic may seize some cowardly canine and all the dogs struggle to get suddenly out into the open air. Vicious animals often wait until a white man gets about half way through the entry and then make a sudden assault on him.

The interior of the house is arranged according to the number of persons inhabiting it.

A raised bed, on which to sit during the day and sleep during the night, is formed either by leaving a part of the snow-bank or else by bringing in blocks and arranging them as a solid mass. On this are spread bows of spruce, or dry grass, if obtainable, otherwise fine twigs of willow or alder, and over these heavy reindeer or bear skins are thrown. On these bed-skins are laid other softer skins of reindeer, with which to cover the person on retiring to sleep. A window is sometimes set in the side of the structure toward the sun. This is simply a piece of thick, clear ice, from a lake, set in the wall of the dome. It admits light, although it is generally light enough during the day within the snow-house unless the walls be built particularly thick, but great thickness in certain situations becomes necessary lest the winds and drifting snow wear away the sides of the structure, causing it to admit the cold or tumble down. Around the outside of the hut is sometimes built a protecting wall of snow blocks, two or three feet high, to prevent the drifting snow from wearing away the side of the dwelling. A storm of a single night's duration is often sufficient to destroy a house.

The interior walls, in severe weather, become coated with frost films from the breath, etc., condensing and crystallizing on the inside of the dome and often presenting by the lamplight a brilliant show of myriads of reflecting surfaces scintillating with greater luster than skillfully set gems.

If the roof is not carefully shaped it is liable to cave in from the heat within softening the snow, especially in moderate weather, and then the entire structure falls.

Where the owner of the house has considerable possessions which must be protected from the dogs and the weather, a similar structure is prepared alongside of the dwelling and often connected with it by

means of a communicating passage-way. An exterior opening may be made and closed with a block of snow. The larger articles, such as bags of oil and bundles of skins, are put inside before the walls are up, if intended to be stored for some time.

As I have slept in these snow-houses I can assert that, while very uncomfortable, they afford a protection which can not be dispensed with. When the doorway is open they soon become very cold, and when closed upon several persons the heat becomes intolerable. Odors from the food remain long after the remnants are disposed of, and where one has been occupied for a long period the accumulation of refuse becomes so great that a new structure is indispensable in order to get rid of it. All the work of the different members of the family is performed within the walls. The skins of animals are dressed and tanned there. The offal of game and the hair from dressed skins mingle in one mass, which soon putrefies and creates such a stench that only an Eskimo with most obtuse sense of smell could inhabit the place.

When spring comes the huts begin to melt and in the course of a few warm days fall down. If the weather is too inclement to permit a skin tent to be occupied, the first hole in the wall may be patched with a deerskin, but this will afford very limited protection from the cold of nights, for, however warm the days, the nights will, until late in May, be so cold that only the older individuals withstand the cold.

When the structure falls, melted by sun or rain, the miserable occupants must erect temporary shelter of deerskin or cloth on the bare rocky ridges. Those too poor to own a skin tent have often but a blanket of deerskin, stretched over three or four poles, set to shelter them from the chilly northerly winds usually prevailing at that season.

Here they must sojourn until the ice breaks from the shores of the coves and bays, enabling the hunters to procure seals from the sea. Along the shores one may often find camping sites of these poor wanderers searching through the day for food and at night camping under the lee of a wall of rock with little other covering than that worn during the day and this often soaked with spray or rain.

Improvidence and indolence result in the most cruel privations toward the end of winter. Many who are too weak and emaciated from lack of food to pursue the chase to gain a living starve before reaching the sea and are left to perish.

When the season is more advanced, and the weather warm enough, those who are industrious and provident enough to be the possessors of sealskin tents, move into them for the season.

The skin tent (Pl. XXXVII) is usually made of the skins of the largest square flipper seals, those too heavy for any other purpose or not necessary for other uses.



ESKIMO TENT.

The number of skins necessary to form a tent varies with the size required. Generally as many as ten to fifteen are used, and such a tent will accommodate a good sized family.

The hair is seldom removed from the skin, which is simply stretched as it comes from the animal and freed from fat and fleshy particles. The edges are trimmed and a sufficient number of skins are sewed together to form a length for one side of the tent. The length of the individual skins makes the height of the tent. A similar width is prepared for the opposite side. The two pieces meet at the rear of the structure and are there tied to the poles. A separate piece forms the door and may be thrown one side when a person enters or goes out. The poles of the tent are arranged as follows: Two pairs of poles are joined near the ends with stout thongs and erected with the lower ends spread to the proper width, forming the ends of the tent, on which the ridgepole is laid. A single pole is now placed near each end of the ridgepole, resting on the upright pairs, to prevent lateral motion. Two more such braces are placed on each side and spread so as to give a somewhat rounded end to the tent. Near the middle of the ridgepole is a pair of shorter poles leaning against it to prevent the weight of the sides from bending the ridgepole. It will be seen that eleven poles are necessary to support a long tent, as the skins are very heavy. The skins and poles can be transported when the umiak is able to carry them.

In case of continued rains the skins are placed so as nearly to meet over the ridge and additional skins cover the space left between the edges. When the tent is to be taken down the two widths are folded over, each by itself, and then rolled into a compact bundle by beginning at each end and folding toward the center, leaving sufficient space between the rolls for a person to get his head and shoulders in. Two persons, one for each roll, now assist the carrier, who kneels, bows his head, and places the load on his head and shoulders. The two assist him to rise and the heavy load is taken to the umiak and placed in the bottom for ballast. The shorter poles are first laid in on the ribs of the boat to keep the skins from the water should any seep through the seams. The second bundle of tenting is laid on the first.

The tent of skins is the usual shelter during the season from the first rain until a sufficient fall of snow occurs in the early winter from which to construct an iglu gheak.

The interior of the skin tent is necessarily quite roomy on account of the number of occupants. The farther end often has a stick of timber laid across the floor, and behind this is the bedding for the owner, his wives, and children. A man who is able to own a tent of this character is also wealthy enough to have two or more wives. Along the remainder of the sides within lie the other occupants, either in groups or singly, depending on the degree of relationship existing between

them. Guests and others temporarily abiding with the host are assigned any portion of the tent that the host may choose to select, usually, if great honor is to be shown, the place lately occupied by himself. The central portion is reserved for a fireplace for cooking and heating purposes. In this structure is carried on all manner of work incidental to the season. The tent is taken from place to place by means of the umiak when the food supply of a locality is exhausted or another region promises greater abundance.

All these summer occupations require a number of persons to successfully prosecute them, hence the number dwelling in one tent is not often detrimental, as the adults walk along the shore to drag the boat or relieve it from their weight.

The owner of a tent is considered an important individual, and his favor is retained by every means. A period of illness may cause him to lose all his belongings and then on recovery he has to start life anew. Several seasons may elapse before a sufficient number of skins will be procured for him to make a tent, and this is immovable without a boat to transport it, for when a sled might be used for that purpose there is always enough snow from which to erect a shelter.

During the winter the skins are stored away on posts erected for the purpose, or on piles of rocks where the various species of small animals will not destroy them by eating holes in the oily skin. Mice and ermines are very destructive to these skins, often causing sad havoc in a short time. By the spring the owner may be miles away from the scene of the previous autumnal hunt and be unable to go after the tent, which, with the summer rain and decay, becomes useless, imposing the severe task of collecting skins for a second tent.

In former times these people inhabited permanent winter houses like those used by the Eskimo elsewhere, as is shown by the ruins of sod and stone houses to be seen in various parts of the country. These appear to have had walls of stone built up to support the roof timbers, with the interstices filled up with turf or earth. From the depression remaining in the inside of these ruins, the floor seems to have been excavated to a greater or less depth.

The present inhabitants relate that their ancestors dwelt in these huts, but can not explain why they were deserted, or why such structures are not erected at the present day.

HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES.

There is very little in these dwellings that can be called furniture, besides the bed places already referred to. The other articles requisite for housekeeping consist of a lamp of soapstone, kettles to hang over it, a frame suspended above the lamp for drying various articles, and sundry wooden bowls, buckets, and cups, besides similar vessels made of sealskin.

The lamp (poqíla), which is the only source of heat and light in the snow house, is, roughly speaking, a large shallow bowl of soapstone

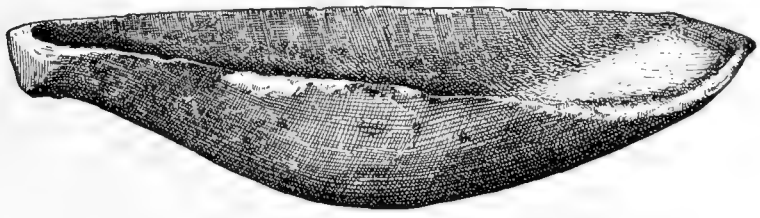


FIG. 49. Soapstone lamp, Koksoagmyut.

filled with oil, which is burned by means of a wick of moss, arranged round one edge of the bowl.

The material from which these lamps are made occurs in isolated

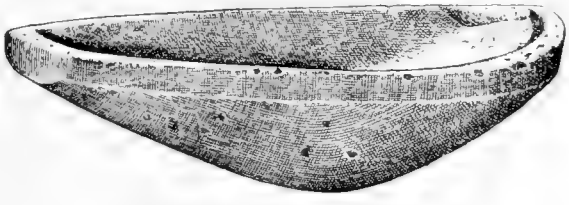


FIG. 50. Soapstone lamp, Koksoagmyut.

bowlders on the surface of the ground at various places in the region. These bowlders are often of great size.

The general form of these lamps, which will be best understood from the figures (Figs. 49, 50, 51), is nearly always the same, the variations being apparently due to the lack of material. The cavity for holding the oil varies in capacity, according to the size of the lamp, from half a pint to nearly three quarts. It is, however, never filled to the brim,

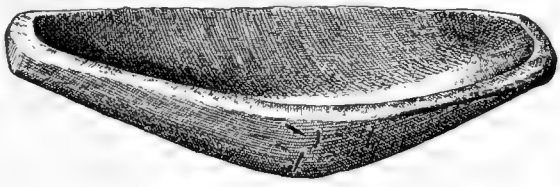


FIG. 51. Soapstone lamp, Koksoagmyut.

for fear it should run over. The consumption of oil depends upon the number of wicks lighted at once, and also on the character of the wick.

The wick in general use is prepared from a kind of moss, which grows in large patches close to the ground, the stalks rising perpen-

dicularly, and the whole so matted together that it may be cut into any desired form. From these patches pieces are cut an inch or two wide, a third of an inch thick and two or three inches in length, and laid

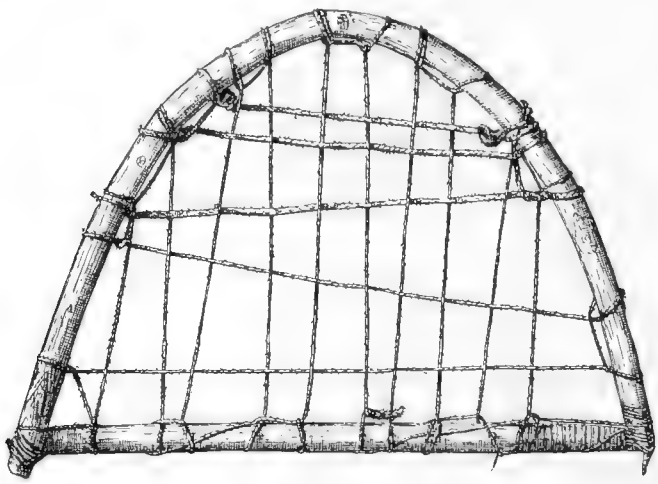


FIG. 52. Frame for drying mittens.

away to dry. When one of these is to be used the woman squeezes the fibers together with her teeth, trims it, and sets it in the oil, and lights it. The light from one of these wicks is nearly equal to that of an inch wick fed with a good quality of kerosene. The heat is very great.

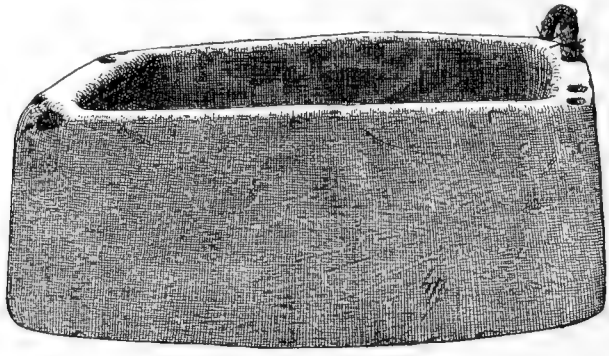


FIG. 53. Soapstone kettle.

For cooking, a larger wick is used, or two of the smaller ones set side by side. Over the lamp is placed a frame for drying wet boots, mittens, and such things. Fig. 52 represents one of these (No. 3048), which is a semicircle or bow of wood with the ends fastened to a straight piece of wood. Across these strands of sinew or sealskin forms a sort of net-

ting having large meshes. On this rests the article to be dried. Under this is a support formed of two sharp-pointed pegs which are stuck into the snow forming the side of the hut. On the outer end of these is fastened, or laid across them, a piece of wood. The shape of the support is that of a long staple with square corners. In some instances the pegs form only a wide V-shape, and the frame for supporting the articles laid directly on this. A block of wood hollowed out to receive the convex bottom of the lamp is sometimes used to support the latter.

In former times cooking over these lamps was universally performed in kettles of soapstone, in which cooking was also done by putting



FIG. 54. Soapstone kettle.

heated stones into the water. These soapstone kettles are, however, quite superseded by utensils of civilized manufacture. I, however, succeeded in collecting two full-sized stone kettles, and one little one, made for a child's toy. The figures (Figs. 53, 54) show the shape of these ves-

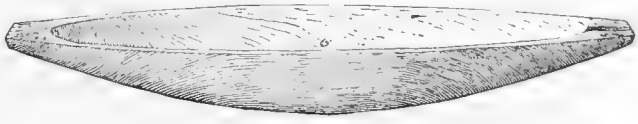


FIG. 55. Wooden dish.

sels sufficiently well. The handles are made of strips of whalebone. The larger kettle (No. 3179) is nearly 13 inches long, and will hold nearly a gallon. They were made of different capacities in former times, varying from about a pint to a full gallon.

Oblong shallow dishes (pu-ghu'-tak) for holding oil or food are carved from larch knots. The figure (Fig. 55) represents a model of one of

these. Buckets and cups of various sizes for holding water and other fluids are made of tanned seal skin sewed with sinew. The sides of the bucket are a strip of seal skin bent into a ring, with a round piece of seal skin sewed on for a bottom. Sometimes a seal-skin bail is added, or a wooden handle sewed to the lips of the cup, making it into a dipper (Figs. 56, 57.) Wooden baskets are made in a similar fashion strip of spruce wood is bent nearly circular. The ends of the strip are fastened with fine iron wire. The bottom is a separate piece and has a rim or edge for the upper part to set on, and is held in place by means of small wooden pegs driven through and into the bottom.

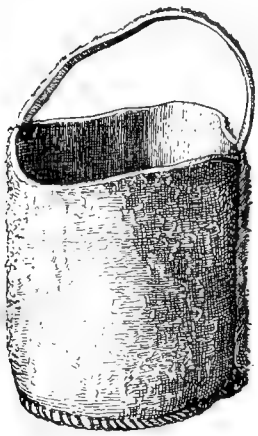


FIG. 56. Sealskin bucket.

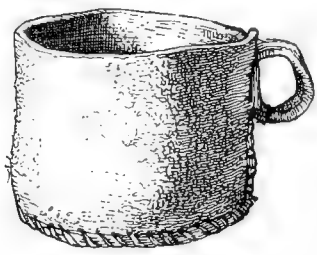


FIG. 57. Sealskin cup.

The capacity of these vessels is seldom more than a couple of quarts, and generally less. They are principally used to ladle water into the cooking kettles. All these vessels of native manufacture are being rapidly displaced by tin cups and small kettles.

FOOD AND ITS PREPARATION

Under certain conditions a great portion of their food is eaten raw, but it is invariably cooked when it conveniently can be. Frozen food is consumed in great quantities. I have seen them strip and devour the back, fat, and flesh from the body of a deer while the fibers were yet quivering. The entrails of many species of birds are taken from the body and, while yet warm, swallowed much after the manner of swallowing an oyster. The eggs which have been incubated to an advanced degree are as eagerly devoured as those quite fresh.

The deer meat, killed the previous fall and frozen for three or four months, is cut into huge chunks and gnawed with as much satisfaction as though it was the finest pastry. On such occasions I have seen the person appointed to chop up the frozen meat scatter the pieces among the expectant crowd with as little ceremony as that of throwing ears of corn to the hogs in a pen. For a change the frozen pieces of meat are sometimes warmed or thawed before the fire.

The blood of the deer is often mixed with the half-digested mass of food in the stomach of the animal, and the stomach, with its contents, with the addition of the blood, eaten raw or boiled. Sometimes it is laid aside to ferment and then frozen and eaten in this condition.

Strips of fat from a seal and the blood of the animal are put into a kettle and heated. The oily liquid is eaten with the greatest relish. Seal oil is used for food in about the same manner as we use syrups. Years of almost daily intercourse with these people have failed to show the ability of any person to drink seal or whale oil without illness resulting. They never drink pure oil under any circumstances, except as a laxative. The statement often made that these people drink oil as food is simply preposterous. Such statements doubtless arose from seeing other preparations of food having an abundance of oil upon them. Lean flesh is often dipped into oil and then eaten. If partaken of without oil in as great quantities as these people requirē, a torpid condition of the liver and alimentary canal results, and they thus employ the pure oil to relieve themselves.

Vegetable food is little used except in the vicinity of the trading stations. Those accustomed to the use of flour, bread, peas, beans, and rice are very fond of them, and often express regret that they will be deprived of them when on their hunting expeditions.

Native plants afford little help as food. During the season when the various berries are ripe all the people gorge themselves. They have a special fondness for the akpik (*Rubus chæmomorus*). The sun scarcely reddens the side of these berries, locally known as "bake apple," before the children scour the tracts where they grow, and eat of the half-ripened fruit with as much relish as the civilized boy does the fruit purloined from a neighbor's orchard. Other berries contribute their share as food.

When on trips the women often gather a few green herbs and put them in a kettle of water and make an infusion in lieu of tea. They are fond of tea, coffee, and sugar. Molasses is eaten alone or with something dipped in it.

The Eskimo drink often and astonishing quantities of water at a time. If the weather be very cold they often drink the water which has been heated on a fire, asserting that the hot water does not weaken them as much as cold water would do.

When a seal has been killed and is being brought to camp, the hunter signifies his success from a distance, and those in camp raise a joyous shout. The animal is drawn ashore and skinned. The flesh is devoured raw as the process goes on, or may be divided, certain portions being given the different persons. The blood is collected, and when the meat is boiled it is mixed with the hot liquid and forms a nutritious dish, eagerly devoured by both adults and young. The children revel in this dish to a sacrifice of cleanliness.

The feast is continued until the flesh has been devoured and the people gorged to their utmost capacity. Stories are told and general good humor prevails. The different species of fish which frequent the shallow waters of the bays are used as food.

TOBACCO AND SNUFF.

All the adults are addicted to the use of tobacco, both for smoking and chewing and in the form of snuff, although it is not everyone that uses tobacco in all three ways.

The plug tobacco, used for smoking and chewing, is carried in a small pouch of seal skin attached to the belt, which keeps it from being dampened by perspiration or rain. Watches are also carried in the same receptacle. Fig. 58 (No. 74485) is such a bag, made of hairy seal skin. The edges alone are trimmed with lighter colored strips of seal skin. A string holds the mouth of the bag together after it is rolled up. A loop at one corner enables the bearer to affix it to his belt when traveling to avoid the necessity of opening the bag in which he usually carries such small things.

Leaf tobacco is preferred for the preparation of snuff, but as this is not always to be had plug is often used. This is shredded up and

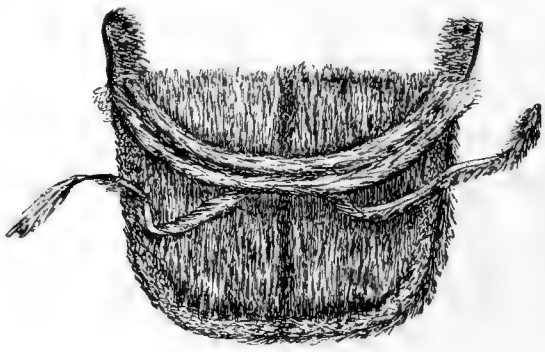


FIG. 58. Tobacco pouch.

dried, and when dry enough is reduced to a powder by inclosing a quantity in a fold of seal skin and pounding it with a stone or stick.

Snuff is kept in a purse-shaped bag, closed at the mouth with a thong. To it is attached a little spoon made of ivory. Various forms of this implement are made. The general appearance is that of a common spoon, of which the ends and sides of the bowl are cut off. At the end of the handle is a slight depression for containing the snuff, which is held firmly against the orifice of the nostril and inhaled by a sudden indrawing of the breath while the thumb of the other hand closes the opposite nostril.

The old women appear more addicted to the use of snuff than any of the men. The effect of inhaling the strong snuff is quickly shown in the face. It seems to affect people more than the use of tobacco in any other way.

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION.

BY WATER.

The principal means of conveyance by water with the Eskimo of Hudson strait, is the umiak, referred to by most writers as the woman's boat. This appellation is not more applicable than would be the term family boat. The women use the boat alone only on rare occasions, and then in quiet water and for short distances. Men are nearly always in it, and under the guidance of one of these, the boat is used for long journeys.

The form of the umiak, in the region under consideration, differs greatly from that of the Eskimo of Bering sea. (See Fig. 59, from a model.)

The size of the boat is variable according to the means of the builder and the size of the family to be conveyed in it. The length of the keel is from 10 to 25 feet. Over all the length is 1 or 2 feet greater than on the keel. It will be thus seen that the ends are nearly perpendicular. It is difficult to determine at the first glance which is the bow and which the stern, so nearly alike are they. They only differ in the former being somewhat wider at the upper edge or rail.

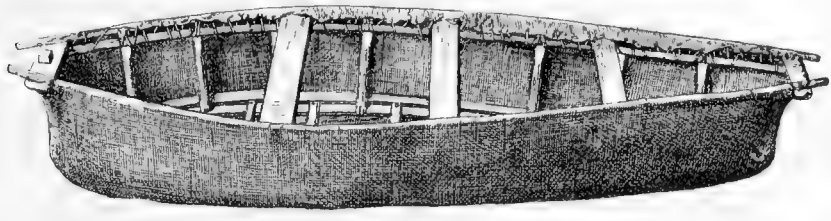


FIG. 59. Eskimo umiak.

The keel is a straight piece of wood hewed from a single stick, nearly 4 inches square. The stem and stern posts are nearly alike, the latter having but little slope, and are cut from curved or crooked stems of trees. A tree may be found, which, when hewed, will form the stern-post and keel in one length. Otherwise the fore and aft posts have places cut out for the insertion of the respective ends of the keel, and are fastened firmly by stout thongs of sealskin thrust through holes bored in the wood and ingeniously lashed. As the bottom of the umiak is flat the sides of the bottom are formed of square rails of sufficient length and given the desired spread. They are held at the ends by being joined to the keel. Crosspieces notched at the ends separate the bottom rails and are steadied in position by being notched so as to sit on the square keel. On the ends of the crosspieces is laid a second rail which prevents them from rising and serves to strengthen the ends of the ribs, which are set alternately with the crosspieces of the

keel. The ribs are attached to the lower or bottom rail by means of sealskin lashing. Along the upper ends of the ribs is placed a longer rail of smaller diameter and usually shaved round. This rail is usually set half its diameter into rounded notches of the upper ends of the ribs and fastened by thongs. Within and below the top rail is a shorter rail, generally smaller than the upper, tied by thongs to the ribs and posts fore and aft. A wide board projecting several inches on each side of the stern serves as a seat for the steersman. The ends of the top rails are laid over this board and attached to it. A similar board is placed at the forward end or bow, but is, of course, longer as that end is the wider of the two.

Three to five thwarts, serving as seats for the occupants, are placed at proper intervals, having their ends resting on the inside top rail. One of these thwarts also serves to steady the mast, which is stepped into the keel and lashed to the thwart.

On the side of the boat and resting on the top rail are pieces of wood firmly lashed. A notch, or rowlock, is cut into them to serve as rests for the heavy oars. The oars are held into the notch by means of loops of stout thong, the ends of the loops passing each other, one from forward and the other from aft, and through both of the loop ends the inner end of the oar is thrust. The loops serve to hold the oar when not in use, otherwise it would float away; yet the position of them allows the oars to lie alongside in the water. The oars are heavy and as much as 10 feet long for a large umiak. The women generally run the boat and are assisted by the younger men of the party who may not be walking along the shore. Two or more females sit side by side and if they be insufficient a third person faces them and assists in the labor. It is a favorite place for a young man with his sweetheart. The steersman sits on the after board and attends to the helm and sail when the latter is in use. The sail is a nearly square sheet of cloth spread by a yard across the top. The lower corners have each a rope which the helmsman holds. A fair wind only can be used to advantage as the oomiak, from its flat bottom, is unable to go to windward. With a breeze nearly aft they can be made to sail at a good speed.

The covering of the umiak is made of skins of the largest seals. The skins are freed from hair and all adhering flesh and fat, and stretched to their utmost tension.

They are then cut into the proper shape and sewed together. The edge of one skin overlaps that of the other and the lap is then tacked over the shorter edge and attached to the other skin so as to form two seams at each junction.

Those portions which are to cover the bottom are sewed with special care, as the seams are liable to be strained in shoving the boat over the oars when it is taken from the water at each camp. When skins are sewed side to side in sufficient number to fit the length of the frame

they are lifted around it and temporarily placed in position. The superfluous portions are cut out or additional pieces put in until it fits properly on the frame. Holes, 3 or 4 inches apart, are cut in the edges of the skin and stout thongs are passed through these and over the top rail to the inner rail. All the strength of the individual is now applied to draw the skin over the top rail. Being wet it readily stretches, and when the entire covering is drawn sufficiently tight the lashing around the rail is permanently fastened. The boat is then turned keel up to dry. If the skin has been properly cut and stretched it sounds like a drum when struck.

When in use the greatest care must be exercised to prevent contact with rocks, but in shallow water it frequently happens that a hole is cut in the skin of the boat, when the rent must be patched with a piece of skin. During the winter months the umiak is placed on staging of posts to protect it from the ravages of mice and other animals.

Journeys of considerable length are undertaken in these boats. A large family, or two or more families, may remove to a distance to try their fortunes. They always stop at night and during bad weather, and the journey is accomplished by easy stages. All the portable possessions of the family are taken in these boats, which are often loaded to such a degree that the older people have to walk along the shores and only go into the umiak to relieve some one who desires to walk. Where the beach is good a tracking line is attached to the bow and those on shore drag the boat along. The dogs which accompany the party are sometimes harnessed and made to pull. The tracking line is called into requisition whenever a trip is made up a river to the hunting grounds for reindeer.

The kaiak or skin canoe used by the Eskimo of Hudson strait belongs to the Greenland type. It is quite different from that used by the natives of Alaska. These boats vary from 18 to 26 feet in length; the greatest width, one-third of the distance aft the hole where the rower sits, being one-seventh to one-ninth of the entire length of the kaiak. The ends are sharp, the prow much more acute than the stern. The bottom is quite flat and the frame for the keel and sides at the bottom is arranged similarly to that of the umiak. The prow is simply an extension of the keel and slopes above the water to a height nearly double that of the stern. The slope of the stern is gradual and short. The side timbers at the bottom have the upper surface gouged so as to allow the lower ends of the nearly perpendicular ribs to rest in the groove. The ribs extend across the bottom, resting on the side timber and keel. Their upper ends are inserted in the upper rail, which extends the entire length of the kaiak. The upper rails are held apart by crosspieces of different lengths, according to position. On the top of these upper crosspieces is laid a piece which extends to the nose of the kaiak. A similar, but shorter one, is laid

from the hole where the rower sits to the stern of the kaiak. The hole for his body is placed between a pair of crossbars where the equilibrium will be best maintained. The hoop of wood which outlines the hole is variable in shape, but resembles half of a short ellipse, the posterior of which is slightly curved to fit the back of the rower. Just forward of the seat the upper surface of the canoe is somewhat elevated by the curvature of the crossbars, and it thus enables the rower to have greater freedom for his limbs than he otherwise would. This particular part, the elevation just forward of him, alone resembles any portion of the kaiaks used by the Alaskan Eskimo, and of these, only the subtribes in the vicinity of Bering strait [and thence to Point Barrow.—J. M.] have that part of the kaiak so fashioned. With that exception the top of the Hudson strait kaiak is flat on the top. Just forward of the hatch, two or three stout thongs are sewed to the outer edge of each side of the boat and extend across the top. A similar thong is placed behind. Under these thongs are placed the paddle, also the spears, and other hunting gear. Small game is sometimes tied to these.

The outfit, consisting of spears and their appurtenances, properly belongs with the kaiak. Of these implements, there are different kinds, depending on the game and the season of the year. As the kaiak is used only during the seasons of open water it is laid aside during the winter.

I remember an instance occurring opposite Fort Chimo. A kaiak had been left until the ice in the river was firm enough to enable the vessel to be brought over on it to the station. One day a woman declared that she could see a wolf tearing the skin from the frame. It was scarcely credited, but in the course of half an hour the wolf started across towards the post. It was met and showed some disposition to attack, but was shot. I watched to see where the men went to look at the kaiak, and when they reached the place I was astounded that the woman could discern even the kaiak at such a distance.

The spear used for white whales and large seals consists of a wooden shaft of 6 or 8 feet in length, having a projection on the side, made of ivory and shaped like the fin of a fish. This fin-shaped piece rests against the forefinger, while the remainder of the hand grasps the shaft. The lower end of the shaft terminates in a piece of bone or ivory of 1 to $1\frac{1}{3}$ inches in diameter. (Fig. 67.) A socket is made in the end of the bone portion, and the wooden shaft is nicely fitted into it and fastened either by thongs or rivets. At the farther end of the bone head is a thimble-shaped hole gouged out, and into this a short piece of straight bone or ivory is fitted, having the ends so shaped that they will work smoothly into the hole at the end of the bone head of the spear. The farther end of this bone shaft is so shaped that it will work into the bone or ivory portion of the piece into which the spear point is fastened. The point is shown in the accompanying figure (Fig. 68) and is not

much varied in general shape. There are two joints between the spear point and the bone shaft head. This enables the spear-point to become easily detached when the game is pierced. If this were not so, the bone or ivory would soon break with the violent motions of the animal, and the implement would be rendered useless until repaired. Thongs connect the various parts together, also connecting them with the main shaft of the spear. A long line, usually left lying in a coil just in front of the hunter, gives ample scope for play until the animal is exhausted. If the sea is rough or the hunter unable to cope with the quarry, the float, to be described below, is thrown over and the seal or whale allowed to take its course, the hunter following and endeavoring to harass the animal as much as possible, giving it a stab with the hand spear whenever occasion offers.

In addition to the whale or seal spear, the hand spear, float, and paddle, the kaiaker may have a wooden shaft, on the end of which are three prongs of barbed iron, each prong 8 to 10 inches long, and set in the form of a divergent trident. With this implement, small seals and the white-coated young are killed. Birds, too, are sometimes speared with this trident.

The hand board, or implement with which certain spears are hurled, is a piece of wood of such shape that a description will give but little idea of its form. It is about 14 inches long, flat, and has a groove on one side into which the rear end of the spear shaft rests, and is supported by the three fingers of the hand while the index finger fits into a hole cut through the board, of the shape to accommodate that digit. The tip of the finger rests against the shaft of the spear. Other notches are cut along the side of the board to enable the three fingers to lie in position to give a firm grasp on the end or handle of the board. The thumb turns over so as to lie directly on the spear, to steady it, while the other fingers give the spear the necessary straight motion when the arm is drawn back and raised nearly perpendicularly. When it reaches that position the motion is arrested and the fingers release the implement held along the groove. The hand board or thrower is retained and the spear recovered if the object has not been struck. If the aim was good the spear remains attached to the struggling animal, and the hand board is quickly placed under one of the thongs stretched across the top of the kaiak. The paddle is held in the left hand and ready for instant use.

The paddle is quite heavy and of variable length, having long, narrow blades, which are alternately dipped into the water. The use of the paddle requires some practice before one becomes accustomed to it. When in use the paddle rests on the edge of the hoop, forming the rim of the hatch, and moves along it in the motion of propulsion.

As the paddle dips into the water the dripping often causes the clothing to become wet. To obviate this, these people use a piece of

plaited rope or skin to slip nearly to the beginning of the blade. This causes the dripping to fall outside of the kaiak; and in cold weather is very necessary, unless heavy mittens of tanned sealskin be worn.

An implement used for hooking into the body of a sunken seal or whale is made in the following manner: A piece of wood is prepared about 8 feet long and three-fourths of an inch thick, having a width of an inch and a half. The lower end of this has a strong hook made of stout iron set into it. Along the inner edge of the wooden shaft two or three notches are cut. The end near the person has a V-shaped notch cut into it. This is used for all the purposes of a boat hook, and also to retrieve a sunken animal. A weight is attached to near the hook end to keep the shaft perpendicular in the water. A line of sufficient length is attached to it. The hunter has marked the locality, and with the hook "feels" the bottom for the game. When found the hook is jerked into the skin and the object brought to the surface. The staff is very necessary while the kaiak is being moved through narrow channels among the ice fields. It is, in fact, available in many instances where the paddle would, from its length, be useless. The kaiak outfit would be incomplete without the hook.

A young man starts out in life with a gun and ammunition with which to procure game. If he has the energy to become a successful hunter he will soon be able to make a kaiak, and thus procure the marine mammals whose skins will afford a covering for an umiak and in the course of time additional skins for a tent. These possessions usually come in the order laid down, and when they are all procured he is generally able to have others under his direction assist in transporting them from place to place; and thus he becomes the head of a gens or family, including his brothers and sisters with their husbands, wives, and children. These usually move in a body wherever the head may dictate, and all their possessions accompany them on the journey. Brothers often live together and own the tent and umiak, the remainder of the household affairs being considered as individual property and not to be used by all without permission.

Some of the men are too improvident to prepare these skins when they have the opportunity, and thus they are unable to own a kaiak, which prevents them from providing themselves with the umiak and tent. These persons must live with others or dwell by themselves and pass a miserable existence, scarcely noticed by their fellows even during a season of abundance.

The collection contains one full-sized kaiak, with all its fittings, and their models, including a toy kaiak cut from a walrus tusk. The model is just 9 inches long and quite perfect in form. The double-bladed paddle accompanying is made from the same material, and is six inches long.

ON LAND.

The universal means of transportation on land is the sled, drawn by

dogs. The number of dogs used to draw a sled varies according to the distance to be traveled, the character of the country, the condition of the animals, and the weight of the load to be drawn. From one to twenty dogs may be used. The common team for general purposes is seven or nine animals.

The method of constructing sleds differs slightly in different parts of the region, and then only where the material may be difficult to obtain or a heavy sled may not be needed. A tree of a suitable size is selected, generally larch, because of its greater strength, although somewhat heavier than the spruce.

It is necessary, for greater strength, that each runner be of a single piece of timber. The length of the runner is from 12 to 16 feet; the height varies from 10 to 12 inches. The piece must be as nearly free from knots and crossgrain as possible, for these defects render the wood very brittle during cold weather. The runners are roughly hewn at the place where originally cut, and, when needed, they are brought to the temporary camping place of the Eskimo, and there dressed with plane and saw to the required form. The bottom of the runner is usually 2½ to 3 inches thick, gradually becoming thinner by one-half an inch to an inch toward the top. This enables the sled to make a wider track at the bottom and encounter less friction of the runner sides against the snow crust. The curve at the forward end is long and very gradual. There may be as much as 3 feet of the curved part, which rises above the level of the lower edge of the runner. This enables the sled to creep easily over any obstruction. The runners are now placed parallel, separated by a distance of 14 to 16 inches, and on these are fastened crossbars 3 inches wide, of sufficient length to allow about an inch to project over the outer edge of each runner. Near the ends of these slats is cut a notch on each edge. Sometimes a hole is also bored through the slat between the notches. These are for the purpose of fastening the slats to the runners. A sufficient number having been prepared, and placed 1 or 2 inches apart, they are now laid on the flat top of the runner. Holes are bored through the top of the runner to correspond with the holes and notches of the slats. Through these and over the slats a stout piece of heavy sealskin line is threaded, and so on through and over the slats and runner until it is firmly fastened. The line must be well soaked in water to render it flexible and allow it to stretch, otherwise the joints where it was tied would soon work loose. The line shrinks while drying, and draws as tight as though made of the best iron. No metal is used, for the reason that it would snap as easily as chalk during cold weather. The use of the thongs in binding the slats to the runners allows freedom to the motion of the sled when passing over inequalities of surface, where a rigidity of the sled would soon cause it to break. The bottom of the runner is shod with iron brought by the traders for that

purpose. It is simply extra-wide hoop-iron and of a width to fit. It is fastened on with screws, the heads of which are countersunk.

Another kind of shoe is put on when traveling in very cold weather. A swampy track is searched for soil of half-decomposed vegetation and pure humus, as nearly free from sand and gravel as possible. It must possess certain qualities or it may not have the requisite strength—much, I presume, as mortar often requires to be tempered with more or less lime or sand when it is too rich or too poor. The Eskimo tempers his mortar with the almost impalpable soil found under the larger spreading trees of the forest. It is the slowly decomposed vegetation fallen from branches and trunks. The manner of preparing it is as follows: A large kettle is partially filled with the material and heated to the boiling point, being constantly stirred, and while yet cool enough all coarse sticks, grass blades, pebbles, etc., are carefully removed as the fingers discover them in working the mortar. The sled is turned over with the bottom of the runner up. The mud is now applied by the hands, a couple of pounds being taken and pressed on the runner, which has previously been wetted. This process of adding to the runner is continued until it attains an additional depth of 3 or 4 inches and a width of 3 to 5 inches. It now resembles the rail of a stairway. When it has been thoroughly gone over to fill up any inequalities the sled is set aside in order that the mud may freeze solid. The sled must be handled with care, as the least jar or jolt will break the "setting" mud. After it is frozen the owner takes a plane and planes it down to the proper shape and smoothness. It is somewhat difficult to describe the shape in words, unless it be compared to the upper part of the T rail of a railroad inverted—neither rounded nor flat, but so fashioned as to give the best bearing surface with the least friction. When the plane has finished its work the color of the mud is a rich chestnut brown. The builder now takes water in his mouth and spirts it in a spray along the mud. As soon as the water touches the runner it must be spread evenly with a hand incased in a mitten of reindeer skin, rubbing back and forth until the runner looks like a bar of black glass. The sled is then ready for use. Great care is necessary to avoid rocks or stones, as these cut the polished mud and roughen it. If a sudden lurch causes a portion of the mud to drop out the piece is frozen on again by means of water, or if crumbled a piece of ice is cut to the shape and caused to adhere by water freezing it to the runner.

It is not often that one may find a sled shod with bone, as is the custom with the Eskimo farther north, and especially farther west. The only instance where I have seen bone used was by some of the people from the western extremity of Hudson strait. These had only a portion of the curve and a part of the runner shod with bone and pieces of reindeer horn, secured to the runner by means of pegs.

The greatest objection to the use of mud is that a few hours of warmth may cause it to loosen and render it worthless. The polish

suffers when traveling over rough ice, and especially where sand has drifted from some exposed bank to the surface of the snow. This causes very hard pulling, and soon roughens the running surface of the sled. To repair such damage the native stops, at a convenient place, to obtain water, which is spirted on the runner and rubbed evenly until it acquires a thickness of one-eighth of an inch. This coating of ice may last for the entire day of travel where the "roads" are good.

The harness for the dogs consists of two large nooses, placed one above the other. These are joined by two perpendicular straps of 4 or 5 inches in length at a sufficient distance from the end to allow the head of the dog to pass through so that one noose will lie along the back and the other between the forelegs. At the rear ends of the nooses is a long thong of the heaviest sealskin of variable length depending on the position or place the dog is to have in the team. The body harness is made of sealskin, with or without the hair on, stout canvas, or other material which may be convenient. Thin undressed sealskin makes the best harness, and is not so liable to chafe the neck of the animal. The trace attached to each dog is generally of stout sealskin thong cut three-eighths of an inch wide, and the corners are carefully pared until the trace in form resembles a hoop for a small keg. The trace varies from 10 to 30 feet in length, and is attached to a longer but much stouter thong of heavier sealskin or walrus hide prepared in the form described for the trace. The thong to which all of the traces of variable lengths are fastened is termed the "bridle." The bridle has, usually, a piece of ivory, called "toggle," at the end farthest from the sled. A few inches back of the toggle is a short piece of stout thong plaited in the bridle end. This thong has a slit cut in the farther end. It is passed through slits cut in the end of each trace and then looped on the toggle. It will now be understood that the traces all start from one place, but their different lengths give different positions to the dogs of the team so that they may move freely among rough pieces of ice without interfering with each other. This has some advantages, but it necessitates watching the traces as they are liable to catch around any projection above the surface.

The bridles are also of varying lengths, from 15 to 40 feet. The rear end has two stout thongs plaited into it, forming a loop for each thong. These are known as the "yoke," and are looped over toggles, one on each inner side of the runner.

Any load to be carried on the sled is usually placed so as not to project much over the side, for in deep snow, with a crust too weak to support the weight, it would simply act as a drag and seriously impede travel if not entirely stop it. The load must also be distributed to the best advantage along the sled so as not to have too great a weight at either the front or rear, although generally a heavier portion is placed behind to allow the sled to steer or follow. The runners are so low

that the sled seldom upsets unless the ice is very rough, in which case it often requires two men to attend to it, another to free the traces from obstructions, and a fourth to lead or drive the dogs. A smaller number render traveling under such conditions very tedious.

The driver is always armed with a whip (Fig. 60). There appear to be as many kinds of whips as there are individuals using them. Each whip characterizes, in a manner, the person who makes it. A

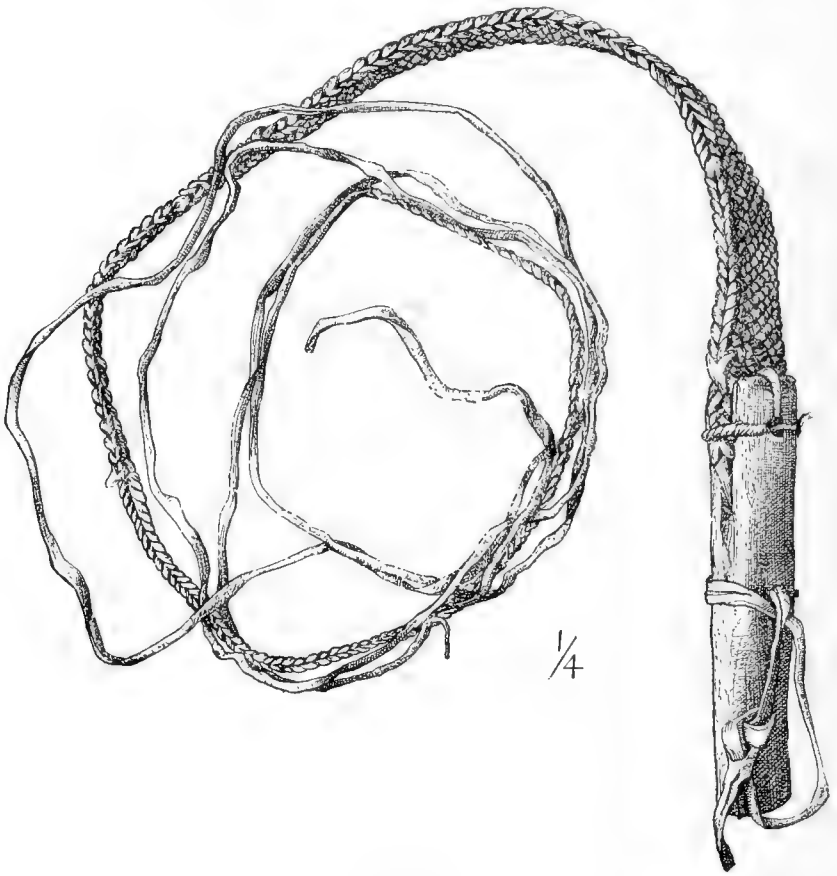


FIG. 60. Dog whip.

great amount of ingenuity is expended in preparing the lash, which is simply indescribable. The handle of the whip is from 9 to 11 inches in length and shaped somewhat like the handle of a sword without the guard. A stout loop of thong is affixed to the stock above where the hand grasps it. This loop is thrown over the wrist to prevent the weight of the whip drawing the stock from the hand and also to retain the whip when it is allowed to trail behind.

At the farther end of the stock a portion of the wood is cut out to

allow the insertion of the end of the lash which is fastened by means of finer thongs. The butt end of the lash is five-sixteenths of an inch thick and nearly 2 inches wide. It is composed of eight heavy thongs plaited in a peculiar manner, depending on the number of thongs used and the fancy of the maker. The thongs are plaited by inserting the end of each thong through a succession of slits cut at the proper distance and so matted together that it is difficult to determine the "run" of the thong. The size decreases from the handle by dropping out a strand until at 18 inches from the stock only four thongs are left, and these form a square plait for a foot in length. This square form is succeeded by only two thongs which make a flat plait of 2 feet in length. At the end of this a simple piece of heavy thong completes the lash. The length of a whip may be as much as 35 feet, weighing 3 or 4 pounds. Some of the natives acquire a surprising dexterity with this formidable weapon, often being able to snip the ear of a particular dog at a distance of the length of the whip. I have known them to snap the head from a ptarmigan sitting along the path of the team. Children practice with the whip as soon as they can manage it.

The Eskimo dog fears nothing but the whiplash. They attack each other with savage ferocity, and several dogs may be engaged in terrific battles, yet the swish of a whip or even a stick thrown hurtling through the air is sufficient to cause them to slink off in abject terror, whining piteously in fear of the expected lash.

The weight or load put upon a sled may be as much as 1,200 pounds. The character of the road alone determines the weight, number of dogs, and rate of travel. The latter may average over a smooth surface 5 miles hourly for twelve hours continuously, excluding the few minutes given the dogs to "blow" (rest), etc. I knew an instance where three men with empty sled and seven dogs traveled 94 miles in eighteen hours. I have gone 19 miles in three hours; and again I have known only 3 or 4 miles to be made in ten hours, through rough ice or deep, newly fallen snow.

The disposition and condition of the dogs chiefly determines the number attached to the sled. With these animals there is the same difference as is to be found in horses or other beasts of draft. Some are energetic and well-behaved; others as stubborn or lazy as is possible. Strange dogs in the team are liable to be pitched upon by all the others and with the long traces ensues such an entanglement of lines, dogs, and flying snow as is difficult to conceive. The good qualities of the driver are manifested by his ability in keeping the dogs in order and showing promptness in separating them when quarreling. Fighting among the dogs can always be prevented by the driver keeping the dogs in proper position.

These people are now provided with firearms, which have entirely superseded the bow and arrow.

The bow formerly used in this region appears to have been similar to the one obtained from a party of East Main Innuit, who made their way to Fort Chimo. This bow has accordingly been figured and described (Figs. 61 and 62—90137).

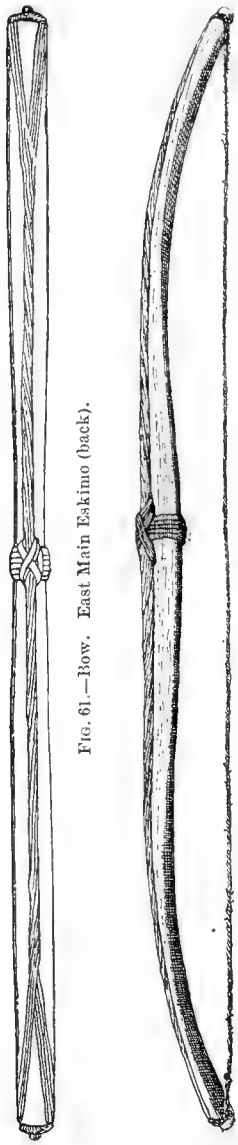


Fig. 61.—Bow. East Main Eskimo (back).

Fig. 62.—Bow. East Main Eskimo (side).

It is made of larch wood and has a backing of eight double strands of twisted sinew. This sinew is in one piece sixteen times the length of the bow. One end is looped and passed over one "nock" of the bow and carried back and forth from nock to nock eight times. This backing has two turns of twist put in from the middle to increase its elasticity, and is lashed to the middle of the bow with a stout thong of reindeer skin. The bowstring is of twisted sinew with a loop at each end.

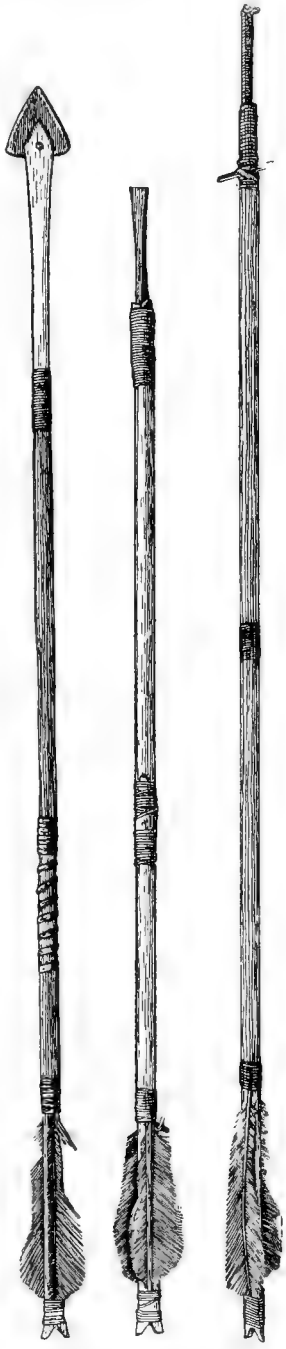
With this bow were seven arrows. Three of these are for shooting reindeer and wolves. They have an iron point set in a short foreshaft of reindeer antler, and a wooden shaft about 16 inches long (Fig. 63). Three more are pointed with large nails, one of which has been beaten to a chisel-shaped point (Figs. 64 and 65). They are intended for large game at short range, or for small game, such as hares and ptarmigan. These six arrows are feathered with the tail feathers of the raven. The last arrow is a simple shaft, without feathering or head, and is intended for small game, such as a wood hare crouching under a spruce tree, or the little red squirrel on the top of a low tree.

In drawing the bow, the Innuit invariably hold the arrow between the middle two fingers of the right hand, and the string is drawn with all four fingers, and released by straightening them.

The bow and arrows are carried in bow case and quiver fastened together and slung on the back. Fig. 66 represents a model (No. 3257) of such a bow case.

The bow case is made of buckskin and is of sufficient length to con-

tain the bow, excepting the extreme end, which is left projecting for convenience in handling. The case is tied around the bow at the projecting end. The quiver is attached to the bow case and contains two models of arrows for shooting large game. The arrows are tipped with leaf-shaped pieces of tin. They are feathered with portions of feathers apparently taken from the tail of a raven. The mouth of the quiver is also drawn up with a string to prevent the loss of arrows. I have not seen the Eskimo of Hudson strait use such a cover for their bows and arrows, but the opportunities to observe them are very limited, as few are used. I am led to conclude that only the poorer individuals of either locality have the bow and arrow at the present day.



FIGS. 63, 64, and 65.—Arrows. East Main Eskimo.

I have already described the large harpoon used for striking white whales and large seals from the kaiak. A short-head spear (Fig 67, No. 90164) is used for dispatching wounded seals or white whales, or for killing white whales when they have been driven into a shallow arm of the sea when the tide ebbs and leaves them partly uncovered. It has a short wooden shaft with a ferrule of ivory, holding a short ivory loose shaft, kept in place by thongs, on which is mounted a toggle head like that used on the big harpoon. The line is either attached to the kaiak or to a small float made of the inflated intestine or skin of a seal. The toggle heads for these spears are made of ivory, and fitted with iron blades (Fig. 68). I have already referred to the large sealskin float in describing the kaiak.

Fig. 69 (No. 3531) is such a large sealskin float or á va tuk. The skin is removed from the body by skinning around the gums and carefully taking out all the flesh and bones through this orifice. As the operation proceeds the skin is turned back and at the completion of the work is inside out. The flesh side, now the exterior, is carefully scraped to free it from all fleshy matter. The hind flippers are cut off at the ankle and the skin either sewed or stoutly wrapped with thong. The fore flippers are usually left at-

tached to the skin after the flesh has been scraped from them. The skin is now inflated with air and hung up to dry. In a few hours it is turned with the hairy side out and again inflated for awhile. The mouth and all other openings in the skin are carefully sewed up. A large button of ivory, shaped much like a pulley, nearly 2 inches in diameter, is put where the mouth of the skin is and a portion of the skin carefully wrapped around it, thongs of sealskin tightening the moist skin in the groove of the mouthpiece. This piece has a hole about one-third of an inch in diameter bored through it. The hind flippers and tail have a stick of 2 or 3 inches in length placed within the skin and are then firmly bound around the stick, which serves to stop up any hole and also to furnish a handle by which to drag or hold the float. The hole in the mouth-piece is plugged with a stopper of wood. When the float is wanted for use the skin is inflated. When inflated the float has a diameter about two-thirds the length. If it is to be attached to a tracking line the float is fastened by the stick, which is secured within the skin of the hind flippers and dragged backwards. The function of the float in this instance is to prevent the tracking line from becoming "fouled" among the rocks and stones of the beach along which the line runs in towing a boat (or umiak). In a similar manner it is affixed to the harpoon line used for large marine mammals, such as the white whale and the larger species of seals. This float not only retards the flight of the speared animal, but it serves to mark the spot where it sinks, for at certain seasons the seals sink as soon as they die. A speared animal always sinks more quickly than one shot dead with a ball, probably because its struggles are more prolonged in the first instance and exhaustion of breath is more complete.



FIG. 66. Bow case. East Main Eskimo.

The hair of the animal whose skin is intended for a float is sometimes scraped off before the skin is removed from the body, otherwise it may be left until the skin is partly dry and then be shaved off. The manner of loosening the hair is similar to that used by butchers of hogs, only that the boiling water is poured on and a small patch of hair pulled off at a time, instead of submerging the entire animal. The hair from the green skin must be carefully pulled out or else the black scurf adhering will be detached and thus render the skin less nearly waterproof.

The skins or bags used for holding oil and fat are prepared in a sim-

ilar manner, excepting that the hair is left on the skin and the hairy side left within. The oil and fat are put in the skin at the posterior end and it is then tied up like a float. The largest sealskins are used for oilbags, and may contain as much as 300 pounds of fat or oil.

When a sack of oil is sold the bag is usually returned to the seller, who again fills it with oil or converts the skin into bootlegs or soles. The leather having become thoroughly impregnated with the oil makes the best for wear, often resisting moisture for three or four days of continuous wet.

Before leaving the subject of weapons and their accessories, I may mention No. 3069, a small pouch made of thick sealskin. The shape is somewhat like that of a leg of mutton. This is used for carrying gun caps. The neck is only large enough to permit one cap to fall out at a time.

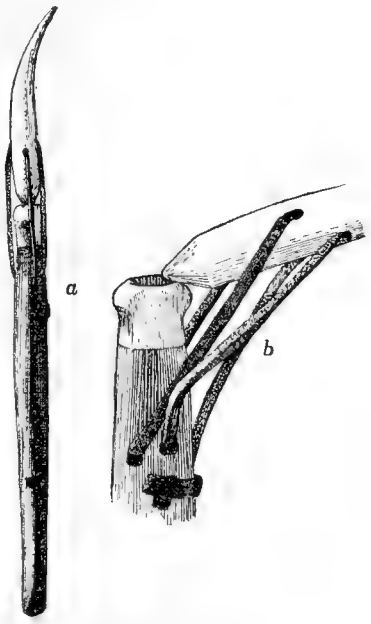


FIG. 67.—Hand spear for killing seals from kaiak; Koksoak.

HUNTING.

I have already referred briefly to the various methods of taking seals, white whales, and other game, while describing the boats, spears, and other apparatus used in their pursuit.

The most important hunt of the year, however, comes in the autumn, when the reindeer are migrating in large herds and crossing the rivers. The deer are wanted now for their flesh for food and their skins for clothing. Everything necessary for the chase is taken in the umiak, or, perhaps, a whaleboat, to a locality convenient to where the animals cross over. Here the tent is pitched, and a camp is made. The hunters scour the neighboring land for herds of reindeer, which are seen running about under the impulse to seek the opposite sex. As they arrive from different directions, those of one sex must cross the river. Since the females furnish the lighter skins for clothing, and the males the greater amount of meat and a heavier skin for various purposes, deer of both sexes are equally useful.

A band of three or four, or as many as a hundred, may be sighted slowly winding their way through the openings of the timbered areas on the opposite side of the river. The native with telescope, or binocular in focus, observes their movements until they pause a moment on the bank and then plunge quickly into the water, where they keep well together until the opposite shore is reached. Here, if undisturbed, they will stand to allow the water to drip from their bodies, and then will walk slowly along to a convenient place to climb the bank and

penetrate the strip of woods or bushes and emerge into the open country beyond. As soon as the native sees the deer everything is put in readiness on the kaiak, and with quick strokes of the double-bladed paddle he is behind and below the now terrified animals. They rear and plunge in frantic confusion, endeavoring to escape their most dreaded foe. The hunter calmly drives the herd through the water as the shepherd does his flock on land. Those disposed to break away are rounded up and driven back. The greatest care must be exercised not to let the animals get below the kaiak, or they will swim faster with the stream than the hunter can paddle. As there are, generally, two or more kaiaks, it is an easy matter for the men to drive the animals wherever they desire. When the camp is above, the deer are driven diagonally across so as to make them come out near the camp. If the site is below, the animals are allowed to drop down to a convenient place. These maneuvers depend on the wind, as the sense of smell of the deer is very acute at this season, and the scent of the camp, if detected, would throw the animals into such terror that the greater number would escape.

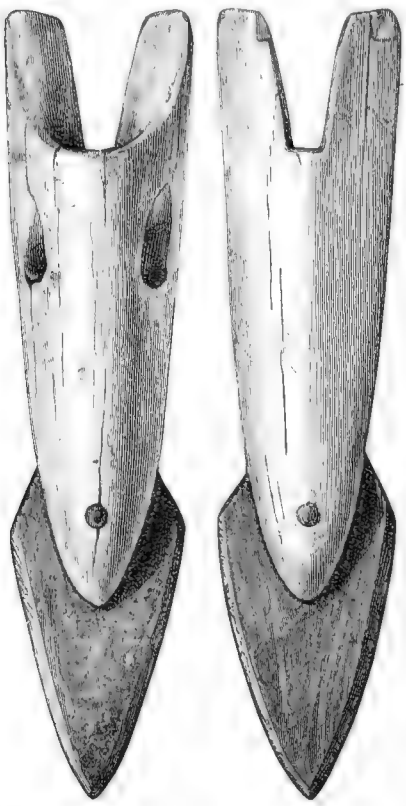


FIG. 68.—Togglehead for hand spear.



FIG. 69.—Sealskin float.

When near the place the hunter takes his deer spear, which is exactly like the one used by the Indians, and quietly stabs the animal in a

vital spot, endeavoring so to wound the beast that it will have only enough strength to enable it to attain the shallow water or shore, and not to wander off. Among the hundreds of times I have had the opportunity to witness this, I never knew a deer wounded with the spear to turn back to swim in the direction from which it came. They appear to dread the water, and strive most frantically to regain the land where, if mortally wounded, they stand; the limbs gradually diverging to sustain their trembling body; the eyes gazing piteously at the foe, who often mocks their dying struggles, or pitches a stone at their quivering legs to make them fall. A convulsive struggle as the blood fills the internal cavity, a sudden pitch, and the life is gone without sigh or groan. As many of the herd as can be speared are quickly dispatched and the entire number secured if possible. It is supposed that the ones which return to the shore whence they came give the alarm and frighten other arrivals away from the starting point. The hunters strive to prevent their return, and will often allow two, near the camp, to escape in order to pursue the retreating animal.

Those which have been killed and are lying in the water are dragged on land and skinned. The pelt is taken off as that of a beef is when skinned by a butcher. The ears and the skin of the head are left on. The body is opened and the viscera are removed. The intestines are freed from the fat; the stomach is cleansed of the greater portion of its contents, and the blood which collected within the cavity is scooped up with the hands and ladled into that receptacle; and both are reserved for food. The heart and liver are taken to the camp, where they help to form a variety in the animal food of these people. Other portions of the flesh are also consumed. The sinew, which lies along the lumbar region just below the superficial muscles, is exposed by a cut, and with the point of a knife or tip of the finger loosened from its adherent flesh. One end, usually the forward end, is detached and a stout thong tied to it, and it is jerked from its attachment by a vigorous pull. It requires a strong person to remove this tendon from the body of a lean animal. A stroke of the knife frees the wide layer of sinew from blood and particles of flesh. This is now laid aside for awhile, then washed to free it from the blood, which would stain it dark in color and also tend to diminish the strength of the fibers by rotting them. It is now spread out and allowed to dry. The body is cut across the small of the back and laid aside. The head is severed from the neck and discarded if there be no portion of the horns which is needed to serve some purpose, such as a handle for a knife or other tool. If the head be that of a young deer it is often taken to the camp and put into a pot and boiled in the condition in which it comes from the field. When cooked for a long time it becomes very soft; the muscles of the jaw being reduced to a semigelatinous condition, which makes an excellent article of food.

The tongue is invariably taken out entire, and is considered the

greatest delicacy, either frozen, raw or cooked, or dried and smoked. In fact a tongue from the reindeer is good at any time or condition.

The hindquarters are seldom separated, but are placed within the thoracic cavity, and either cached near the scene of slaughter or placed on the kaiak and taken to a spot where others are deposited from which supplies may be taken when the food for the winter is required.

Here and there along the bank will be placed the body of a single deer, sometimes two or three, which have been killed too far from the present camp for the hunter to bring them home. These spots are marked or remembered by some visible surrounding, lest the deep snows of winter obscure the locality, and often the place can not be found when wanted. The cache in which the flesh is deposited is simply a few stones or bowlders laid on the ground and the meat put upon them. A rude sort of wall is made by piling stones upon the meat until it is hidden from the ravages of ravens, gulls, foxes, wolves, and the detested wolverine.

As soon as the hunter considers that the deer of that particular locality have ceased to cross, he will repair to another station and go through the same process. The deer which are first slain, when the hunting season arrives, and the weather is still so warm that the flies and decomposition ruin the meat, are reserved for supplies of dog food.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS.

I have already, in the earlier pages of this paper, referred to various tools and implements.

In addition to these, the Koksoagmyut have comparatively few tools.

In former ages stone and ivory were fashioned into crude implements for the purposes which are now better and more quickly served by instruments of iron or steel.

These people have now been so long in more or less direct contact with traders who have supplied them with these necessaries that it is rare to find one of the knives used in former times. Certain operations, however, are even to this day better performed with a knife made of ivory. The ice from the kaiak bottom or the sides of the boat may best be removed by means of an ivory knife, resembling a snow knife but shorter. The steel knife is always kept sharp and if so used would, on the unyielding, frozen skin-covering of those vessels, quickly cut a hole. The Eskimo living remote from the trading stations use a snow knife made from the tusk of a walrus or the main stem of the reindeer antler.

That steel or iron is deemed an improvement on the former materials from which cutting instruments were made is shown by the crude means now employed. If the person has not a knife an unused spear-head, having an iron point, is often employed instead for skinning animals and dressing the skins.

Stone heads for weapons of all kinds have been discarded. Ivory

spears are at times used but these only when the hunter is close to the prey.

Some of the men have acquired considerable skill in fashioning iron into the required shape. They eagerly stand around anyone who may be at work, and evince the greatest curiosity in anything new.



FIG. 70.—Ivory snow knife, Koksoagmyut.

The collection contains two of the snow knives referred to above. No. 3067 is a large snow knife, made from the lower portion of the main stem of the horn of the male reindeer. It is simply half of the split horn with the middle scooped out. The length is 12 inches. This form of instrument is used more especially to smooth down the inequalities of the blocks of snow after being placed in position. No. 3140 (Fig. 70) is a large snow knife made of walrus ivory. It is 13 inches long and nearly 2 inches wide for the greater part of the blade, which terminates in a rounded point. The instrument has two edges, and in general appearances resembles a double-edged Roman sword. The handle is cut to fit to the hand.

Among other peculiar implements collected is one represented in Fig. 71 (No. 3555), which is a "back-scratcher." This instrument consists of a shaft made from a limb of a larch tree. It is 17 inches long and about three-fourths of an inch through, flattened to less than half an inch and tapering toward the end to be held in the hand. On the lower end is a dish-shaped piece of reinder horn, two and one-eighth inches long and seven-eighths of an inch wide. Through the center of the piece of horn an oblong hole has been cut for the insertion of the shaft or handle. The edges of the horn piece are sharp as can be made. This piece is one-third of an inch thick, and having the sharp edge up is convenient for thrusting down the back to scratch one's self in places where the hand could not reach on account of thick deerskin clothing. The Eskimo name of the instrument is ku-mé-u-tik, or that which removes lice.



FIG. 71.—Back-scratcher, Koksoagmyut.

The steel needles obtained from the traders are kept in a little ivory receptacle of various shapes, two of which are shown in Figs. 72 and 73.

This is hollow and filled with any sphagnum moss. One end is permanently closed by a wooden or ivory plug, held in by little pegs. The plug in the other end is easily taken out. The needle case is usually

pierced to receive a loop by which it may be hung to the belt or the workbag.

Needles are also kept in a kind of small cushion (Fig. 74) made of

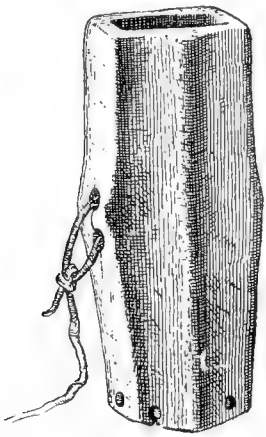


FIG. 72.—Ivory needle case. Koksoagmyut.

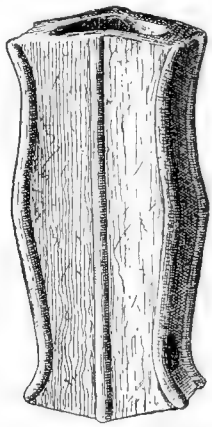


FIG. 73.- Ivory needle case. Koksoagmyut.

sealskin, elaborately ornamented with beads and stuffed with sphagnum moss. The cushion is perforated around the edge to receive the needles, which would not easily go through the tough skin.

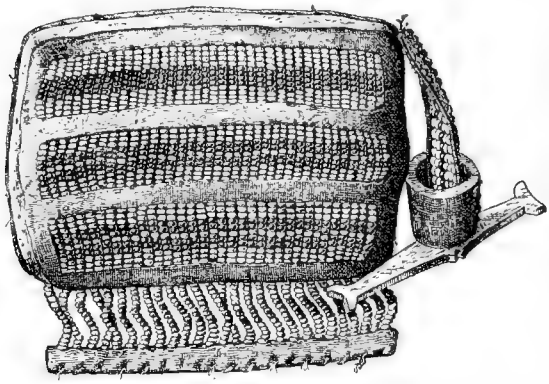


FIG. 74.—Sealskin needle cushion, with thimble. Koksoagmyut.

Accompanying one of these needle cushions in the collection is one of the old-fashioned thimbles such as are still used, although metal thimbles are preferred. It is simply a strip of sealskin sewed into a ring large enough to fit the forefinger, and is usually attached to the needle cushion by a thong with an ivory toggle on the end, to prevent the thimble from slipping off.

Small articles used in sewing, such as scraps of skin, needle cases, sinew thread, thimbles, etc., are carried in small bags of deerskin, which are often elaborately ornamented with beads of various colors, like the specimen in the collection, No. 3047.

AMUSEMENTS.

Notwithstanding the fact that these people have had their lot cast upon the frozen shores of the sea, they appear happy and contented and loath to leave the land of their birth. Although it is a constant

struggle amidst the terrible storms of a region where for eight months in the year the soil is frozen and the few warm days of summer bring forth a scanty vegetation, yet so strong is their love for these inhospitable shores that the absent pine for a return and soon lose their hold on life if they are not able to do so.

During the intervals between the hunts and when food is still plentiful, the Eskimo divert themselves with games of various kinds of their own. They are also quick to adopt other games which require outdoor exercise.

Football calls out everybody, from the aged and bent mother of a numerous family to the toddling youngster scarcely able to do more than waddle under the burden of his heavy deerskin clothes. Wrestling among the men is indulged in for hours at a time. The opponents remove all their superfluous garments, seize each other around the waist and lock hands behind each other's backs. The feet are spread widely apart and each endeavors to draw, by the strength of the arms alone, the back of his opponent into a curve and thus bring him off his feet. Then with a lift he is quickly thrown flat on his back. The fall must be such that the head touches the ground. Where the contestants are nearly matched the struggle may continue so long that one of them gives up from exhaustion. The feet are never used for tripping. Such a procedure would soon cause the witnesses to stop the struggle.

The Eskimo and Indians often engage in comparative tests of their strength in wrestling. The Eskimo prove the better men in these engagements. Throwing stones at a mark is a sport for the younger men, some of whom acquire surprising dexterity.

If a pack of playing-cards can be obtained they engage in games which they have learned from the white people and teach each other. Small stakes are laid on the result of the game. The women appear to exhibit a greater passion for gambling than the men do. They will wager the last article of clothing on their persons till the loser appears in a nude condition before spectators. Then the winner will usually return at least a part of the clothing, with an injunction to play more and lose less.

The young girls often play the game of taking an object and secreting it within the closed hand. Another is called upon to guess the contents. She makes inquiries as to the size, color, etc., of the object. From the answers she gradually guesses what the thing is.

A favorite game, something like cup and ball, is played with the following implements: A piece of ivory is shaped into the form of an elongate cone and has two deep notches or steps cut from one side (Fig. 75). In the one next the base are bored a number of small holes and one or two holes in the upper step. The apex has a single hole. On the opposite side of the base two holes are made obliquely, that they will meet, and through them is threaded a short piece of thong. To the other end of the thong is attached a peg of ivory, about 4 inches

long. The game is that the person holding the plaything shall, by a dextrous swing of the ball, catch it upon the ivory peg held in the hand. The person engages to catch it a certain number of times in succession, and on failure to do so allows the opponent to try her skill. The skull of a hare is often substituted for the ivory "ball," and a few perforations are made in the walls of the skull to receive the peg.

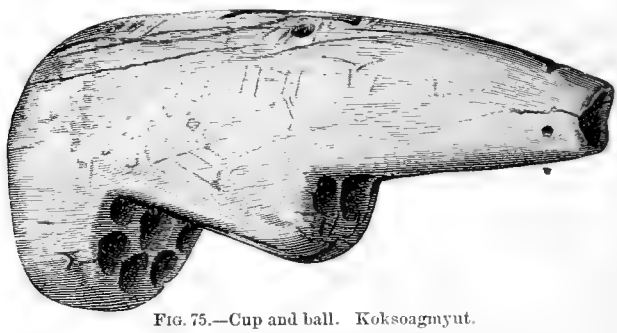


FIG. 75.—Cup and ball. Koksoagmyut.

It requires a great amount of practice to catch the ball, as the string is so short that one must be quick to thrust the peg in before it describes the part of a small circle.

The children sometimes use a stick or other sharp-pointed instrument to make a series of straight lines in the newly fallen snow and at the same time repeat certain gibberish. This was at first very confusing to me, but a woman repeated the words and I guessed from her description where the idea sprang from.

These people had heard of the teachings of the Labrador missionaries (Moravians), all of whom are Germans, and as the Eskimo of that coast use the German numerals in preference to their own, the natives of that region have at some time repeated the names of those numerals to certain of the Hudson strait people and they have taught each other.

The names of the German numerals as sounded by the Koksoagmyut are as follows. The numbers are one to fifteen, consecutively:

Ái i; chu vái i; ta lái i; pi û′ la; pi li pi; tsék si; tsé pa; ák ta; nái na; tsé na; ái lu pûk; chu vái lu puk; ta lak si na; pi ûk′ si na, and pi lip′ si na.

I have already referred to the game of football as played by these people.

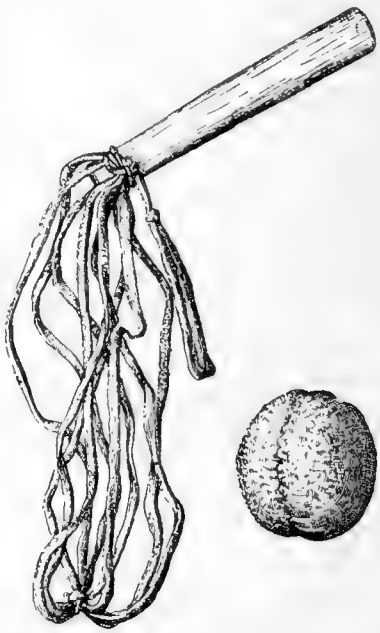


FIG. 76.—Football and driver. Koksoagmyut.

Fig. 76 represents the football (No. 3070) and the whip for driving it. The Eskimo are very fond of this game. All the people of every age, from the toddling infant to the aged female with bended back, love

to urge the aí uk toúk, as the ball is termed. The size of the ball varies from 3 to 7 inches in diameter. They have not yet arrived at perfection in making a spherical form for the ball, but it is often an apple shape. It is made by taking a piece of buckskin, or sealskin, and cutting it into a circular form, then gathering the edges and stuffing the cavity with dry moss or feathers. A circular piece of skin is then inserted to fill the space which is left by the incomplete gatherings. This ball is very light and is driven either by a blow from the foot or else by a whip of peculiar construction. This whip consists of a handle of wood 8 to 12 inches in length. To prevent it from slipping out of the hand when the blow is struck, a stout thong of sealskin is made into the form of a long loop which is passed over the hand and tightens around the wrist. To the farther end of the whip handle are attached a number of stout thongs of heavy sealskin. These thongs have their ends tied around the handle and thus form a number of loops of 12 to 20 inches in length. These are then tied together at the bottom in order to give them greater weight when the ball is struck by them. A lusty Eskimo will often send the ball over a hundred yards through the air with such force as to knock a person down.

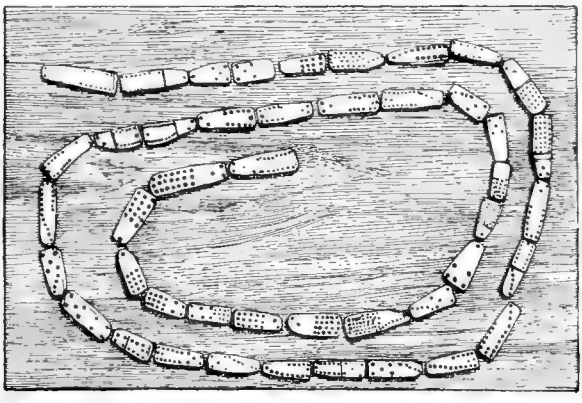


FIG. 77.—Dominoes. Hudson Strait Eskimo.

At Fort Chimo the game is played during the late winter afternoons when the temperature is 30° or 40° below zero. It is exciting and vigorous play where a large crowd joins in the game.

Sometimes the ball is in the form of two irregular hemispheres joined together, making a sphere which can be rolled only in a certain direction. It is very awkward and produces much confusion by its erratic course. Nos. 3461, 3287, and 3460 are footballs of the pattern first described.

The Innuit who come from the western end of Hudson strait, the so-called "Northerners," have a game which they play with sets of pieces of ivory cut into irregular shapes, and marked on one face with spots arranged in different patterns (Fig. 77). The number of pieces in a set varies from 60 to 148. The name of the set is Á ma zu' a lát, and somewhat resembles our game of dominoes.

The game is played in the following manner: Two or more persons,

according to the number of pieces in the set, sit down and pile the pieces before them. One of the players mixes the pieces together in plain view of the others. When this is done he calls them to take the pieces. Each person endeavors to obtain a half or third of the number if there be two or three players. The one who mixed up the pieces lays down a piece and calls his opponent to match it with a piece having a similar design. If this can not be done by any of the players the first has to match it and the game continues until one of the persons has exhausted all of the pieces taken by him. The pieces are designed in pairs, having names such as Ka miú tik (sled), Kaiak (canoe), Kalé sak (navel), Á ma zut (many), a taú sïk (1), Má kok (2), Pïng a sut (3), Si tá mût (4), and Tá li mat (5). Each of the names above must be matched with a piece of similar kind, although the other end of the piece may be of a different design. A Kamutik may be matched with an Amazut if the latter has not a line or bar cut across it; if it has the bar it must be matched with an Amazut.



FIG. 78.—Eskimo doll, man.

This game is known to the people of the Ungava district, but those only who have learned it from the Northerners are able to play it. The northern Eskimo stake the last article they possess on the issue of the game. Their wives are disposed of temporarily, and often are totally relinquished to the victor. I have heard that the wives so disposed of often sit down and win themselves back to their former owners.

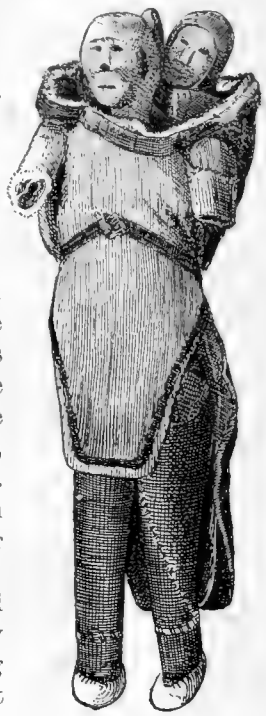


FIG. 79.—Eskimo doll, woman.

The little girls play with dolls like civilized children, and build little snow huts, where they have all their playthings and play at keeping house. The collection contains eleven dolls, most of them elaborately and accurately dressed, as shown by the illustrations (Figs. 78, 79, 80, 81) and large quantities of doll clothing.

The only musical instrument which I observed among these people

was a violin of their own manufacture, made, of course, in imitation of those they had seen used by the whites. Its form is sufficiently well shown by the figure (Fig. 82), and is made of birch or spruce, and the two strings are of coarse, loosely twisted sinew. The bow has a strip of whalebone in place of horsehair, and is resined with spruce gum. This fiddle is held across the lap when played.



FIG. 80.—Eskimo doll, woman.

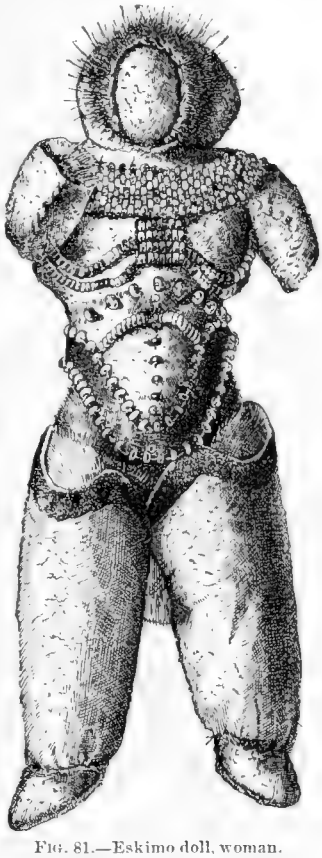


FIG. 81.—Eskimo doll, woman.

The old woman of whom I procured the instrument was able to play several airs—such as they sing among themselves. I was surprised at the facility with which she made the various notes on such a crude imitation of a violin.

ART.

Art is but slightly developed among these people. Their weapons and other implements are never adorned with carvings of animals and other natural objects or with conventional patterns, as is the case in so great a degree among the Eskimo of Alaska. They are, however, not devoid of artistic skill, as is shown by the good taste

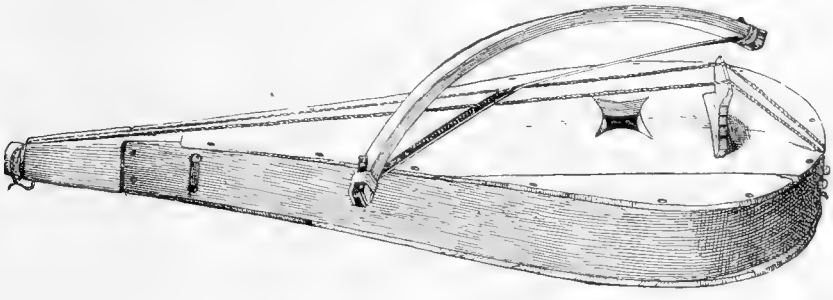


FIG. 82.—Eskimo violin.

often exhibited in the trimming of their garments, and also by the dolls, which I have already referred to and figured.

The collection also contains several small ivory carvings, which possess considerable artistic merit. Among these, the small objects, (Fig. 83), collected from the so-called Northerners, represent various waterfowl cut from pieces of walrus ivory. The various species thus carved are loons, ducks, geese, sea pigeons, and murres. One represents a female eider with two young mounted upon her back. It is readily discerned, in most instances, what position and action of the bird was intended to be represented. The last shows in the plainest possible manner that the loon is just starting to swim from an object which has given it alarm.

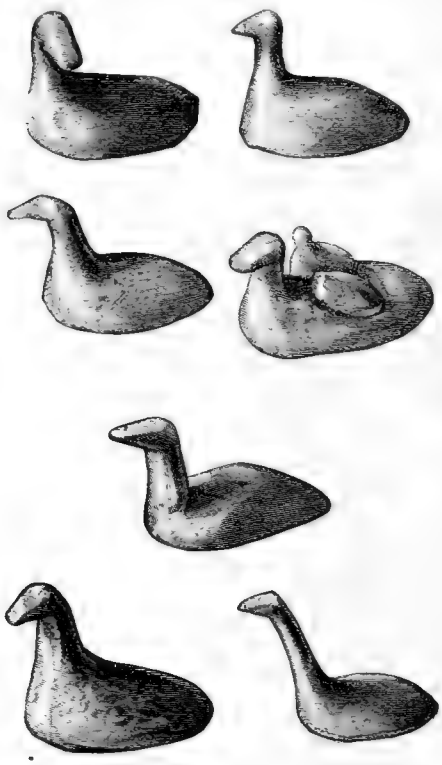


FIG. 83.—Birds carved in ivory.

These carvings are fashioned from the tusks of the walrus or the teeth of various large mammals, and are simply tests of the skill of the worker, who prepares them as toys for the children. Notwithstanding the assertions of others, who claim to have knowledge of it, I must state that on no occasion have I seen or heard, while among these people, of these objects being used in any game.

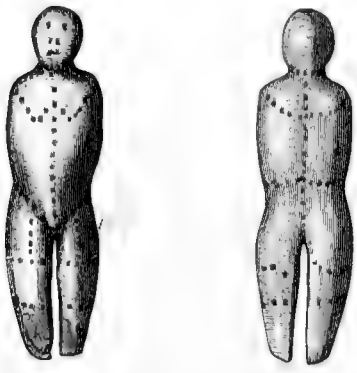


FIG. 84.—Human figure, carved in ivory.

In addition to these we have a very artistic figure of a polar bear, and two human figures, $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches long (Fig. 84), representing tattooed women, and two carvings representing bags of oil.

STORY-TELLING AND FOLK LORE.

Like all other Eskimo, the Koksoagmyut are exceedingly fond of story-telling. Sitting in the hut, engaged in their evening work, the old men tell what they have seen and heard. The old women relate the history of the people of former days, depending entirely on memory, often interspersed with recitations apparently foreign to the thread of the

legend. The younger members sit with staring eyes and countenances which show their wondering interest in the narration. Far into the night the droning tone of her voice continues reciting the events of the past until one by one the listeners drowsily drop to sleep in the position they last assumed.

I was fortunately able to collect a number of these ancient legendary stories, some of them of considerable length.

Origin of the Innuit.—A man was created from nothing. It was summer and he journeyed until he found a woman in another land. The two became man and wife, and from them sprang all the people dwelling there. [It is extremely difficult to get the native to go beyond the immediate vicinity in which he lives while relating these stories and legends. They invariably maintain that it was "here" that the event took place.]

The Coming of the White People.—The Eskimo were on the verge of starvation and had eaten nearly all their food. They saw that in a few more days death would come. The greatest Tungaksoak or great Tung ak determined to bring relief and prophesied that people having light hair and white skins would come in an immense úmiak. He placed a young puppy on a chip and another on an old sealskin boot, and set them adrift on the water. The puppies drifted in different directions, and in the course of time the one on the chip returned and brought with it the Indians. A long time after that, when the people had nearly forgotten the other puppy, a strange white object like an iceberg came directly toward the shore. In a few moments the puppy, now a man, announced that the people had come with many curious things in their vessel. The man immediately became a dog.

Origin of living things on the earth and in the water.—A long time ago a man who was cutting down a tree observed that the chips continued in motion as they fell from the blows. Those that fell into the water became the inhabitants of the water. Those that fell on the land became the various animals and in time were made the food of mankind. (This was the version given me by a person living at Fort Chimo.) Another person from farther west gave the following account of the origin of the living things of the earth: Previous to a time when water covered the earth the people lived on such food as they could always find prepared for them in abundance. They did not know of any animals at that time on the land or in the water. The water finally went away and the seaweeds became trees, shrubs, bushes, and grass. The long seaweeds were the trees and the smaller kinds became the bushes and grass. The grass, however, was in some manner put in various places by a walrus at a later date than the appearance of the trees.

A woman who had lost her husband lived among strangers. As they desired to change the place of their habitation, they resolved to journey to another point of land at a distance. The woman who was depending on charity had become a burden of which they wished to rid themselves.

So they put all their belongings into the umiak and when they were on the way they seized the woman and cast her overboard. She struggled to regain the side of the boat, and when she seized it, the others cut off her fingers which fell into the water and changed to seals, walrus, whales, and white bears. The woman in her despair, screamed her determination to have revenge for the cruelty perpetrated upon her. The thumb became a walrus, the first finger a seal, and the middle finger a white bear. When the former two animals see a man they try to escape lest they be served as the woman was.

The white bear lives both on the land and in the sea, but when he perceives a man revengeful feelings fill him, and he determines to destroy the person who he thinks mutilated the woman from whose finger he sprang.

Origin of the guillemots.—While some children were playing on the level top of a high cliff overhanging the sea, the older children watched the younger ones lest they should fall down the bluff. Below them the sea was covered with ice, and the strip along the shore had not yet loosened to permit the seals to approach. Soon afterward a wide crack opened and the water was filled with seals, but the children did not observe them. The wind was cold, and the children romped in high glee, encouraging each other to greater exertion in their sports and shouted at the top of their voices. The men saw the seals and hastened to the shore to put their kaiaks into the water to pursue them. At this the children increased their shouts, which frightened the seals till they dived out of sight. One of the men was angry, and exclaimed to the others, "I wish the cliff would topple over and bury those noisy children for scaring the seals." In a moment the cliff tipped over and the poor children fell among the fragments of huge rocks and stones at the bottom. Here they were changed into guillemots or sea-pigeons, with red feet, and even to this day they thus dwell among the débris at the foot of cliffs next to the water of the sea.

Origin of the raven.—The raven was a man, who, while other people were collecting their household property preparatory to removing to another locality, called to them that they had forgotten to bring the lower blanket of deerskin used for a bed. This skin in the Eskimo language is called kak. The man used the word so often that they told him to get it himself. He hurried so much that he was changed into a raven, and now uses that sound for his note. Even to this day when the camp is being removed the raven flies over and shouts "Kak! kak!" or, in other words, "Do not forget the blanket."

Origin of the quadrangular spots on the loon's back.—A man had two children that he wished might resemble each other. He painted the one (loon) with a white breast and square spots on the back. The other (raven) saw how comical the loon appeared, and laughed so much that the loon became ashamed and escaped to the water, where it always presents its white breast in order to hide the spots of the back

which caused so much ridicule. The raven eluded the attempt to be painted in like manner, and stoutly refused to come near.

Origin of the gulls.—Some people in a boat desired to go around a point of land which projected far into the water. As the water there was always in a violent commotion under the end of the point which terminated in a high cliff some of the women were requested to walk over the neck of land. One of them got out with her children in order to lighten the boat. She was directed to go over the place, and they promised to wait for her on the other side. The people in the boat had gone so far that their voices, giving the direction, became indistinct. The poor woman became confused and suspected they wanted to desert her. She remained about the cliff, constantly crying the last words she heard. She ultimately changed into a gull, and now shouts only the sound like "*go over, goover, over, ove,*" *etc.*

Origin of the hawks.—Among the people of a village was a woman who was noted for the shortness of her neck. She was so constantly teased and tormented about it that she often sat for hours on the edge of high places. She changed into a hawk, and now when she sees anyone she immediately exclaims, "Kea! kea! kea! who, who, who was it that cried 'short neck?'"

Origin of the swallow.—Some small children, who were extraordinarily wise, were playing at building toy houses on the edge of a high cliff near the village in which they dwelt. They were envied for their wisdom, and to them was given the name "Zulugagnak," or, like a raven, which was supposed to know all the past and future. While these children were thus amusing themselves they were changed into small birds, which did not forget their last occupation, and even to this day they come to the cliffs, near the camps of the people, and build houses of mud, which they affix to the side of the rock. Even the raven does not molest them, and the Eskimo children love to watch the swallow build his iglugiak of mud.

The hare.—The hare was a child who was so ill treated and abused by the other people, because it had long ears, that it went to dwell by itself. When it sees anyone the ears are laid down on the back, for, if it hears the shout of a person, it thinks they are talking of its long ears. It has no tail, because it did not formerly have one.

The wolf was a poor woman, who had so many children that she could not find enough for them to eat. They became so gaunt and hungry that they were changed into wolves, constantly roaming over the land seeking food. The cry of the mother may be heard as she strives to console her hungry children, saying that food in plenty will soon be found.

Lice are supposed to drop from the body of a huge spirit, dwelling in the regions above, who was punished by having these pests constantly torment him. In his rage to free himself the lice dropped down upon the people who condemned him to this punishment.

Origin of mosquitoes.—A man had a wife who was negligent and failed to scrape his skin clothing properly when he returned from his expeditions. He endeavored to persuade her to mend her ways and do as a wife should do. She was again directed to remove the accumulated layer of dirt from the man's coat. She petulantly took the garment and cleaned it in such a slovenly way that when the husband discovered the condition of the coat he took some of the dirt from it and flung it after her. The particles changed into mosquitoes, and now (in spring), when the warm days come and the women have the labor of cleaning clothes to perform, the insects gather around them, and the women are thus reminded of the slovenly wife and what befel her.

Story of the man and his fox wife.—A hunter who lived by himself found when he returned to the place after an absence that it had been visited and everything put in order as a dutiful wife should do. This happened so often with no visible signs of tracks that the man determined to watch and see who would scrape his skin clothing and boots, hang them out to dry, and cook nice hot food ready to be eaten when he returned. One day he went away as though going off on a hunt, but secreted himself so as to observe the entrance of anything into the house. After a while he saw a fox enter. He suspected that the fox was after food. He quietly slipped up to the house and on entering saw a most beautiful woman dressed in skin clothing of wondrous make. Within the house, on a line, hung the skin of a fox. The man inquired if it was she who had done these things. She replied that she was his wife and it was her duty to do them, hoping that she had performed her labor in a manner satisfactory to him.

After they had lived together a short time the husband detected a musky odor about the house and inquired of her what it was. She replied that she emitted the odor and if he was going to find fault with her for it she would leave. She dashed off her clothing and, resuming the skin of the fox, slipped quietly away and has never been disposed to visit a man since that time.

The following is a story obtained from Labrador:

The rivals.—Between two men there existed keen rivalry. Each asserted himself to be the stronger and endeavored to prove himself superior to the other. One of them declared his ability to form an island where none had hitherto existed. He picked up an immense rock and hurled it into the sea where it became an island. The other, with his foot, pushed it so hard that it landed on the top of another island lying far beyond. The mark of the footprint is visible to this day, and that place is now known as Tu kik′ tok.

The jealous man.—A man fell in love with two women and was so jealous of them that he would not permit them to look upon others, much less speak to them. The women finally wearied of the restrictions placed upon them and resolved to desert the man. They fled along the coast until they were faint from hunger. At length they

came upon the body of a whale cast on the shore. Here they determined to dwell for a time. The man sought for the women in every possible place with no success. A conjurer was consulted, and after much deliberation, he told the deserted man to journey to a place where he would find the carcass of a whale and to secrete himself in the vicinity and watch for the women. He started out accordingly and before long had the pleasure of seeing the two women. They detected the man hastening toward them and tried to secrete themselves until he should get by. He seized one of them, however, and bound her with thongs. The other was less disposed to submit, and the man put out her eyes to deprive her of the privilege of looking at any man. They remained about that locality for some time, and various animals of the land came to the carcass to feast upon the remains. The man caught a great number of foxes and other valuable furs and after a time returned to the camp whence he came.

Story of the orphan boy.—A small boy, who had neither father, mother, nor any living relatives, was dwelling with some people who maltreated him in every way their fancy could suggest. He was kept in the entry way to the hut, like a dog, and was permitted to eat only of the skin of walrus when they had it to give him. At other times they would throw to him what they themselves would not eat. They forbade him to have a knife with which to cut his food, and he was compelled to gnaw the bones like a dog. A little girl, the daughter of the head of the family with whom he lived, would secretly take to him a knife with which to divide the tough skin of the walrus. She also carried food of better quality to him when she could do so clandestinely. These kind attentions pleased him very much, and made him long for an opportunity to escape. But how was he to better his condition when the hand of everybody was raised against him on account of his treatment at home? The little girl who had so often befriended him could not assist him to escape from such a life. He endeavored to lay a plan, but it came to naught. There seemed no help for him. One night he abandoned all hope and threw himself on the ground in despair. While there he gazed at the bright moon, and the more intently his gaze was fixed upon it the more he thought he discerned the face of a man in it, and at last he cried to the man to come and help him escape from his miserable life. The man came down from the moon and gave the poor boy a frightful beating, but the more he was beaten the larger he seemed to grow. After awhile he became so strong that he could handle a large rock as easily as he had hitherto handled a little stone. A large, round bowlder from the beach was no more to him than a bullet held in the hand of a strong man.

The moon man then told the boy that he was large enough to take care of himself and do as he pleased with the people who had treated him so badly. With this the two parted, and the moon man went to his hole in the sky, while the boy walked along the beach picking up

rocks and tossing them along the shore until the character of the water's edge was entirely changed. When the boy arrived at the hut it was daylight, for he had tarried so long on the beach testing his strength that the night had slipped away.

The people were terrified when they saw to what enormous proportions the abused boy had grown. He became frenzied the instant he saw his former persecutors, and seizing first one and then the other in his hands dashed them against the rocks. The blood and brains ran in streams. One of the men, seeing his doom, begged for his life and promised his kaiak, spears, sled, and wife if he should be spared. The enraged boy continued the slaughter until only the little girl who had so often befriended him was left. She became his wife, and in the course of a few hours the man, whose name was Kou jé yuk, became of a natural size again and passed his life in comfort.

This story was obtained from a man from Labrador. The Eskimo assert that this occurred near Ohak (often pronounced Okak), now a missionary station. They show the rock, which a little imagination gives the appearance of having dried blood and brains still upon it.

The origin of the sun, moon, and stars.—At a time when darkness covered the earth a girl was nightly visited by some one whose identity she could not discover. She determined to find out who it could be. She mixed some soot with oil and painted her breast with it. The next time she discovered, to her horror, that her brother had a black circle of soot around his mouth. She upbraided him and he denied it. The father and mother were very angry and scolded the pair so severely that the son fled from their presence. The daughter seized a brand from the fire and pursued him. He ran to the sky to avoid her but she flew after him. The man changed into the moon and the girl who bore the torch became the sun. The sparks that flew from the brand became the stars. The sun is constantly pursuing the moon, which keeps in the darkness to avoid being discovered. When an eclipse occurs they are supposed to meet.

Auroras.—Auroras are believed to be the torches held in the hands of spirits seeking the souls of those who have just died, to lead them over the abyss terminating the edge of the world. A narrow pathway leads across it to the land of brightness and plenty, where disease and pain are no more, and where food of all kinds is always ready in abundance. To this place none but the dead and the raven can go. When the spirits wish to communicate with the people of the earth they make a whistling noise and the earth people answer only in a whispering tone. The Eskimo say that they are able to call the aurora and converse with it. They send messages to the dead through these spirits.

The sky.—The sky is supposed to be an immense dome, of hard material, reared over the earth, long from east to west and shorter from north to south. The edges of the land and sea are bounded by high, precipitous sides, shelving outward or sloping inward to prevent any-

thing living on the earth from going to the region beyond. There is the source of light and heat. The dome of the sky is very cold, and at times covered with crystals of frost which fall in the form of snow or frost films to the earth, and then the sky becomes clear. The clouds are supposed to be large bags of water, controlled by two old women who run with them across the sky, and as the water escapes from the seams it falls in the form of rain to the earth. The thunder is their voice and the lightning is their torch. If a spark falls from this on anyone he dies and goes to the region above.

The winds.—At each of the corners of the earth there dwells an immense but invincible spirit, whose head is many times larger than all the remainder of his body. When he breathes the wind blows and his breath is felt. Some breathe violent storms and others gentle zephyrs. The male spirits dwell at the north, northeast, northwest, and west. The females dwell at the remaining points, and each principal spirit has innumerable intermediate and less powerful attendants.

THE NENENOT OR "NASKOPIE."

The Indians of the Ungava district are locally known as Naskopie, a term of reproach applied to them by the mountaineers (the Montagnais of the early Jesuit missionaries) during the earlier days when the former acted falsely in one of their concerted struggles with the Eskimo of the eastern coast.

The name given to themselves is Nenenot, a word meaning true, or ideal red men. To the west of these people dwell a branch of the tribe along the east shore of Hudson bay. To the southeast dwell the mountaineers.

The western people differ greatly in customs and many words of their language from the Nenenots. The mountaineers differ but little in their customs, and only in speech as much as would be expected from the different locality in which they dwell.

These three tribes have distinct boundaries, beyond which they seldom wander. Of late years, however, a gradual influx of the western people has poured into the Ungava district, due to the decrease of the food supply along that portion of the eastern coast of Hudson bay.

The Nenenots appear, from the best information I could obtain on the subject, to have been driven to their present location during the wars waged against them by the Iroquois in times long gone by and remembered only in tradition.

They assert that their original home was in a country to the west, north of an immense river, and toward the east lay an enormous body of salt water. The former was supposed to be the St. Lawrence river and the latter to be Hudson bay. When they came to their present place they say that they found Eskimo alone, and these only along the coast. They are a branch of the Cree stock, as their language clearly indicates.

Many years ago war was waged upon them by the people whose name is remembered with terror even to this day. Most cruel atrocities were perpetrated, and in despair they fled from the land of their fathers, where they had lived as a numerous people, and were pursued by their merciless foes until but a remnant reached what is now known as the "Height of Land."

Being now driven to a strange land, where they found numerous Eskimo on all sides, only a few years elapsed before they encroached too greatly upon the land which the Eskimo had always held. Contention and struggles arose, culminating in a disposition to fight, and in the course of time desultory warfare, carried on by single combat or organized raids. This lasted for many years, even after the advent of the white men as traders along the coast. Some of the battles were attended with great slaughter on both sides. The Eskimo seldom ventured far from the coast on their raids, but fought bravely when attacked on their own ground. In most instances they outwitted the Indians by decoying them into ambush, and killing great numbers of them. Within the present century they have been more peaceably disposed toward each other. Since the arrival of the white men at various points along the coast these troubles have ceased, and the Indians and Eskimo are now on intimate terms; not that either party have any special regard for the new comers, but they have a mutual fear of each other, and the white man now engages their entire attention.

In the early struggles the Indian found the Eskimo to be a sturdy opponent, possessed of greater endurance and perseverance than himself. After the conclusion of the troubles they withdrew to their present haunts, and now wander indiscriminately over the land, although the Eskimo seldom ventures far into the interior unless it be along the valley of some large stream. They even camp alongside of each other, and aged Indian men and women, who have been left behind the parties of young people who are in quest of fur-bearing animals during the winter months, are only too glad to have a camp of jolly Eskimo near at hand. With them they can live as parasites until their hosts are exhausted of supplies, or until they move to another locality to relieve themselves of the importunities of their unbidden guests.

The Indian is not the physical superior of the Eskimo. It is true they are more expert on snowshoes, because the snowshoes belong to their mode of life. They are used by the Eskimo only when they can be purchased by barter from the Indian. The Eskimo snowshoe is merely a rude imitation of the form used by the neighboring Indians. In the canoe the Indian is at home; so also is the Eskimo in the kaiak, which braves the severest weather and the roughest water, on which the Indian would only gaze in dread and never venture.

Ability to endure fatigue is less in the Indian than the Eskimo, who accomplishes by patient persistence what the Indian desires to do in a

hurry. I have not observed Indians carry such heavy loads as those borne on the shoulders of Eskimo, who, with ease, ascended a hill of such abrupt steepness that an unencumbered person climbed it with difficulty. Several Eskimo men ascended this hill, each with a barrel of flour on his shoulders.

The Indian is able to withstand the effect of cold as well as the Eskimo. The clothing of the latter is certainly better adapted to protect against cold. In times of scarcity of food the Eskimo is able to go without food for a number of days and yet perform a considerable amount of physical labor, while the Indian would require food on the second or third day, and refuse to move until it had been furnished.

In comparison with a white man under the same conditions the natives of either class would soon show signs of inferiority, and under prolonged exertion but few, even of the Eskimo, would endure the strain. The principal strength of these people is shown in their success in the chase.

The children are obedient to their parents, who seldom ever chastise them. Disrespect to parents is unknown, and in their intercourse with each other there are no clashings during youth. Not until the jealousies awakened under the stimulus of their sexual instincts arouse their passions do they begin to show enmity and hatred toward each other.

The males evidently exhibit jealousy to a less degree than the opposite sex. The men, after a protracted absence from each other, often embrace and shed tears of joy at meeting. The women are less demonstrative.

The number of children born exceeds the number of deaths. Mortality appeared to be low for the two years I was near these people. The prevailing diseases are of the lungs and bowels. The lung diseases are induced by constant exposure to extremes of wet and cold and the inhalation of foul air laden with terebinthine odors, arising from the resinous woods used for fuel. Changes of the wind blowing in at the door cause the interior to become filled with smoke, which is endured rather than admit the cold air from without.

Abstinence from fresh food for a long time, with dry meat only to subsist upon, is often broken by the sudden capture of deer. This affords an opportunity for gorging until the digestive organs are weakened and serious complications arise. It is quite probable that gluttony directly produces half of the illnesses that occur among these people. The insufficiency of clothing does not apparently influence health, as they seem utterly regardless of exposure, and long continued dwelling in the tents probably induces nearly, if not quite, all the other ills afflicting them. Indolent ulcers and scrofulous complications are frequent, but only in few instances are of such character as to prevent their following their usual occupations. During illness they are stolid, and appear to suffer intense pain without the twitching of a muscle. When

death approaches it has but little terror, and is awaited with indifference.

The remedies employed are only those afforded by the beating of the drum and the mumblings of the shaman, who claims to have control of the spirit which causes all disease and death. They are, however, firm believers in the efficacy of potions compounded by the white trader, who is fully as ignorant of the disease as the subject himself is. Often a harmless mixture of red ink, red pepper, ginger, or other pungent substance is given, with a multiplicity of confusing directions, bewildering the messenger dispatched for relief, who, in repeating them, often makes mistakes and advises that the whole quantity be swallowed. The effect is sometimes magical, and the patient recovers. Powders are rubbed over the seat of pain and liniments swallowed with avidity. Strange as it may seem, they often report good effects, and rarely fail to ask for more of the same kind. Both sexes attain a great age—in some instances certainly living over seventy years. Some assert that they were well advanced in years before the white men came in 1827.

The marriage ceremony is simply a consent to live together, obtained by request if possible, and by force, if necessary. The man takes a wife as soon as he considers himself able to support one. When the ceremony is to be undertaken the consent of the girl's parents or nearest relatives is sought, and by holding out tempting inducements in the form of presents, the suitor wins them to his favor. The consent of the girl, if she has not yet been married is, of course, granted, if she desires to comply with the wishes of her relatives. If not, the prospective husband is informed that they can do nothing to turn her heart. The matter is understood, and in a short time she is taken forcibly to his or his father's tent. The tie binding the couple is very loose, and on the least provocation may be dissolved by either party. Continence on the part of either wife or husband is unusual, and only notorious incontinence is sufficient to cause the offender to be put away. Their sexual relations are very loose among themselves, but their immorality is confined to their own people. To take a second, a third, or even a fourth wife, is not uncommon, but the additional wives are taken principally for the purpose of performing labor imposed by the energy of a successful hunter. It is only he wealthy men who can afford a plurality of wives. The several wives often dwell in the same tent, but as jealousies frequently arise they resort to fighting among themselves to settle their differences. The husband looks on calmly until matters go too far. When he interferes the women are sure of being soundly thrashed. A woman, however, often assails her husband, and in some instances gives him an unmerciful pounding, much to the amusement of the bystanders, who encourage her to do her best. The man is a subject for ridicule for weeks afterwards. Either sex can endure being beaten, but not being laughed at. They rarely forgive a white man who laughs at their discomfiture. An amusing incident occurred within a

stone's throw of Fort Chimo. An Indian had his clothing stripped from him by his enraged wife. She then tore the tent from the poles, leaving him naked. She took their property to the canoe, which she paddled several miles up the stream. He followed along the bank until she relented, whereupon their former relations were resumed, as though nothing had disturbed the harmony of their life. The man was so severely plagued by his comrades that for many days he scarcely showed his head out of the tent. Rivalry for the favor of a woman or man is occasionally the source of serious affrays. An instance was related to me where two men sought the hand of a woman, and to settle which should have her, they determined to go in their canoes to the lake near by and fight with their deer spears. One of the men was killed and the other thereupon obtained the woman, who is now living.

The sexes have their special labors. Women perform the drudgery and bring home the food slain by their husbands, fetching wood and water, tanning the skins, and making them into clothing. The labor of erecting the tents and hauling the sleds when on their journey during the winter falls upon them, and, in fact, they perform the greater part of the manual labor. They are considered inferior to the men, and in their social life they soon show the effects of the hardships they undergo.

The females arrive at puberty at the age of 14 or 15, and are taken as wives at even an earlier age. So early are they taken in marriage that before they are 30 years of age they often appear as though they were 50. Some of them are hideously ugly, and are so begrimed with smoke from the resinous wood used for fuel and with filth that it is purely guesswork to even approximate their age. The women appear to be exempted from the curse of Eve, and deliver their children with as little concern as is exhibited among the brutes. The child is not allowed to receive nourishment until the third day, and no water must touch its body. The infant is swaddled in wrappings of skins and cloths. Sphagnum moss is used next the body and changed every other day. They begin to walk at an early age, and this is, doubtless, the principal cause of the bowing of the legs so often observed. The girls are neglected and the boys given every advantage. The latter soon discover their importance and rarely fail to show their domineering ways to the other sex.

It is quite rare that twins are born. It is not usual for a mother to have more than four children, although as many as six or eight may be born. As the paternal origin is often obscure, the person having that woman as wife at the time of the child's birth is supposed to be its father.

The mortuary customs of the Naskopie were but imperfectly learned, for when a death occurred at the trading station the body was buried like a white man's. A shallow grave was dug in a sandy soil, as this offered less trouble in digging, and the body placed in a rudely con-

structed coffin and covered with dirt. A small branch from a tree was placed at the head of the grave, but with what signification I could not satisfactorily determine. I received the reply that the white men put something at the head of their graves, and so do the Indians.

Away from the post the Indians suspend their dead from the branches of trees, if the ground be frozen too hard to excavate, and endeavor to return in the following summer and inter the body. A person who has distinguished himself among the people is often buried where the fire has been long continued within the tent and thawed the ground to a sufficient depth to cover the body. The tent is then removed to another location. The Indians have not that dread of a corpse which is shown so plainly among the Eskimo. The former have been known to strip the clothing from recently deceased Eskimo, and it is not infrequent for them to appropriate the gun or other implement placed by the side of a dead Innuit.

In response to my inquiry how they disposed of their dead in former ages, I obtained evidence that scaffold burial and suspension from trees were formerly practiced and that subterranean burials were introduced by the missionaries.

The dead are mourned for according to the position they occupied in life, a favorite child often causing an alarming grief in the mother who mourns for many days, constantly bemoaning her loss and reminding the listeners of the traits in the child's nature so well remembered. The body is taken to the place of final rest by the friends, the relations seldom accompanying it.

The life of these people is a constant struggle to obtain food and raiment. Nothing, however unimportant, is done without much deliberation and repeated consultation with friends.

They are also guided to a great extent by their dreams, for they imagine that in the night they are in direct communication with the spirits which watch over their daily occupations. Certain persons obtain much renown in divining the dreams and these are consulted with the greatest confidence. The drum is brought into use, and during its tumult the person passes into a state of stupor or trance and in a few moments arouses himself to reveal the meaning of the other's dream.

Superstition holds these people in its terrible sway and everything not understood is attributed to the working of one of the numerous spirits.

Every object, however simple, appears to have its patron spirit, which, in order that it may perform its services for the welfare of the people, must be propitiated with offerings most pleasing and acceptable to it. The rule seems to be that all spirits are by nature bad, and must be propitiated to secure their favor. Each person has a patron spirit, and these must always be placated lest misfortune come. These spirits assume an infinite variety of forms, and to know just what form it assumed when it inflicted its baneful effects, the shamans or medicine

men must be consulted. These are supposed to be in direct contact with such spirits. The spirit will appear only in the darkness of the conjuring house, and then permit itself to be appeased by some atonement made by the afflicted, which can be made known only through the shaman. He alone indicates the course to be pursued, and his directions, to be explicitly followed, are often so confusing and impossible that the person fails to perform them. All these minor spirits are under the control of a single great spirit having its dwelling in the sky, a term as illimitable with those people as with ourselves.

Each animal has its protective spirit, which is inferior to those of man. The soul, if such expression may be used, of all animals is indestructible, and is capable of reappearing again and again as often as the material form is destroyed. There are spirits of beasts, birds, fishes, insects, and plants. Each of these has a home to which it returns after death, which is simply a cessation of that period of its material form, and each may be recalled at the will of the shaman. If an animal be killed it does not decrease the number of that species, for it still exists, although in a different form.

The Canada jay is supposed to inform the various animals of the approach of Indians, and these rarely fail to kill the jay wherever found.

A species of mouse is supposed to have such dread of man that it dies the instant it wanders near the track of a person. They often find these tiny creatures near the path, and believe them to be unable to cross it.

As the dusk of eve draws near, the silent flitting of the common short-eared owl (*Asio accipitrinus*), and the hawk owl (*Surnia funeria*), attracted by the sounds of the camp, creates direst confusion. The announcement of its presence causes the entire assemblage of people to be alert and hastily suspend some unworn garment, that the bird may perceive it and thus know that the people are not so poor in their worldly possessions as the spirit Wiq'-ti-qu may think; as it only annoys people who are too poor to have extra garments. As this short-eared owl frequents only the lower lands, the Indians assert that they are compelled to select the higher points of land as their camping sites in order to escape from him.

The shaman, as I have already said, is believed to be able to control all these different spirits by his magic art, and to foretell the future, but he must be concealed from view while carrying on his mysterious performances. Hence a special structure must be erected in which the shaman goes through various contortions of body until in a state of exhaustion and while in that weakened condition he fancies these things which have such wonderful hold on the minds of the people.

The tent (Fig. 85) is high and of small diameter. Every crack and crevice in the tent is carefully closed to exclude even the least ray of light.

When within it, the shaman begins his operations by groaning and

gradually increasing the pitch of voice until his screeching can be heard a great distance. The din of the drum adds confusion to the ceremony. This goes on until the shaman announces the appearance of the spirit with whom he desires to commune. He implores the spirit to grant the request, and in the course of time informs the people outside that he has succeeded in securing the services of the spirit. All within becomes quiet and only whisperings are heard.

The spirit promises to fulfill the obligation he has undertaken, and the conjuror throws over the tent and states the result of the interview. This result is always favorable, as his reputation depends upon its happening. Any untoward circumstance, such as a person turning over a stone or breaking a twig from a bush while traveling, is sufficient cause to break the spell, and the blame can be laid on the shoulders of such

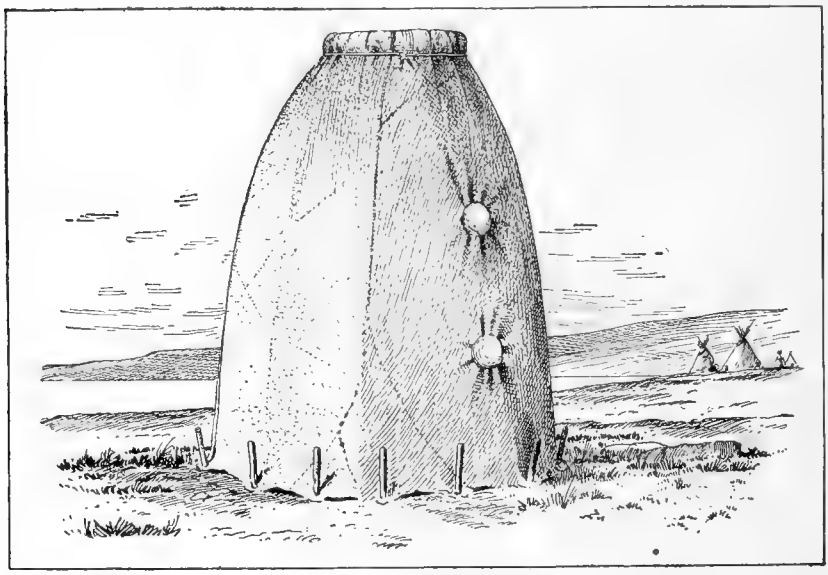


FIG. 85.—Indian medicine lodge.

an offender. If the request be not granted within the stipulated time as announced by the shaman at the end of the ceremony, some one is certain to have been the cause of displeasing the spirit, who now withholds the favor until reparation for the offense is made. The conjurer is not slow to make some one do penance while he himself is gaining time, as he takes good care not to attempt anything out of season.

When an Indian kills one of the larger and fiercer wild beasts it is customary to reserve a portion of the skin or other part of the body as a memento of the deed.

These mementos are sacredly kept to show the prowess of the hunter and at the same time they serve as a token of the wealth procured by bartering the pelt of the animal to the trader. The wolf, bear, and wolverine are considered worthy of remembrance, and of the

first and last mentioned animals a claw or a tip of an ear may serve as a souvenir.

The under lip of the bear (Fig. 86) is the portion preserved. The skin is cut off and spread flat to dry. The flesh side of the skin is painted with powdered hematite mixed with water or oil.

The outer edges or lips are ornamented with a single row of many-colored beads. At the apex or middle of the lip is attached a pendant in the form of a fish. The fish is 3 or 4 inches long, made of cloth and has a row of beads extending around the entire circumference of the length of the body.

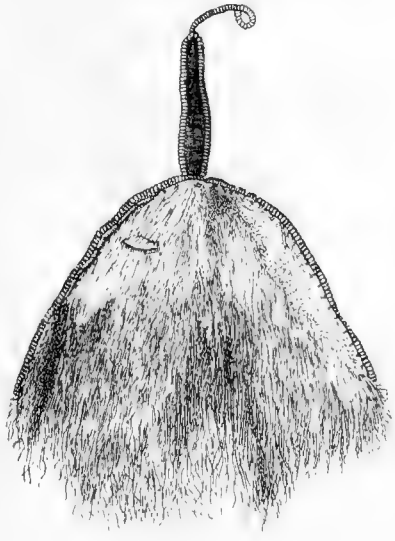


FIG. 86.—Indian amulet of bearskin.

These mementos are procured with great difficulty from the hunter who has risked his life in the struggles attending the capture of the beasts, for the barren-ground bear of that region is not a timid creature like the black bear; and unless the hunter is well prepared for the animal he would do well to let it alone.

The occupations of the sexes are so numerous that a detailed account alone would suffice, as the various seasons have their regular routine labors besides those unexpectedly appearing. In the spring the Indians of both sexes come to the post of Fort Chino to trade their winter's hunt of fur-bearing animals. About the middle of March word is brought that the camp of old men and women with a number of children, left from the parties scattered in all directions during the previous fall, are slowly approaching the post. They come by easy stages, camping here and there for a day or two, but striving to be near about the time that the earlier parties come in to trade. These latter straggle along from the middle of April to the last of May, those who had ascended the streams to the headwaters often not arriving until after the breaking of the ice in the river, which may be as late as the 15th of June. When they collect at the post they have an opportunity to meet after a separation of months and enjoy a period of rest. The trading of their furs and other articles continues slowly until the parties have made their selections of guns, ammunition, tobacco, and cloths, a quantity of flour, biscuit, peas, beans, rice, and sugar. Molasses is purchased in enormous quantities, a hogshead of 90 gallons sufficing for only three or four days' trade. Other articles of varied character, from needles and beads to calico and cloth, are bought by the women.

The parties receive the allowance given in advance for the prosecu-

tion of the ensuing winter's hunt, after which they are relied on to raft down the supply of wood cut by the white men for the next winter's supply of fuel. This consumes the season until the middle of July. Stragglers are out even later. The men, meantime, select the locality where they will remain for the summer and fall. The winter is to be occupied in getting furs. Each head of a party announces his intended location and the parties gradually leave the post for their destination. Some of the Indians in former years were employed to assist the salmon fishing, but they proved to be unreliable, either through fear of the turbulent waters of the Koksoak or inattention to their task. They were easily allured from the nets by the appearance of any game, and as the tides in that river do not wait even for an Indian, serious losses resulted from carelessness. Hence their places in later years are filled by Eskimo, who are better adapted to the work.

The various parties disperse in different directions in order that the entire district may afford its products for their benefit. The Indians know the habits of the animals in those regions so well that they are sure, if they go to a particular locality, to find the game they are in quest of.

The reindeer provides them with the greater part of their food and the skins of these animals afford them clothing.

Although their food consists of reindeer, ptarmigan, fish, and other game, the deer is their main reliance, and when without it, however great the abundance of other food, they consider themselves starving.

The deer are procured in several ways, the principal of which is by the use of the lance or spear. In the months of September and October they collect from various directions. During the spring the females had repaired to the treeless hills and mountains of the Cape Chidley region to bring forth their young on those elevations in early June or late May. After the young have become of good size the mothers lead them to certain localities whither the males, having gone in an opposite direction, also return. They meet somewhere along the banks of the Koksoak river, usually near the confluence of that river with the North or Larch. While thousands of these animals are congregated on each bank small herds are continually swimming back and forth, impelled by the sexual instinct. The hair of the young animals is now in excellent condition for making skin garments. The females are thin, not yet having recovered from the exhaustion of furnishing food for their young and material for the new set of antlers, which appear immediately after the birth of the fawns. The skin is, however, in tolerable condition, especially in late October. The back of the male is now covered with a large mass of fat known as "back fat." This deposit is about 1 to 1½ inches thick by 2 feet broad and 20 inches long. The males are full of vigor and in the best possible condition at this season, as the antlers have become dry and cease to draw upon the animal for material to supply their immense growth.

The hunting parties, always on the alert for the herds of deer which are hastening to the assembling place, follow them up, and in the course of time conjecture at what point they will congregate. Here they establish camps and intercept the deer when crossing the streams. The canoes are held in readiness, while the hunters scan the opposite hillsides for deer filing along the narrow paths through the forests and bushes towards the river bank. Arrived there, the deer, after a moment's pause, eagerly take to the water, boldly swimming as they quarter down stream with the current. The animals swim high in the water, scarcely more than a third of the body immersed. They move compactly, in a crowd, their antlers appearing at a distance like the branches of a tree floating with the current. The Indian crouches low and speeds for the canoe. Silently it is pushed into the water, and two or three rowers take their places within. Rapid but noiseless strokes given by sturdy arms soon bring the boat below and to the rear of the body of deer, who are now thrown into the greatest consternation as they perceive their most dreaded foe suddenly by their side. The deer endeavor to retreat, but the men are between them and the shore. The occupants of the canoe now drive the deer quartering up stream and toward the shore where the camp is situated. Should they, by some mistake on the part of the hunters, start downstream, they are certain to be separated, and swim so rapidly that unless there be two canoes they will, for the most part, escape. If the herd is well kept together they may be driven at the will of the pursuer. He strives to direct them to such spot that when the thrust with the spear is given only sufficient vitality will be left to enable the stricken animal to regain the shore. When the spear touches the vital part, the animal plunges forward and the instrument is withdrawn. A hurried thrust pierces another victim, until all the herd, if small, may be slain. The wounded animal now feels the internal cavity filling with blood, and seeks the nearest land whereon its ebbing strength scarcely allows it to stand. A few wistful turns of the head to the right or left, a sudden spreading of its limbs to support the swaying body, a plunge forward—the convulsive struggles that mark the end. If the band is large, some generally escape. Some may be so wounded that they plunge into the bushes perhaps but a few yards and there lie and die, furnishing food for the beasts and birds of prey.

The carcases of the deer are stripped of skins and fat and the viscera are removed. The fat is laid one side, that from the intestines being also reserved for future rendering.

The skins are taken to the camps and piled up. Those which are not to be tanned immediately are hung over poles to dry, the flesh side turned upwards.

The meat is stripped from the bones and taken to the tents, where it is exposed to the smoke and hot air over the fire and quickly dried. Some of the Indians are so expert in stripping the flesh from the skele-

ton that the exact form or outlines of the animal are preserved in the process of drying. The drying flesh acquires a very dark brown color from the smoke and blood left within the tissues. Certain portions of the dry meat, especially those from the flanks and abdominal walls, are quite palatable; they are crisp, and have a rich nutty flavor. The intercostal muscles are also choice portions, while some of the flesh from the haunches is dry and nearly tasteless. The back fat is often dried and smoked, but acquires a disagreeable rancid taste.

The long bones are cracked and the marrow extracted. This substance is the most highly prized portion of the animal, and in seasons of plenty the deer are often slaughtered for the marrow alone. The fat is placed in pots or kettles and rendered over a fire. It is then poured into another vessel to cool, and forms a valuable article of trade and a necessity for food, and is also required in the process of tanning the skins.

The bones containing the marrow are cracked and placed in a kettle, hung over a slow fire, and the substance melted. The marrow brings a higher price than the tallow, and is esteemed a choice article of food. The heads are thrown to one side until the decomposing brain is wanted to be mixed with the semi-putrid liver for the purpose of tanning the skins. When the flesh has dried sufficiently it is taken down and put into packages of about thirty pounds' weight each. These bundles are enveloped in the parchment like subcutaneous tissue, and stored away until they are needed for food. A species of mold attacks the flesh if it is not frequently inspected and dried, but as it is harmless, it does not injure the meat. Indians for weeks at a time subsist entirely on this dried meat. They also have a season of plenty when the female deer and the bucks of less than two years are on their way to the Cape Chidley region. Here the females bring forth their young unmolested by the old bucks and also less annoyed by the myriads of mosquitoes which throng the lower parts of the country.

The crossing place of the females and young bucks is at or near Fort Chimo at least each alternate year. About the 5th to the 10th of May the assembled Indians anxiously await the coming of the game. In the course of a few days the welcome cry of "Deer!" is heard, and the camp immediately becomes a scene of great excitement—men hurrying to get their guns and ammunition, women shouting the direction of the game, and children running to the higher eminences to watch the herds.

The men endeavor to occupy a narrow defile, where the herd will pass between the hills to the level land beyond. Some station themselves at the top of the ravine, while the swiftest runners hasten to the head of the defile to lie in ambush until the deer, urged from behind, rush past, to be met with a volley of balls from all sides. Panic seizes the animals, and wherever they turn an Indian confronts them. Until the deer recover from their paralysis, and once more obey their instinct to escape, numbers of them stand quietly waiting to be slaughtered;

others walk unconcernedly about, seemingly deprived of the power of flight. The Indians hurriedly close upon them, and in a few minutes the entire herd is destroyed or dispersed in all directions.

The guns used on this occasion are the cheapest kind of muzzle-loading single-barreled shotguns. The balls used are of such size that they will drop to the bottom of the chamber. No patching is used, and a jar on the ground is deemed sufficient to settle the ball upon the powder. The employment of a ramrod would require too much time, as the Indian is actuated by the desire to kill as many as possible in the shortest time. They do not use the necessary care in loading their guns, and often the ball becomes lodged in the chamber and the gun bursts when fired. When shooting downhill the ball often rolls out. It is surprising that so few fatal accidents occur. A quantity of powder is poured directly into the gun from its receptacle, the ball dropped down, and a cap taken from between the fingers, where it was placed for convenience. Hunters often practice the motions of rapid loading and firing. They are remarkably expert, surpassing the Eskimo in this, though the Eskimo is far the better marksman.

A third method pursued is that of snaring the deer.

A plan adopted to capture deer in the winter is as follows: A herd of deer is discovered, and men and women put on their snowshoes. The deer are surrounded and driven into a snowbank many feet deep, in which the affrighted animals plunge until they nearly bury themselves. The hunters, armed with the lance, pursue them and kill them. This means of procuring deer is only adopted when the herd is near a convenient snowbank of proper depth. The snow falling in the winter collects in gullies and ravines, and only in seasons where there has been an abundance of snow will it attain sufficient depth to serve the purpose.

Smaller game, such as ducks, geese, ptarmigan, hares, rabbits, porcupines, beavers, and an occasional lynx, afford variety of food. Ptarmigan are slaughtered by thousands. Hundreds of pounds of their feathers annually purchase small trinkets for the Indian women, and during this season it is unusual to see a woman without some feathers of these birds adhering to her clothing or hair.

The women and men annually destroy thousands of the eggs and young of these birds. Rabbits and hares, too, fall beneath the arrow or shotgun. Porcupines are more common toward the sources of the streams falling into Hudson Strait. They are found in trees, from which they gnaw the bark and terminal portions of the branches for food. The porcupine must be carefully cleaned lest the flesh be unfit for food. The hair and spines are removed by scorching or by pouring hot water over the body.

Of the carnivorous mammals the lynx only is eaten, and this when other food is scarce. Bears are so rare that they form but an unim-

portant portion of the Indian's diet. Wolverines, wolves, and foxes are never eaten.

Fish of various kinds are plentiful. The lakes and streams abound with salmon in summer, and trout, white fish, suckers, and a few less common species are eagerly sought for food. Fish are caught with the hook or net. Fishing through holes in the ice affords an ample supply of fine trout, and the net set along the shore upon the disappearance of the ice is sure to reap a rich haul of white fish, suckers, and trout.

In the preparation of the food little care is exercised to prevent its coming in contact with objectionable substances. The deer meat is laid upon the stones of the beach and particles of grit imbed themselves in the substance. The flesh for cooking is often dropped into the vessels in which the tallow or marrow is being rendered. Neither children nor adults have any regular periods of eating, but appear to be always hungry. It is thus not unusual to see a filthy child thrust its hand into the cooling fat to obtain a choice portion of meat as it settles to the bottom.

The dry meat is often pounded into a coarse powder by means of stone or metal pestles. The meat is placed upon a smooth, hard stone for this purpose. The ligaments are picked out, and when a sufficient quantity has been prepared it is put into baskets or bags and stored away for future use. The cracked bones from which the marrow was extracted are calcined and reduced to powder and used as an absorbent of the fat from the skins in the process of tanning.

The unborn young of the reindeer, taken from the mother in the spring, are considered a prime delicacy by Indians, as well as Eskimo. The eggs of various species of birds are eagerly sought for, and it matters little whether they are fresh or far advanced in incubation. The embryo bird, with the attached yolk of the egg, is swallowed with infinite gusto. The Indian seldom eats raw flesh unless dried meat be excepted.

Enough has been written concerning the reindeer to show that without it the very existence of the Indian would be imperiled. Both food and clothing, the prime necessities of life, are obtained from the animal, and its numbers do not seem to decrease with the merciless or thoughtless slaughter. Hundreds of carcases are never utilized. I counted 173 carcases on one side of the river in going a distance of about 80 miles, and when I came to their camps I saw incredible piles of meat and skins going to waste. The winter months are occupied by men in hunting the various fur-bearing animals, the principal of which are white, red, cross, and black or silver foxes, martens, minks, wolverines, wolves, muskrats, and beavers: these are abundant. Few lynxes and bear are obtained. A considerable number of others are found in this region and afford fine skins.

Steel traps are generally set, various sizes of traps being used for the different animals. A great number of otter and beaver are shot in the

water. Deadfalls consisting of a log of wood set upon figure-4 triggers rarely fail to kill mink and marten. The lynx is usually taken by means of a snare with the loop over a circle of low pegs surrounding the tongue of the figure-4 set of triggers. The spring, usually a lithe sapling, is strong enough to lift the forelegs of the animal from the ground when the noose encircles its neck.

The Indian conceives the wolverine to be an animal embodying all the cunning and mischief that can be contained in the skin of a beast. To its cunning is added great bodily strength, enabling this medium-sized animal to accomplish destruction apparently much beyond its strength.

Every other animal in the forests where it dwells prefers to give it the path rather than engage in struggle with it. When seized in a trap a wolverine offers a sturdy resistance. Even a famished wolf, to my personal knowledge, will stand and look at it, but not attempt to cope with it. In this particular instance, however, the wolf may have considered the predicament of the wolverine another means of strategy employed by that animal to entrap the wolf, and so deemed it wise to remain at a respectful distance.

Every form of torture which the Indian mind is capable of conceiving is inflicted upon this animal when it is captured. All manner of vile names and reproaches are applied to it. The Indian enjoys relating how he singed its fur off, broke its bones, and tormented it in many ways, as it slowly expired under his hand.

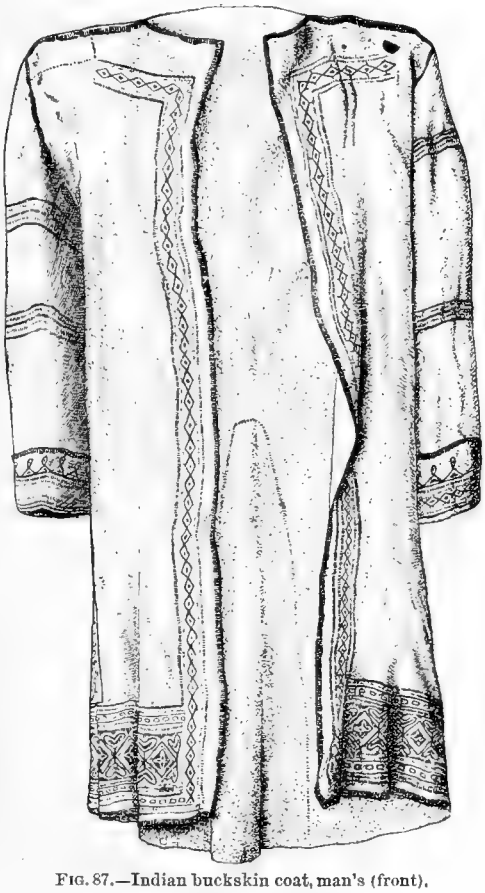


FIG. 87.—Indian buckskin coat, man's (front).

CLOTHING.

The apparel worn by the Ungava Indians is quite distinct for the different sexes. The method of preparing the skins for the manufacture of garments is the same, but the forms of the garments for the sexes are so different as to require special consideration.

The garments worn by the men differ somewhat according to the season of the year, for the extremes of climate are very great. The clothing of the men consists of a coat, breeches, leggings, moccasins, gloves or mittens, and cap or headdress.

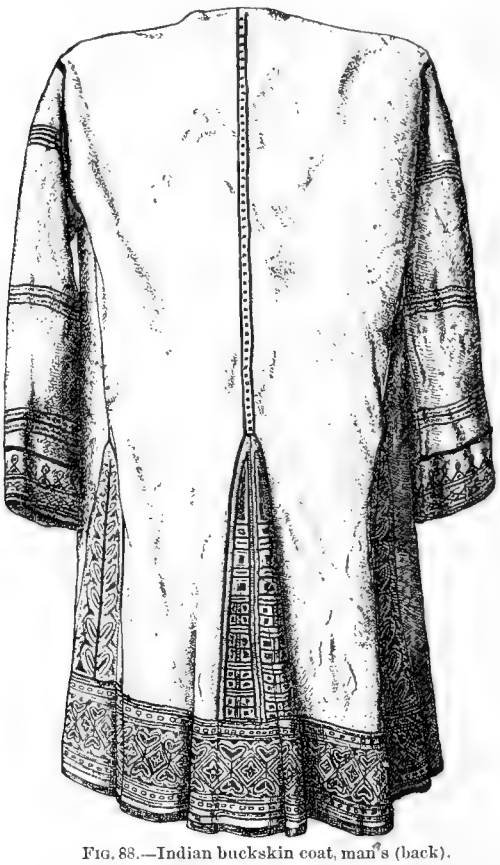


FIG. 88.—Indian buckskin coat, man's (back).

The coat consists of the skins of the reindeer tanned into a thoroughly pliable condition by the process to be described presently.

The shape of the garment worn in summer (Figs. 87 and 88) is somewhat similar to that of a frock coat, but without the tails. The back is cut from a single skin and the skirt cut up from below. Into this is inserted a piece of sufficient width to allow movement of the lower limbs. The sides are from the second skin, split down the middle of the back and sewed to the skin, forming the back of the garment. The back skin forms the covering for the top of the shoulders and extends to the collar seam. The side skins form the front and neck of the garment. The sleeves are made of a third skin, and frequently have a roll or cuff to increase the length, if necessary. The collar is merely a strip of skin sewed to the neck. It is usually turned down. The front is usually open, and if made to be closed it is held in position by a belt or gaudily colored scarf of woolen or cotton purchased from the trader.

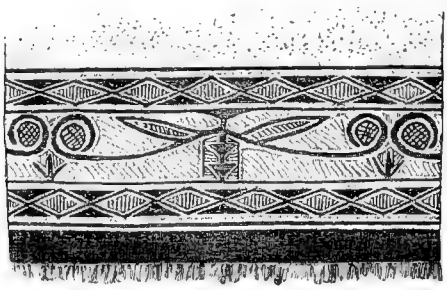


FIG. 89.—Detail of pattern painted on Indian garments.

The seams of the clothing are always sewed with sinew like that used by the Eskimo. There are but two seams which run the entire

length of the coat, and these are the side seams. The seam at the skirt, the armhole, sleeve, and collar are the shorter ones. The coat is always more or less ornamented with extravagant painted designs. The colors and other materials used for painting these designs will be described in another connection, as well as the manner of applying them.

The patterns of these designs will be best understood by reference to the figures, which show some of them in detail (Figs. 89, 90).

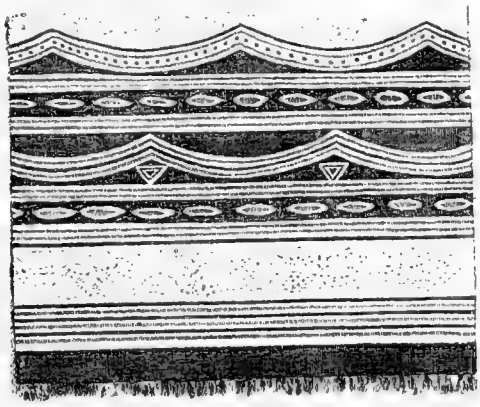


FIG. 90.—Detail of pattern painted on deerskin robe.

The colors used often present startling combinations of red, blue, yellow, and brown. The portions of the garments upon which these colors are placed are the front edges of the opening of the coat, the wrists, and rings around the arms or sleeves, the skirt and pyramid-shaped designs over the hips. The piece intended to widen the skirt behind is always entirely covered with a design of some kind. Over the outside of the seams a line of paint is always applied, nearly always of a red or brown color.

Frequently a series of quadrate blotches or squares produced by variously colored lines runs from the apex of the piece inserted in the skirt to the collar.

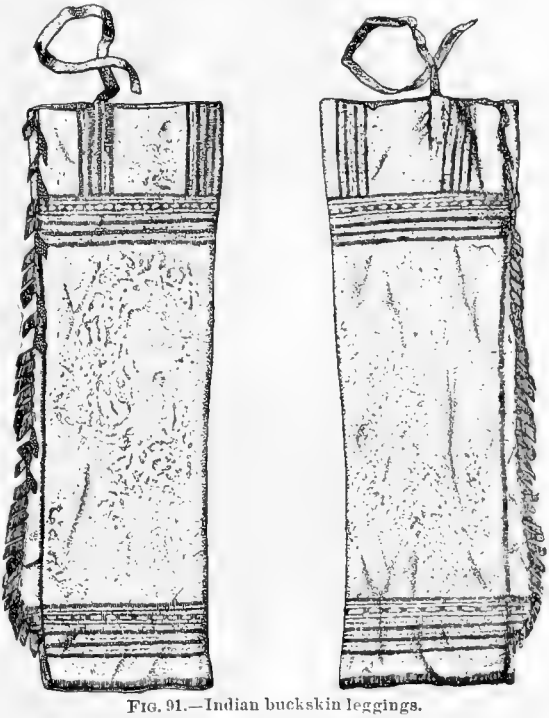


FIG. 91.—Indian buckskin leggings.

The length of the coat is such as to reach to the middle of the thigh. The coverings for the lower limbs and for the hips are quite distinct. For the hips the garment is a sort of breeches of which the legs are so short as only to cover the upper portion of the thigh. The breeches are held in place by means of a drawstring in front.

A pair of these breeches is never ornamented with paint, as they are usually not exposed to view.

A pair of leggings extends from the upper portion of the thigh to the ankles. The leggings (Fig. 91) are each made of a single piece somewhat in the form of a narrow bag open at each end. They are held in position by means of a string attached in front and fastened to the upper portions of the breeches. The seam is on the outer side of the leggings and along it is sewed a strip of deerskin having the edges cut into fringe. The leggings are painted in much the same fashion as the coat.

The moccasins (Fig. 92) are rarely ornamented, except with beads on the tongue or else with a strip of red, blue, or black cloth.

In the construction of a moccasin the measure of the foot is taken if it is intended for a person of importance or if the maker attempts to do skillful work. The sole is cut out first in the shape of a parallelogram. The edges are turned up and creases made around that portion of the deerskin which surrounds the toes and a part of the side of the foot.

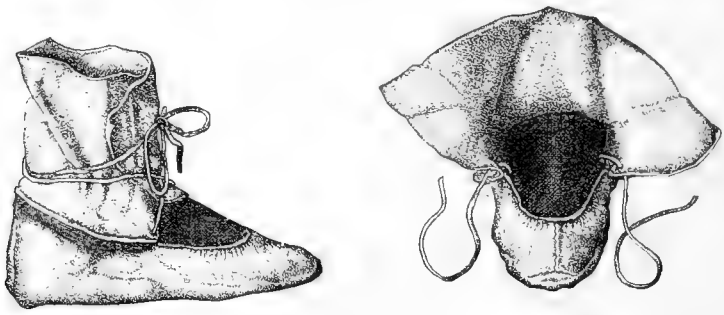


FIG. 92.—Indian moccasins.

The creases are made perpendicular in order to take up a portion of the slack of the skin. They are held in position by a stout sinew thread run through each one and around to the other side to prevent them from separating and thus "bagging" over the toes. This is the most particular part of the work and on these stitches depend the skill of the maker. The sides of the foot and heel are not creased as the heel-seam takes up the slack for the posterior portion of the moccasin.

The tongue of the moccasin is a piece cut into a shape resembling that member with the tip of it over the toes. This is sewed to the edges of the creases, and between it and the creases is often sewed a narrow welt of skin or cloth. The superfluous edges of the slipper-shaped shoe are now trimmed off, and the top, or portion to cover the ankle, is sewed on. This portion is a long narrow strip of inferior skin of sufficient size to overlap in front and to come well above the ankles. It is left open like the tops of laced shoes. Just below, or at the edge of the tops, a long thong of deerskin is inserted through several holes, which allows it to pass around the heel and below the

ankles, bringing the ends in front over the tongue. The ends of the tops are laid carefully over one another and wrapped round by the ends of the thongs which hold the moccasins on the feet.

Certain portions of the skin make better footwear than other parts. The neck skin is too thick and stiff to allow the creases around the toes to be properly made; the flanks are too thin; while the neck is useful for the tongues, the sides for the bottoms, and the flanks and portions of the back, scarred by the grubs infesting the animal, for the tops and strings.

Moccasins for young children often have a seam parallel with the toes and the creasing is thus obviated. Those for wearing in the tent or in the dry vicinity of the camp have no tops and are held to the foot by means of a drawstring.

As most of the strain in walking comes upon the tongue, and this portion is usually ornamented, it is necessary that it should be of a good quality of leather. A piece of black, blue, or red cloth is generally laid over the tongue for ornament. There is sometimes bead work on this portion, but as these people are not skillful in the art of disposing the many colored beads they are not much used for that purpose.

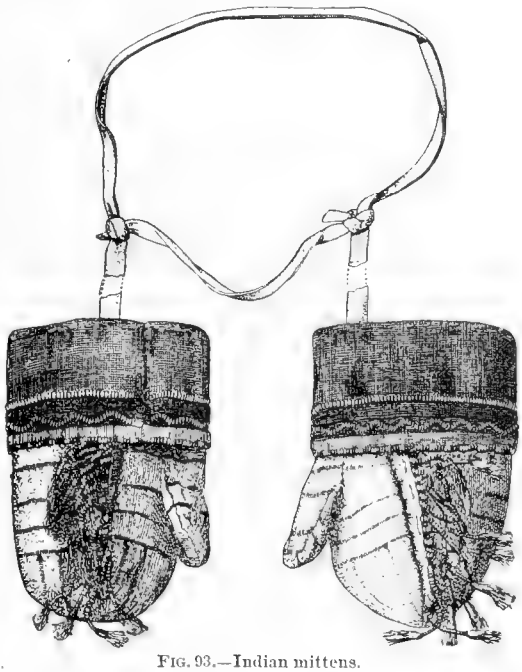


FIG. 93.—Indian mittens.

A single deerskin will make five to seven pairs of moccasins for an adult, and as they last but two or three weeks as many as fifteen to twenty-five pairs are necessary for each adult.

The hands are protected with mittens (Fig. 93) made of smoked deerskin. The skin is folded, and along the fold the shape of the mitten is cut so as to leave a part by which the two pieces are joined, and the edges formed in the cutting are sewed together. The thumb is made as follows: A tongue-shaped piece is cut out of the palm and the base of that piece is left as the part to form the under or inner covering for the thumb. A piece is now trimmed that will fit the place cut out and the two parts sewed together.

The thumb of the Indian is, as a rule, shorter than that of the white man, and a pair of native-made mittens are quite uncomfortable until

the thumb portion has been recut and sewed. The wrists of the mittens are often gaudily ornamented with strips of red or black cloth. Designs of simple character, such as lines and cross lines producing lattice-work figures, are frequently painted on the back of the mitten. Beads in rows and zigzag lines ornament the wrist, and strands of beads are pendant from the outside seams. The strands are often tipped with tassels of variegated woolen threads. The mittens intended for severe weather are often lined with the thin skin of a fœtal reindeer, which has short, soft hair. Great exertion often causes the hands to perspire and moisten the hair, and this freezes the instant the mitten is removed from the hand, and is liable to freeze the fingers within it.

The head-dress of the men for the summer is often a large cotton handkerchief wound turban-fashion around the head to prevent the long hair from blowing over the face. These handkerchiefs are of the most gaudy patterns, and if they are not worn a simple thong of deer-

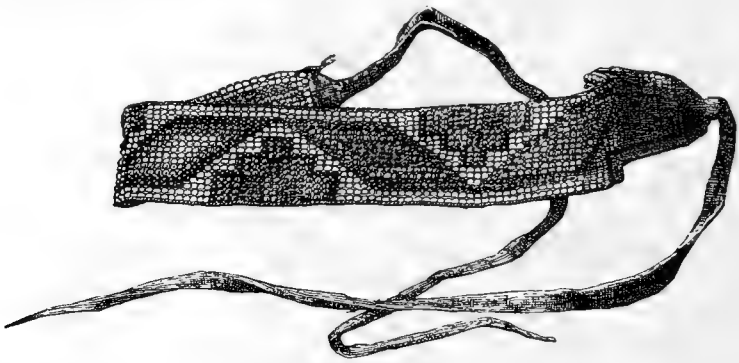


FIG. 94.—Beaded headband. Nenenot.

skin serves the purpose. The girls and newly married wives often make bands of beads, some of which are quite attractively designed, for their lovers or husbands. These bands are about an inch wide and several inches long. The ends are lengthened with strips of skin. The band is placed over the forehead and tied by the strings behind. These headbands are generally the most intricate designs of bead work which these Indians display (Fig. 94).

A cap of deerskin is often worn, but it always seems to be in the way, and is used mostly in wet weather. A piece of stiff deerskin is sometimes made into the shape of a visor of a cap and worn over the eyes during the spring when the glare of the sun on the snow produces such distressing inflammation of the eyes. It is fastened to the head by means of straps tied behind. The greater part of the men prefer to go without head covering. Some who are able and love a display of fancy colors have a cap made of red cloth and ornamented with beads worked into extravagant patterns. The cap is a high conical affair, and from the weight of beads upon it often falls to one side of the head.

The winter coat (Figs. 95, 96) worn by the males is of different pattern from that worn in summer, and is made of skins with the hair inside.

Two skins, one of which forms the back of the coat the other the front, are sewed by side seams running from the armpit to the bottom of the skirt. On the shoulder a seam runs to the neck on each side, the back skin extending high enough to form the neck while the other skin reaches to the neck in front. Here it is slightly cut out or slit for a distance of several inches to allow the insertion of the head through the neck hole.

Sometimes a V-shaped piece is inserted into the slit at the front of the neck. To widen the skirts a similar shaped piece is let into the middle of the back skin; or it may be put between the side seams for the same purpose. The bottom of the skirt is decorated. (Fig. 97.)

At the back of the neck a piece about 8 inches square is attached to the garment. This sometimes serves as a collar, and sometimes it gives additional protection by a double thickness to the shoulders, very often the first part to feel the effect of the piercing winds.



FIG. 95.—Man's winter coat (front).

A few of the coats for winter have a hood attached to them (Fig. 98, 99) sewed on the back of the neck, which when drawn over the head serves at once as cap and protection.

The collar and hood are invariably made from the skins on the sides of the head of the deer. If two or more head skins are required they are sewed into the form of the deer's head. The collar is ornamented with fringes cut from the edges of the skin. Sometimes the interscapular protection is cut into three or four points, each one of which is the cheek skin of a deer, and sewed only a portion of the length, the remainder being left free and terminating with a series of long strands or fringes. The sleeves of these garments have nothing peculiar about them.

As the Indian is always in the vicinity of the herds of deer it is an easy matter for him to obtain the skins when in best condition, and from the finer skins superior garments are made. The shape of the Indian's coat is not so well adapted to afford protection as that of the Eskimo; hence, the white men in this region invariably adopt the clothing of the latter in cold weather.

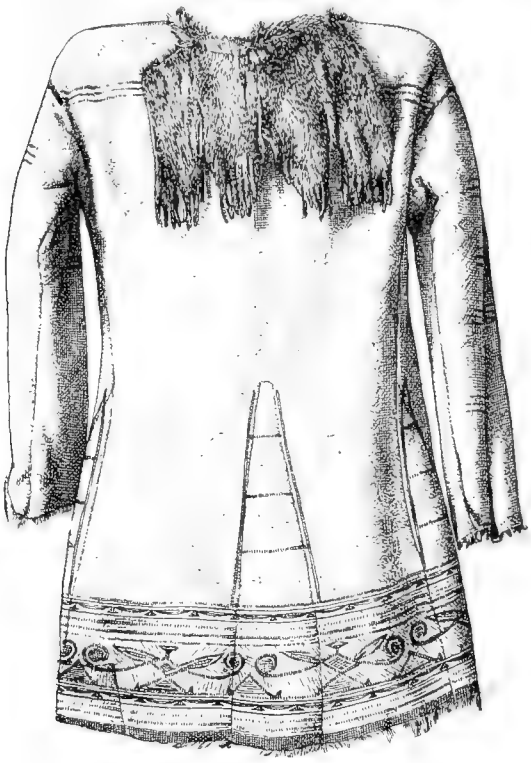


FIG. 96.—Man's winter coat (back).

Indians eagerly accept any cast off garment which a white man has worn, and they often procure the clothing offered for trade. Trousers are in much demand. Coats are deemed great prizes, especially in the wet seasons when the moisture would certainly ruin their own clothing by causing the hair to fall off or totally destroy the shape of the tanned skin garments. For underclothing the Indian man uses an additional suit of ordinary clothing or else dons a shirt procured from the trader. Drawers are rarely worn.

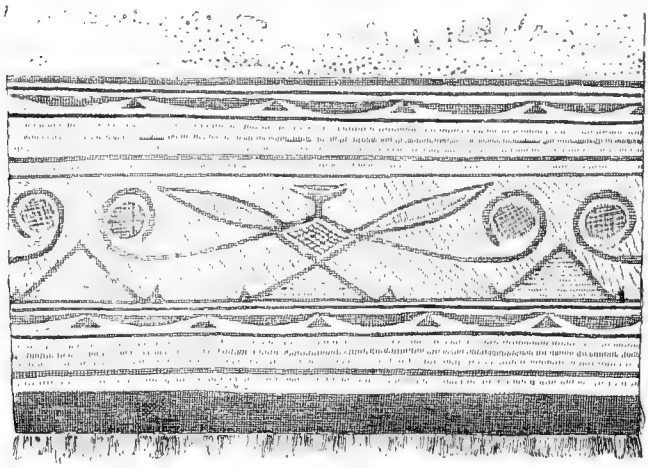


FIG. 97.—Detail of ornamentation.

That these people are little susceptible to the effects of cold may be inferred from the fact that I have seen them come to the trading post of Fort Chimo in the mid-

dle of winter when the thermometer had not registered higher than 20° below zero for weeks, with no protection for their legs except a pair of old buckskin leggings so short that the bottom did not reach within 3 or 4 inches of the dilapidated moccasins. The feet were, so far as could be ascertained, chiefly protected by a wrapping of old baling cloth covered with a pair of moccasins which no white man would have been seen wearing. I observed also that no additional clothing was purchased for the return trip.

The garments worn by the women in the warmer season consists of thin dresses of calico purchased from the traders. Thin shawls serve to protect the head and shoulders. The feet are incased in moccasins. Some of the women are able to purchase dresses of cloth, and these are cut into a semblance of the dresses worn by the women of civilized countries. It is not rare to see a woman wearing a skirt made from the tanned skin of the deer. The lower portions of the skirt are often fancifully ornamented with lines and stripes of paint of various colors, extending entirely around the garment. A piece of baling cloth is often fashioned into a skirt and worn.



FIG. 98.—Man's winter coat, with hood.

The females appear to be less susceptible to the sudden changes of the summer weather than the men. At least they exhibit less concern about the thickness of their apparel. It is not unusual to see a woman whose only clothing appears to be a thin dress of calico. During the winter the women dress in the most comfortable skins (Fig. 100), blankets, shawls, comforts, leggings, and moccasins. During exceptionally severe weather, they appear as traveling wardrobes, doubtless carrying their all on their back, and in some instances presenting a most comical ap-

pearance as, loaded with clothing of most miscellaneous character, they waddle over the snow. The winter cap is similar to that worn by the men, but is not so peaked. It is an object on which they expend a great amount of labor. The material is usually a kind of cloth locally known as Hudson bay cloth, either red, dark blue, light blue, or black. The caps of the men and women are usually made from the better grades of this cloth, while the dresses of the women and the leggings of the men are of the inferior grades.

If the cap is to be all one color, in which case it is always red, the cloth is cut in two pieces only, and put together so as to produce a cup-shape. Sometimes five or six pieces are cut from two or three different colors of cloth and the strips sewed together. Over the seams white tape is sewed to set off the colors. In the center of the strip is a rosette, cross, or other design worked with beads, and around the rim rows of beads variously arranged.



FIG. 99.—Man's winter coat, with hood.

The body is covered with a heavy robe made of two deerskins sewed together. This robe is often plain, and when ornamented designs are painted only on the bottom of the skirt. These robes are always of skins with the hair on. The flesh side is often rubbed with red ocher while the extreme edge may be painted with a narrow stripe of the same mixed with the viscid matter obtained from the roe of a species of fish. The edge stripe of paint is always of a darker brown than the other colors from the admixture of that substance with the earth.

This garment is put upon the body in a manner impossible to describe

and difficult to understand even when witnessed. It is held together by small loops of sinew or deerskin. A belt around the waist keeps it up.

The women also wear in winter a sleeveless gown reaching little below the knees and as high as the chin. The sleeves are put on separately, like leggings. They are usually made of red or black cloth.

The gown is often extravagantly decorated with paint. The flesh side of the skin is rubbed with red ocher, on which are painted indescribable designs. A strip of deerskin dotted with beads borders the gown, and from the edge of the strip hang strings of these ornaments, terminating in variously colored tassels of thread.

The leggings of the women differ from those of the men. They extend higher and the bottoms cover the tops of the moccasins. They are made of skin or cloth, the latter black or red. To cut out a pair of leggings requires skill. The cloth is doubled and then cut nearly in a circular form. A size sufficient to fit the limb is sewed up leaving the crescent-shaped remainder a flapping ornament. The "wings" are often edged with cloth of a different color and on the outer border rows of beads complete the decoration. The two crescents are left free, and as the wind separates them they flap most fantastically. They are always worn so as to be on the outer side of the legs. The bottoms of the leggings are heavily loaded with numerous rows of fancy beads.

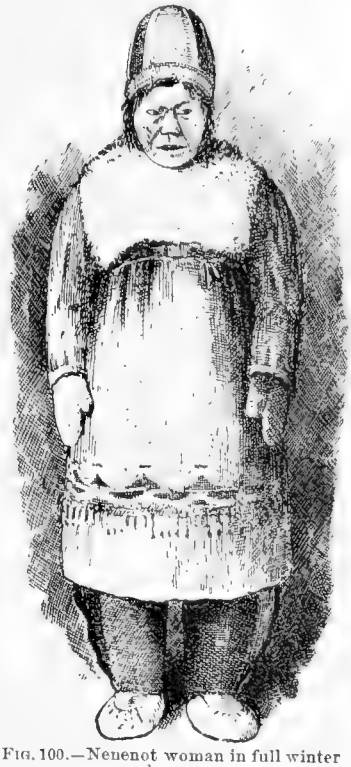


FIG. 100.—Neuenot woman in full winter dress.

Moccasins are alike for both sexes.

As additional protection from cold the shoulders are covered with a mantle of soft skins from young deer. Blankets purchased from the traders are also sometimes thrown over the shoulders or around the waist.

Children are clad like adults, excepting that their apparel is less carefully made and they often present a disgusting appearance, with their clothing glazed with filth and glistening with vermin.

Infants usually have their garments made in the "combination" form. The cap forms a separate piece and is fitted so closely that it is not removed until the growth of the head bursts the material of which the cap is made.

When traveling men and women smoke or snuff a good deal. To-

bacco and a few other necessary articles are carried in a bag known as "fire bag." These are made of cloth and trimmed with beads, and are often quite tastefully ornamented.

The detailed figures which I have presented show much better than any description the designs used in ornamenting their clothing. Some

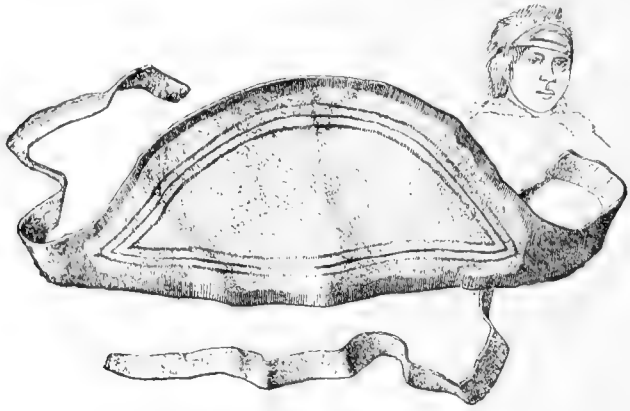


FIG. 101.—Sealskin headband. Nenenot.

of the patterns are rude copies of the designs found upon cheap handkerchiefs, scarfs, and other printed fabrics.

I have already spoken of the headbands worked for the men by their wives and sweethearts. Such a headband, made of sealskin procured from the Eskimo, is shown in Fig. 101 (No. 3449). The headband is used to support the weight of a load carried on the back, relieving the strain on the shoulders and making it easier to breathe. The band passes over the forehead to the back, where it is attached to the load.



FIG. 102.—Skin scraper (front). Nenenot.

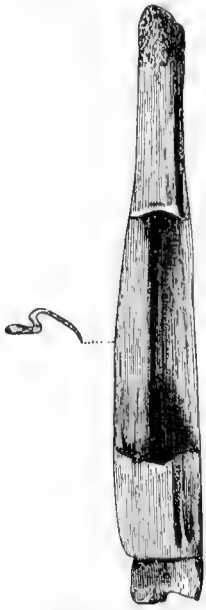


FIG. 103.—Skin scraper (back). Nenenot.

Various forms of these headbands or portage straps are made. Sometimes a piece of birch bark is placed under the strap where it touches the forehead. It is said that the bark does not become wet from the moisture induced by the severe exertion and thus burn the head.

PREPARATION OF THE SKINS FOR CLOTHING.

Having now given a general description of the clothing of the Nene-

not, I may proceed to describe the process of preparing the skins of which this clothing is made. The skins of the deer, which are to be converted into buckskin and parchment, are laid to one side in a heap, just as they came from the bodies of the animals or after they have gone through a process to be subsequently described.

When the skins have laid in this heap for several days decomposition sets in and loosens the hair so it will readily pull out. When the pelt is ready for scraping it is thrown over a round stick of wood some 3 or 4 inches in diameter and 3 or 4 feet long, one end of which rests on the ground while the other is pressed against the abdomen of the woman who is doing the work. Then she takes a tool like a spoke shave (Figs. 102, 103, No. 3162) made from the radius of the deer, by cutting a slice off the middle part of the back of the bone, so as to make a sharp edge while the untouched ends serve for handles, and with this scrapes off the loosened hair.



FIG. 104.—Skin-cleaning tool. Nenenot.

The sharp edge of the bone instrument coming against the hairs pushes or pulls them out but does not cut the skin.

The flesh side of the pelt is now worked to free it from particles of flesh and blood, together with as much of the moisture in the skin as may be hastily done, for if the person has a great number of skins to attend to she must work rapidly lest they decompose too much and putrefy.

Where the hunter has great success in killing deer many of the skins are left untouched because there is no one to attend to them and they are thus wasted.

When the pelts of the deer or other large animals have been taken from the carcass they are allowed to dry with the adherent flesh, fat, and ligaments until a convenient opportunity occurs to remove those portions from the skin, which must be moistened to permit them to be more readily scraped off. If the fresh skins are to be cleaned immediately, they are operated upon in the same manner as those previously dried. All the skins of fur-bearing animals and those furnishing skins for clothing and other purposes must be scraped, otherwise they would soon be soiled by the infiltration of the fat among the hairs.

To remove the adherent particles on the flesh side of the skin a peculiar instrument has been devised. The tibia, or large bone of the hind leg of the reindeer, is used for this purpose (Fig. 104). The peculiar shape of the bone renders it particularly well adapted to form a combination of saw, chisel, and gouge at the same time. The lower portion of the bone is cut squarely off. A part of one side of the remainder is cut so as to leave one side (the inner side of the bone) in the shape of a chisel, having either a straight edge or else slightly rounded. On this edge are cut a number of fine notches, which give the edge of the instrument a serrated form. Some of the bones have a spatula-shaped piece of iron or steel cut with the serrations upon it and the metal piece set in the cavity of the bone. If the leg of a deer is not convenient a wooden handle shaped like the long handle of a mortising chisel is fashioned, and to it is affixed the metal point by means of stout lashings (Fig. 105). Around the upper portion of the wooden shaft a notch or groove is cut, and in this is tied a stout thong in such manner as to form a loop to prevent the hand from slipping down the smooth bone when the blow is struck.

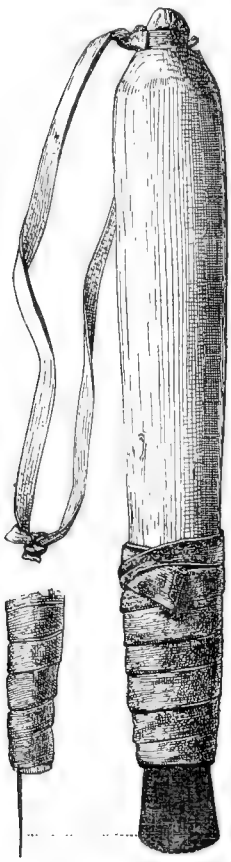


FIG. 105.—Skin-cleaning tool, iron-bladed. Nenenot.

The manner of using this instrument is peculiar and effective. The skin is thrown, with the flesh side up, over a stake 2 or 3 feet high driven firmly into the ground. The person kneels down before the stake, and when the skin is placed so as to afford a convenient portion to begin upon, an edge is taken between the fingers of the left hand and lifted slightly from the ground. A blow is given with the tool which separates the subcutaneous tissue, and by rightly directed blows this may be separated from the skin entire. The skin is then laid aside for further working. The subcutaneous tissue is washed and dried, after which it is used for a variety of purposes, such as coverings for bundles of dried meat and other articles.

The skin is worked over with this instrument to free it from a portion of its moisture and is now ready to receive the tanning material which consists of a mixture of putrefying brain, liver, and fat. They sometimes soak the skin in wine, which is reputed to add greatly to the lasting qualities of the leather, but the odor of that liquid lasts as long as the skin.

The tanning material is laid on the flesh side of the skin in a thin layer and by rubbing with the hands it is well worked in. Several

hours or days elapse and the superfluous matter is scraped off. The skin is then scraped and rubbed between the hands, the harder portions with a scraper resembling a small scoop, until all the skin is worked into a pliable condition. If the skin is yet too oily a quantity of powdered chalk, clay, calcined bone, or even flour, is thoroughly rubbed over it to absorb any fatty matter yet remaining.

The skins having the hair on, for clothing, or those intended for buckskin, are treated in this manner. Those intended for parchment are simply rubbed with a quantity of fat, and then allowed to dry in that condition, being of a yellowish or pale glue color.

Where a great number of skins have to be prepared, and some of the more energetic men have as many as two or three hundred buckskins and parchment skins for the spring trade, a constant application to this labor is necessary in order to prepare them in season. This, in a manner, accounts for the number of wives which an energetic or wealthy man may have in order that the products of the chase falling to his share may be promptly attended to.

When the skins intended for sale are selected they are bundled up and covered with parchment skins or the subcutaneous tissue.

The skins intended for use among themselves are generally inferior grades, such as those cut in the skinning process, or else those obtained in the earlier or the later part of the season.

A species of gad fly infests the deer, puncturing the skin on both sides of the spine, and depositing within the wound an egg which in time is transformed into a grub or larva. These larvæ attain the size of the first joint of the little finger, and at the opening of the spring weather work their way through the skin and fall to the ground, where they undergo metamorphoses to become perfect insects.

A single animal may have hundreds of these grubs encysted beneath the skin, which, on their exit, leave a deep suppurating cavity, which heals slowly. The skin forming the cicatrices does not have the same texture as the untouched portions.

When the skin is dressed it reveals these scars, and of course, the value of the skin is diminished according to their number. The Indian often endeavors to conceal them by rubbing flour or chalk over them.

The season when the skins are in the best condition is from September to the middle of December. The freshly deposited eggs have not yet produced larvæ of sufficient size to injure the skin, and the wounds produced by those dropping out in the month of May have healed and left the skin in condition.

Certain skins intended for special purposes must be smoked. The process of smoking tends to render it less liable to injury from moisture. The pyroligneous vapors act as antiseptics and thus at least retard decomposition of those articles most exposed to wet. The tents and foot wear are always tanned with the smoke and this process is

always subsequent to that of bringing the skins into the pliable condition.

The process adopted by these Indians in smoking the deerskins is as follows: The woods are searched for rotten wood of a special character. It must be affected with a kind of dry rot which renders the fibers of a spongy nature. This is procured and thoroughly dried.

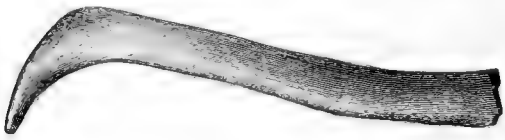


FIG. 106.—Paint stick. Nenenot.

The skins to be smoked are selected and two of nearly the same size and condition are chosen, and sewed into the form of a bag with the hairy side within. The after portions of the skin are suspended from a convenient pole and the head and neck portions left free or open. To the edges of these is sewed a cloth, usually a piece of baling cloth, and this is also left open. The rotten wood is placed in a pan or vessel and as it smolders, never burning into a blaze, the pale, blue, pungent smoke is allowed to ascend within the cavity of the deerskin bag. The cloth is merely to form a conduit for the smoke as the skin should not be too near the fire.



FIG. 107.

As the process continues the skins are inspected between the stitches of the sewing and when the operation has progressed sufficiently they are taken down. It will now be found that the surface has assumed a pale, clear brown color, the shade of which depends on the length of the exposure to the smoke.

The cloth is removed and the skins are immediately folded, with the smoked side within, and laid away for several days to season. If, however, the skin be left to the influence of the air the coloring matter immediately disappears leaving it of a color only slightly different from what it was before it was smoked.

The scars, made by the larvæ of the insects, do not "take" the smoke as well as the healthy portions and so present a pitted or scaly appearance. From the skins having an abundance of the scars are made the tents and inferior grades of moccasins and the tops of the betterclass of footwear.



FIG. 108.—Paint stick. Nenenot.

The paints used for decorating the buckskin garments are applied by means of bits of bone or horn of a peculiar shape best understood from the figures (Figs. 106–110).

Those with two, three or four tines are used for making the complicated patterns of parallel lines, and are always made of antler, while the simple form is sometimes of wood.

A block of wood with one or more bowl-shaped cavities cut in it (Fig. 111) serves to hold the mixed paints, especially when several colors are to be used in succession.

Small wooden bowls are also employed. (Figs. 112–113.)



FIG. 109.—Paint stick. Nenenot.

The pigments used are procured from different sources. From the traders are obtained indigo in the crude condition or in the form of washing blue, vermilion in small buckskin bags, and a few other colors. An abundance of red earth occurs in several localities. The pigments are reduced to the finest possible condition and kneaded with the fingers until ready for the addition of water often mixed with a slight quantity of oil or tallow. A favorite vehicle for the paint is the prepared roe of a sucker (*Catastomus*) abounding in the waters of the district. The female fish are stripped of the mass of ova which is broken up in a vessel and the liquid strained through a coarse cloth. The color is a faint yellow which becomes deeper with age. The fluid is allowed to dry and when required for use is dissolved in water. It has then a semiviscid consistence and in this condition is mixed with the various pigments. When a yellowish color is desired the fish-egg preparation is applied alone. The albumen gives sufficient adhesive quality to the paint and produce a rich glaze, giving a good effect to the otherwise dull colors.



FIG. 110.—Paint stick. Nenenot.

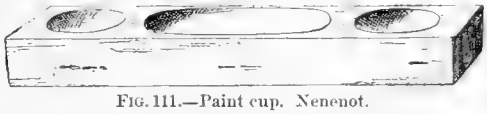


FIG. 111.—Paint cup. Nenenot.

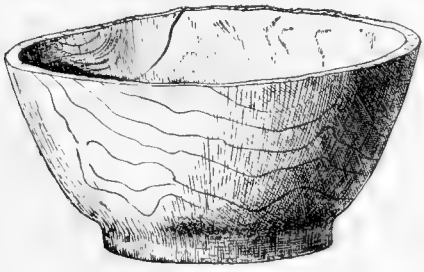


FIG. 112.—Paint cup. Nenenot.

The process of preparing the crude mineral colors is quite tedious as the attrition is produced by rubbing the substance between two smooth stones, a little water occasionally being added to hold the particles together. The prepared paints are put in the vessels already described, and when ready for use a quantity is taken with the finger and placed in the palm of the hand while the other fingers hold the instrument by which it is to be applied. The paint stick is carefully drawn through the thin layer of paint spread on the other palm and a quantity, depending on the thickness of the layer, adheres to the edges of the appliance and by a carefully guided motion of the hand the lines desired are produced. The eye

alone guides the drawing, however intricate it may be. The artist frequently attempts to imitate some of the delicate designs on a gaudy bandana handkerchief or some similar fabric. The principal source of the hematite is a lake near the headwaters of George's river where it

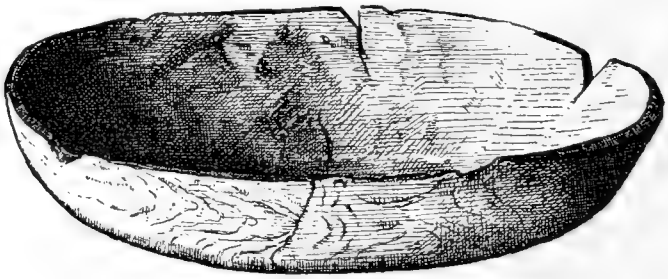


FIG. 113.—Paint cup. Nenenot.

occurs as a mass of disintegrated rock along the margin. The water has by freezing split great quantities from the mass and when there is a strong wind from the opposite direction the water is often lashed into a blood-red foam.

DWELLINGS.

The Nenenot live, both in summer and in winter, in deerskin tent, (see Fig. 114), which are constructed in the following manner: A suffi-

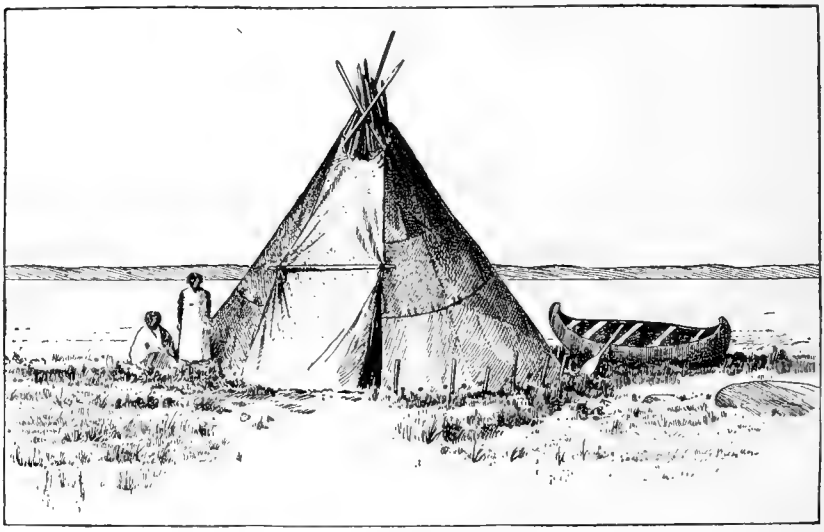


FIG. 114.—Nenenot Indian tent.

cient number of small poles cut from the woods are deprived of their branches and brought to the camp site. A location is selected and the poles are erected in a circle, with tops leaning toward the center so as to form a cone 10 to 14 feet in height, having a diameter at its base of

from 10 to 18 feet. The skins forming the cover are those of the reindeer, and those selected for this purpose are usually of an inferior grade. A sufficient number are sewed together to form a strip long enough to reach around the poles when set up. As the tents differ in size according to the number of people who occupy them, the skins sewed together may be from eight to twelve. The first strip is made for the lower part of the poles and is attached to them by means of strings fastened within. A second strip is made to go around the upper part of the poles, and is, of course, correspondingly shorter. It is placed last so as to overlap the lower breadth and thus prevent rain and snow from blowing in. The door is usually made of one large skin or two smaller ones. It is tied to the poles at the upper corners and at the lower has a small log of wood as a weight to prevent it from flapping. The poles at the apex are not covered and through them the smoke from the fire built in the center within ascends and finds exit.

The interior of the tent is arranged to suit the occupants. The floor is usually covered with the branches of young spruce, and when carefully laid these form an admirable protection from the cold ground and a soft carpeting.

The women who lay this flooring display great taste, and certain of them are noted for their skill in disposing the branches. The center of the tent is reserved for the fire which is built there among a few stones.

The occupants arrange themselves according to the importance of the place they occupy in the family. The owner or head man is always to be found on the side opposite the fire. This is considered a place of honor, to which all guests who are to be complimented are invited to a seat.

The other members of the group arrange themselves along the sides of the tent, and those who have been adopted into the family occupy positions next the doorway.

Over the fire may be poles reaching across the tent, and on these will be suspended kettles and pots obtained from the traders. The cooking utensils are few in number, one vessel serving various purposes.

The hunting gear and the skins of animals, together with the articles belonging to the females may be seen suspended from various portions of the interior. Around the edges are the blankets of deerskin, and those bought from the traders, lying in disorder. The outer edge of the interior is slightly raised above the center, and affords a convenient slope for those who desire to sleep. The occupants always sleep with their feet toward the fireplace, around which there is no brush, lest it be set on fire during sleep and destroy the tent.

They have regular hours for sleeping, but as these are only for a period of short duration, it is not unusual to find half the inmates asleep at any time a tent is visited.

The preparation of the food appears to go on at all times, and there

are no regular hours for partaking of their meals, as each person eats when convenient. The food is taken directly from the pot or kettle, and each one helps himself. Forks are not used, and the food is divided with a knife or torn with the fingers.

SWEAT HOUSES.

The Nenenot are in the habit of taking steam baths, for which purpose they use a sudatory or sweat house, constructed as follows: A number of flexible poles of small size, usually willow or alder, which grow to sufficient size along the banks of the streams, are bent to form a hemispherical or dome-shaped structure, which is covered with tent skins. A sandy locality is selected or one free from snow in winter, and a fierce fire is built. When it is well under way a number of stones are thrown into the fire to heat. When the heat is sufficient the fire is removed and the structure is quickly erected over the hot stones and some one from the outside fastens down the edges of the tenting with stones to prevent the loss of heat. A kettle of water previously placed within the bath house is used to pour over the stones, when heat rises to a suffocating degree and produces the desired perspiration. Water is not used to bathe in, though sometimes a slight quantity is poured upon the head only. The bather remains within the hut until the heat has nearly exhausted him.

These baths are frequently taken, and often when he has just started on a journey the head of the family will be seized with a desire to have a bath. Everything must await this operation before the journey is resumed.

An amusing incident occurred at Fort Chimo in the spring of 1882. That season the reindeer were extremely numerous at that place, as they were crossing to go to the northeast to drop the fawns. Often when the herds or bands were panic stricken they rushed among the Indian tents, the houses of the station, and, in fact, everywhere, with yelping dogs and screaming women and children at their heels. An old man and wife were in the sweat house at a time when a very large drove of the deer, in their frantic endeavors to escape their pursuers, headed directly for the bath. Some one screamed to the occupants to look out for the deer. The man and wife made their exit just as a score or more of the animals reached the spot. The man tore up the tenting of the bath house and whirled it in the air, while the old woman cut the most astonishing antics. The whole population witnessed the occurrence and did not fail to help increase the tumult. Signs of former sudatories are quite common along the paths where the Indians have traveled for many years.

HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS, ETC.

Each household is supplied with sundry wooden vessels of various sizes (Fig. 115) which serve for buckets for holding water and for drink-

ing cups. They are made of strips of thin boards cut from spruce or from larch trees, the wider strips being as much as six inches wide and one-third of an inch thick. They are steamed and bent into ovoid or circular forms and the ends of the strip overlapping. Then they are sewed with split roots from those trees. A groove is cut near the lower edge and into it is placed a dish-shaped piece of wood for a bottom.

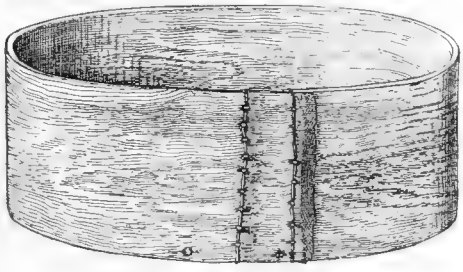


FIG. 115.—Wooden bucket, Nenenot.

These vessels are identical in shape and function with those manufactured by the Yukon river Indians of Alaska.

They also use berry-dishes or baskets like Fig. 116 made from the bark of the spruce peeled in the spring of the year. At this time the bark is quite flexible and may be bent into the desired shape. The corners are sewed with coarse roots from the same tree and the rim is strengthened by a strip of root sewed over and around it by means of a finer strand. These baskets serve a good purpose when the women are picking berries, of which they are inordinately fond; and during that season it is a rarity to see a woman or man without a mouth stained the peculiar blue color which these berries impart.

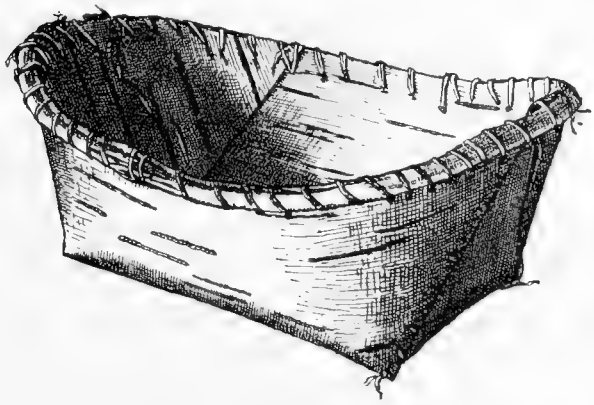


FIG. 116.—Birchbark basket, Nenenot.

Baskets of this shape frequently have a top of buckskin sewed to them, closed with a drawstring, as shown in Fig. 117 (No. 3485). Such things serve to hold trinkets and other small articles.

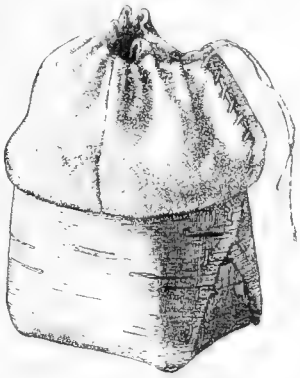


FIG. 117.—Birchbark basket, Nenenot.

Large objects are carried in bags, either long or basket-shaped, made of the skins of deer legs. The leg skins are scraped and worked to a moderate degree of pliability and their edges sewed together until a sufficient number have been joined to make the bag of the re-

quired size. This bag is used to hold the clothing, furs, and other valuables. When on a trip they are invariably carried. If the journey be performed on foot the two ends are tied with a thong and the bag thrown over the shoulder.

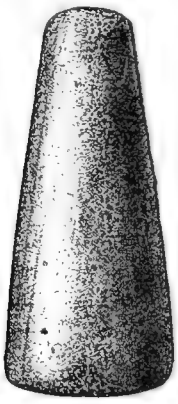


FIG. 118.—Stone pestle, Nenenot.

In preparing food stone pestles of various sizes were formerly used of the shape shown in Fig. 118. These pestles are now mostly out of date and superseded by cast-iron ones with steel faces, procured from the traders. The metal pounders, however, are so heavy that they are objectionable to people who have to make their burdens on the portages as light as possible.

Spoons to lift pieces of floating meat from the hot liquor in which it is cooked, are made of reindeer antler and of wood. The pattern of these spoons is shown in the figures (Fig. 119). One shape (No. 3351, Figs. 120, 121, 122), was perhaps copied from a civilized ladle. Pots are suspended over the fire with pothooks of reindeer antler hung up by a loop of thong. These pothooks are also made of wood.

TOBACCO AND PIPES.



FIG. 119.—Wooden spoon or ladle, Nenenot.

Like all other Indians, these people are inordinately fond of tobacco for smoking, chewing, and snuff; the latter, however, is used only by aged individuals, especially the females, whose countenances show the effect in a manner quite disgusting. The men consider a supply of tobacco of as much importance as the supply of ammunition for the prosecution of the chase. The first request upon meeting an Indian is that you furnish him with a chew or a pipe full. Little satisfactory intercourse can be had with him until he is mollified by a gift of tobacco. The first thing that an Indian receives when arriving at the trading post is a clay pipe and a plug of tobacco. The pint of molasses and the three or four hard biscuit (which have received the local name of 'Canadian padlock," doubtless because they are so difficult to open), are of secondary consideration. When the spring arrivals are camped

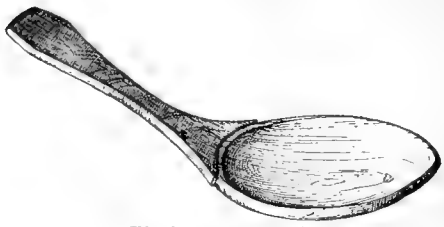
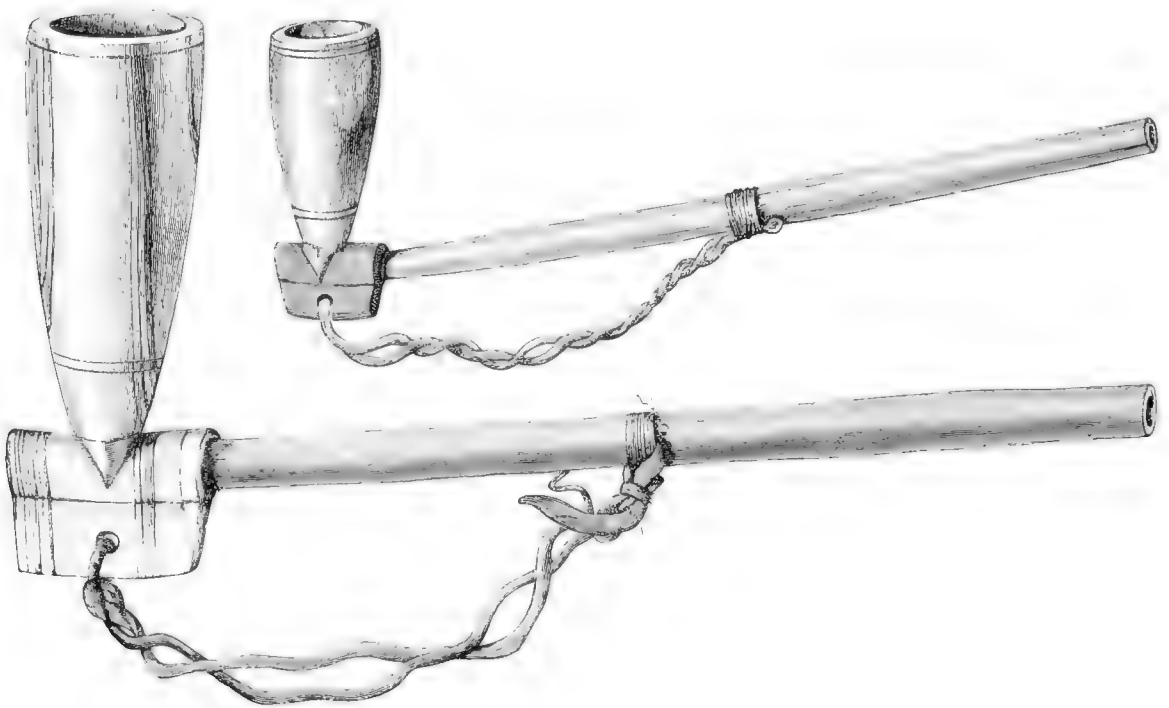


FIG. 120.—Wooden spoon or ladle, Nenenot.



STONE TOBACCO PIPES.

at the station it is not unusual for several to contribute a number of plugs of tobacco and a gallon of molasses. These are boiled together and then water is added to the mixture. This villainous compound is drunk until a state of stupefaction ensues. The muddled creature under the influence of that liquor seems like an idiot. The effect is terrible and does not wear away for several days. The pipes used for smoking are made of stone obtained from river pebbles, usually a fine-grained compact sandstone. The color of this stone varies from a dark reddish brown nearly the color of clotted blood to a lighter shade of that color. The red stones often have spots of every size and shape of a yellowish drab which form a strange contrast with the darker colors. The darker the stone the less spotting it will have. The best of all the pipes and those most valued are of greenish sandstone having strata of darker colors which appear as beautiful graining when the pipe is cut into form and polished.



FIG. 121.—Wooden spoon or ladle, Nenenot.

Other pipes are of hard slate and very dark without markings. All the material is hard and the effect of the fire within renders them harder and liable to crack if used in very cold weather. These pipes vary but little in shape (I have figured three—Pl. XXXVIII and Fig. 123—to show the pattern), but there is considerable difference in size. The largest ones are made of the green stone, while the smaller ones are made of other stones. The stem is of spruce wood and is prepared by boring a small hole through the stick lengthwise and whittling it down to the required size. It is from 4 to 8 inches long and is often ornamented with a band of many colored beads.



FIG. 122.—Wooden spoon or ladle, Nenenot.

The rough stone for a pipe is selected and chipped into crude form. The successive operations of wearing it down to the desired size are accomplished by means of a coarse file or a harder stone. The amount of labor bestowed upon a pipe consumes several days' time before the final polish is given.

The value set upon these pipes is according to the color of the stone, as much as the amount of labor expended in making them. They are always filthy, partly on account of the bad quality of tobacco used. The ashes and other accumulations within are removed by means of a bodkin-shaped instrument of bone or horn. The back of a broken horn comb is a favorite material for making a decorated pipe-cleaner (Fig.

124). The ornamentations consist of cruciform and quadrate figures on the handle. The tobacco used for smoking is the commonest black plug of very inferior quality, soaked with molasses and licorice. This moist tobacco is cut into pieces and a coal of fire placed upon it. They prefer this quality, and purchase the lighter and drier kinds only to serve as kindling for the darker sort.

They do not know how to brew or ferment liquors of any kind, and as the importation of intoxicants is wisely prohibited, the native has no opportunity to indulge in his craving for liquors, the supply of which was plentiful in former years. A spruce beer is made by the servants of the company for the holidays, and a taste is sometimes given to a



FIG. 123.—Stone tobacco pipe.



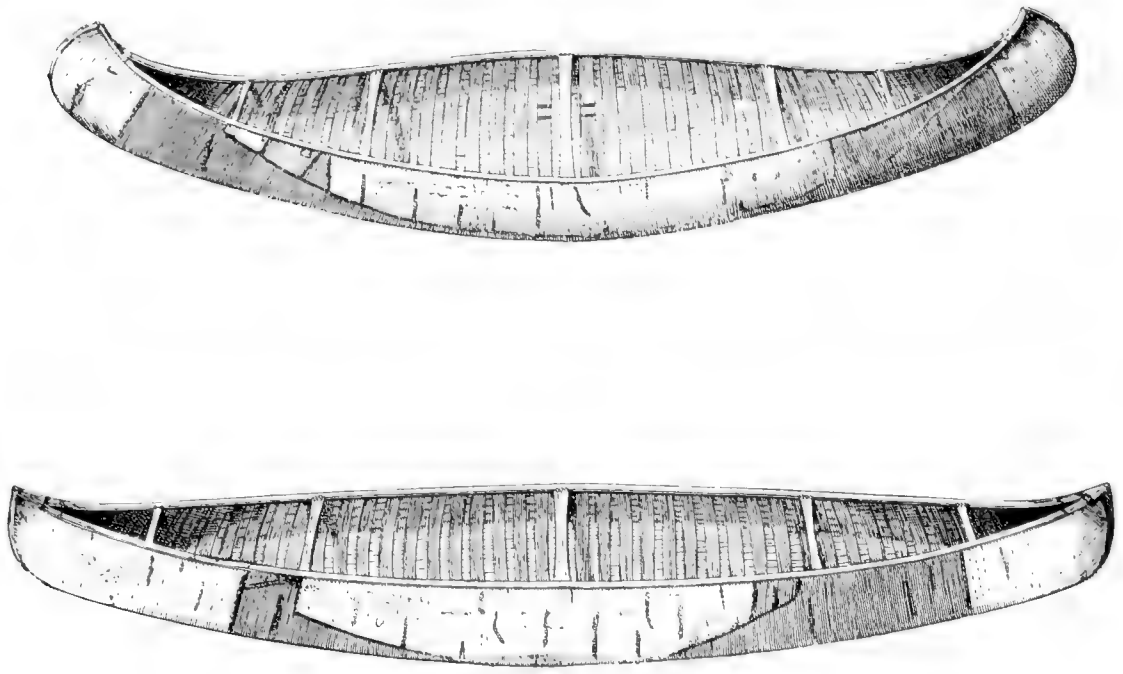
FIG. 124.—Pipe cleaner, Nenenot.

favorite Indian, who is so easily affected that a pint of this mild beer will send him reeling and happy to his tent, where it soon becomes known that beer is to be had. The importunities for drink are now so frequent, that the barrel must be emptied of its contents in order to avoid the constant beggings for it.

MEANS OF TRANSPORTATION.

BY WATER.

All the Indians of this region use birch-bark canoes, of the pattern shown in the figure (Pl. XXXIX, from a photograph; the collection also contains six wooden models of these canoes). The style of canoe used by the Little Whale river Indians of the eastern side of Hudson bay has very much more sheer at the bow and stern than those used in the



BIRCH-BARK CANOE, NENENOT, KOKSOAK RIVER PATTERN.

valley of the Koksoak. The canoe of each individual differs from others according to the personal taste or need of the maker. The requirements are that the canoe shall be able to transport himself and family, together with the household property, whenever it is desired to change camps. Some of the canoes are small, others large, often possessed by two or more individuals in common.

These canoes are constructed in the following manner: Trees are selected which when split will afford a number of straight-grained slats free from knots. These slats are shaved to the required thickness and laid aside to season. They are 3 or 4 inches wide and less than one-third of an inch in thickness. The exterior or longitudinal strips are placed so that their edges will touch each other. The inside strips or ribs are placed about their own width apart, and of course are placed at right angles to the longitudinal slats. They are thinner than the side strips and become almost like shavings at the bow and stern. The two layers of slats form a kind of shell upon which the skin of bark fits tightly. The first process with the bark is to free it from the outside scaling layers; the next is to soak it for several days in fresh water to soften it; otherwise, when dry it would crack like an eggshell. When it has macerated a sufficient time it is taken out and laid over a form of clay or other earth, which has previously been roughly molded to the shape of the interior of the canoe. The bark is now sewed along the edges of the strips with roots of the spruce tree. These are long and tough, and resemble splits of rattan when properly prepared for the purpose by splitting and shaving with a knife. Various sizes of these roots are used for the different portions. The threads are also soaked in water until they become so flexible that they may be tied into a knot without breaking.

When the bark skin rudely conforms to the shape of the mold of earth, the rails or round strips of wood along the inner edge of the canoe are placed in position and the ends of the bark strips laid over it and sewed. A second rail is now laid upon the first and drawn down to it by means of the root thongs. A piece of wood is shaped for the bow and one for the stern and inserted in position, and the end seams of the canoe are sewed over these pieces.

The interior is then ready for the longitudinal strips, which are placed at the bottom first and gradually built up on each side until the rails are reached. The ribs or transverse strips are next placed in position. Five or more crosspieces, or thwarts, are fastened to the side rails to give stiffness to the sides and to prevent collapsing, and they may be set either below or above the rail. The greatest care must be exercised to give to both sides of the canoe the same shape and to have the keel evenly balanced. This is rudely regulated by the eye during the process of construction. After all the strips are put in, the boat is allowed to season and dry. This causes the bark to shrink, and while drying the whole is frequently inspected to discover any splits or cracks in

the bark. The Indian often wets the canoe, lest it dry too rapidly and split under the tension. When the form and make are satisfactory the seams are smeared with a mixture of spruce gum (or resin bought from the traders'), mixed with seal oil to render it less easily broken. This mixture is while hot laid upon the dry surface with a small paddle.

After the gum has seasoned for a day or so the canoe is put upon the water and tested for its speed and seaworthiness. All leaks and needed repairs are immediately attended to, and it is at length ready for use.



FIG. 125.—Spoon for applying grease to canoe.

Many persons have not the skill needed to construct a canoe, and they employ those who have had experience and are known to build an excellent boat.

There are two kinds of canoes in use among those Indians, differing only in the shape of the stern and prow. The original form was nearly flat along the rails and had the bow and stern but little turned up. Of later years intercourse with some of their neighbors has induced them to modify the nearly straight edge canoe into an intermediate shape between their own and that of the East Main Indians, whose canoes are very much turned up, and are acknowledged to be far superior vessels to those of the Ungava Indians.

As the forests in the vicinity of Fort Chimo do not contain birch trees, and none are found until the headwaters of the Koksoak are reached, where they are too small to afford bark of sufficient size and thickness, the Indians are compelled to procure the bark from the traders, who import it from the St. Lawrence river and gulf stations to Fort Chimo. It comes in bundles large enough to cover a single canoe of moderate size. If a canoe is to be very large two bundles are required. The value of a black fox skin purchases a bundle of bark.

During the spring months, while the weather is somewhat warm, the men are engaged in preparing the strips and bark for the canoe which is to convey them up the river when the ice breaks and the river is open for navigation.

The paddle has a single blade with a handle scarcely more than half the length of the paddle. It is used with both hands, the strokes being given on alternate sides as it glides through the water.

When it is necessary that a portage be made the voyager takes the canoe upon his shoulders by letting one of the center thwarts rest on the back of the neck. The hands are thrown backward to hold up the end of the canoe from the ground. A headband, such as I have already described, of birch bark or cloth, often fancifully ornamented with

beads, fits over the forehead and is attached to the sides of the canoe by means of thongs, which prevent the canoe from slipping off the shoulders as the porter quickly traverses the narrow pathway through the trees and bushes. The ground is often so uneven and rough that long detours have to be made by the porter, while the rest of the party may go a shorter path to the place where the canoe will again be placed in the water. A part of the necessary equipments for a trip in a canoe are pieces of bark, root threads, and gum to repair any damage resulting from an accidental contact with a stone or snag.

Without the birch-bark canoe the Indian would have difficulty in obtaining his living, as it is even more necessary than the sled, and nearly as useful as the snowshoe.

The paddles used with these canoes are about 5 feet long, having a blade about 30 inches long and 4½ wide. The handle terminates in a sort of knob. The paddle referred to, for applying the gum and grease to the seams of the canoe, has the shape of a flattened spoon with rounded bowl (Fig. 125). The gum is heated, and while hot is poured along the seams and pressed into the interstices of the stitches with the paddle. When a patch is to be applied over a fracture or broken place in the bark, it may be made to adhere by the sticky properties of the gum alone, if the distance to be traveled is not great. A fire is then made and the wax heated; the piece of bark is edged with the gum and pressed firmly over the rent. A second coat is applied over the edges of the bark, after the first has become cold. A few minutes suffice to repair an apparently alarming hole.

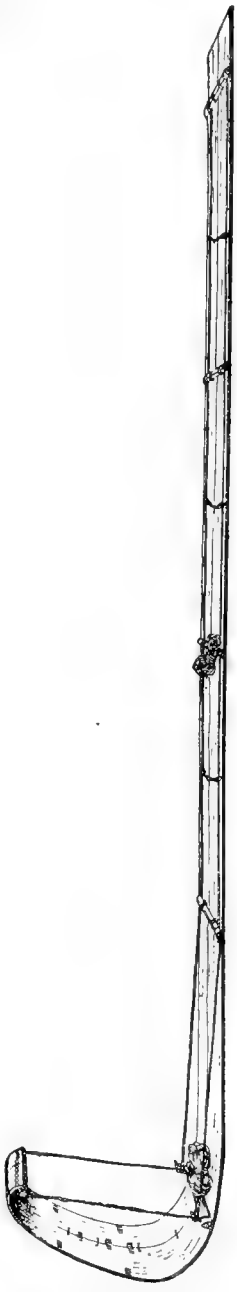


FIG. 126.—Toboggan, Nenenot, side view.

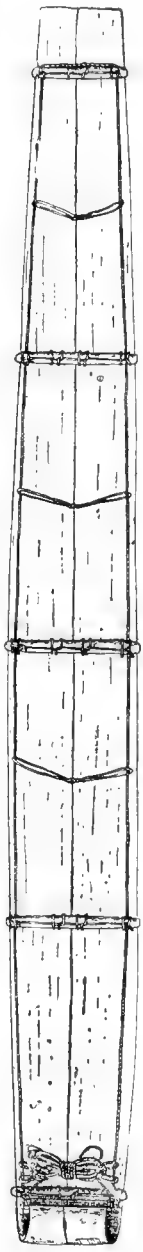


FIG. 127.—Toboggan, Nenenot, from above.

BY LAND.

For carrying loads over the snow all the Indians of this region use large sleds (Figs. 126, 127) called tá-bas-kán, which is a word equivalent to the well known name "toboggan." These sleds, as used among the Indians under consideration, differ very greatly in size according to the use for which they are designed.

The method of construction is as follows: A tree is selected as free from knots as possible and two boards of less than an inch in thickness are hewed or split from it. These boards are further dressed to the required thickness and width. The final operation consists in shaving them down with a "crooked knife" to little more than half an inch in thickness. One edge of each board is then straightened and the two edges placed together. The length is rarely more than 13 feet. The front end is steamed or heated in a kettle of hot water until the boards become flexible. The ends are turned up to the desired curve and then bent over at the end, where they are held in position by a transverse bar of wood. This bar is slightly concave on the side next the sled and gives the nose a curved shape. The curved portion of the front may rise as much as 18 inches above the surface over which the sled travels. At the place where the curve begins a second transverse bar is placed, and at a distance behind it a third, fourth, and fifth bars are fastened. Sometimes an additional bar is to be found on the upper side of the bottom. These bars are all fastened to the two bottom boards by means of thongs of parchment deerskin, and run through holes on the bottom boards. On the under side the thongs are let into places cut out between the two holes, so that the thongs will not be worn when passing over the snow. They are usually fastened in four places, one at each end of the bar and one on each side of the crevice between the edges of the two boards. From the nose of the first bar run a pair of very stout thongs or else twisted sinew, which are drawn tight enough to prevent the nose and curve from straightening out. From the end of the first

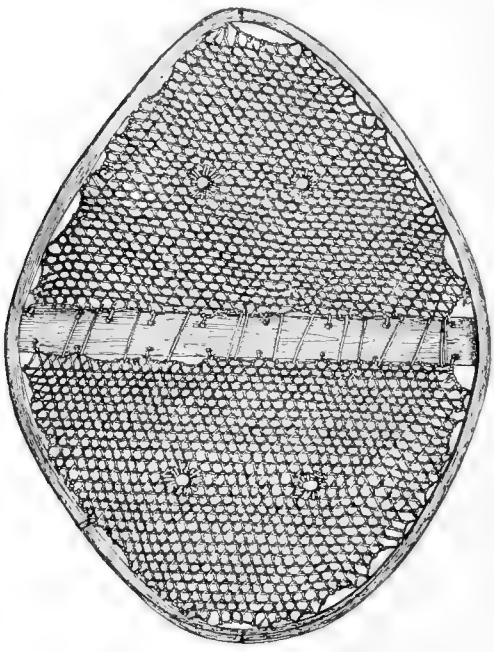
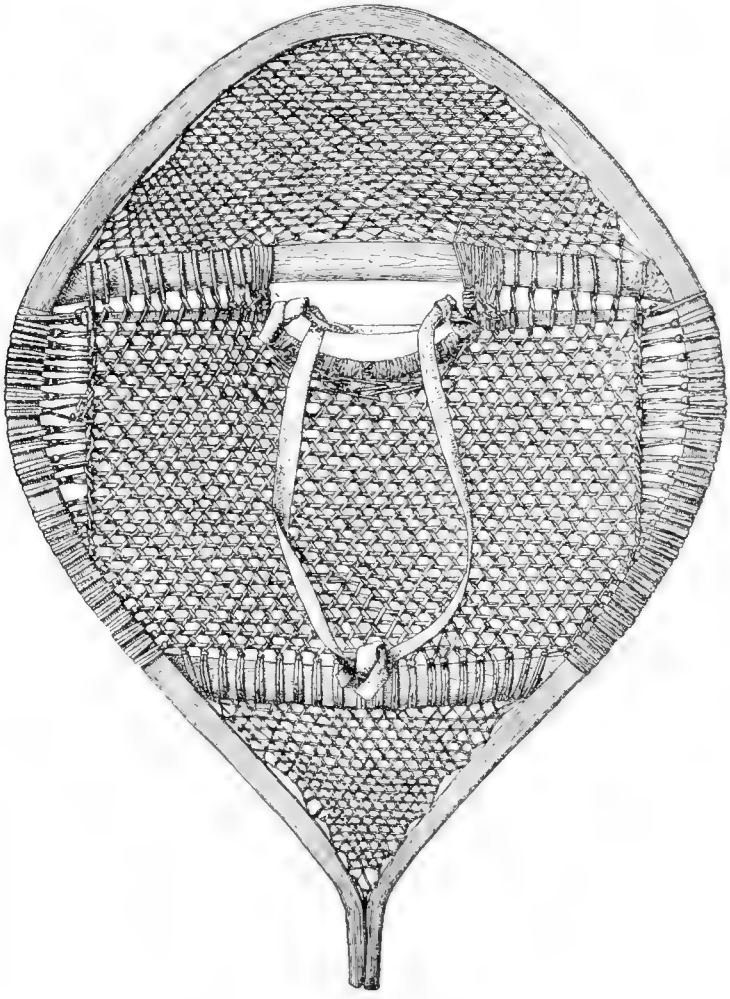


FIG. 128.—Nenenot snowshoe, single bar.



NENENOT SNOWSHOE—"SWALLOW-TAIL."

bar to the last one on the heel of the sled is run a stout twisted thong under the end of each bar, which there has a notch cut on the under side for the line to pass through. This line serves to strengthen the sides and prevent the two boards from slipping past each other when passing over inequalities of the ground. At the ends of the first bar and connected with the side lines are two long stout thongs of twisted skin, often 25 feet long. These are used as traces, by which the sled is dragged. The shape of the bottom is often fashioned after all the remainder of the work has been done. The width of the nose is rarely more than 9 inches; at the first bar it is about 14 inches and as much as 18 inches between the first and second bars. From the widest part to the heel it gradually narrows to a width of 5 to 7 inches.

Two boards are used, as one of sufficient width could not be obtained from the forests of that region. Besides, a single board would certainly split, while two obviate this danger and render the sled less stiff. In passing over rough places the sled must bend to conform to inequalities or else it would break. In the construction of this vehicle the Indian displays much skill and a perfect knowledge of the requirements of the case. The load is placed so as to dispose the weight on that portion which will bear chiefly on the ground. The great length of the sled enables the person to guide it more readily.

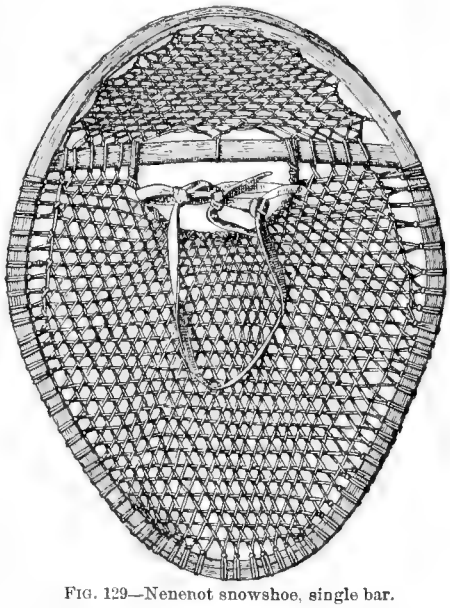


FIG. 129—Nenenot snowshoe, single bar.

When on a journey the younger women and the men drag it along. When the men return to the station to trade they alone drag it. A small dog is sometimes hitched to it by a thong, but as the animal is so small and light, it affords but little assistance. The animal, however, would certainly wander off in search of game along the track, and by being hitched to the sled is kept within bounds.

All the household effects, consisting of tent, cooking utensils, clothing, and other articles are placed on the sled when the people are changing camp.

The Nenenot are skilled in the manufacture and use of snowshoes, of which four styles are used, viz: The "swallow-tail," "beaver-tail," "round-end," and "single-bar" (Figs. 128, 129). The frame is of wood, nearly an inch wide and half an inch thick, usually in two pieces, joined

by long lap splices wrapped with deerskin thongs, either at the sides or ends of the shoe. In the single-bar shoe the frame is on one slip, spliced at the toe. Birch is the favorite material for snowshoes, but is rarely to be had except by those Indians who ascend the Koksoak to its headwaters, so that spruce and larch are generally used.



Fig. 130.—Snowshoe needle, Nenenot.

The arrangement of the toe and heel bars of the snowshoes will be best understood from the figures. They are usually placed within the frame, and set in mortises in the inner side of the frame, before the wrapping of the ends of the frames has been drawn together; otherwise the bars could not be placed in the holes to receive them.

The netting is made of deerskin, with the hair removed, and allowed to dry into a condition usually known as parchment. This is cut into strips of variable width, depending on the particular use for which it is wanted.

A needle of bone, horn, or iron (Fig. 130) is used for netting the snowshoes. The shape of the implement is flat and rounded at each point, to enable the needle to be used either backward or forward. The eye which carries the line is in the middle. Various sizes of needles are used for the different kinds of netting, of which the meshes differ greatly in size.

The line is generally 10 to 20 feet in length, and when the netting is completed it somewhat resembles the seating of a cane-bottomed chair. Each individual varies his work according to fancy, but as the netting between the bars is made of coarser line, more compactly woven, there is less difference there than at the toe or heel.

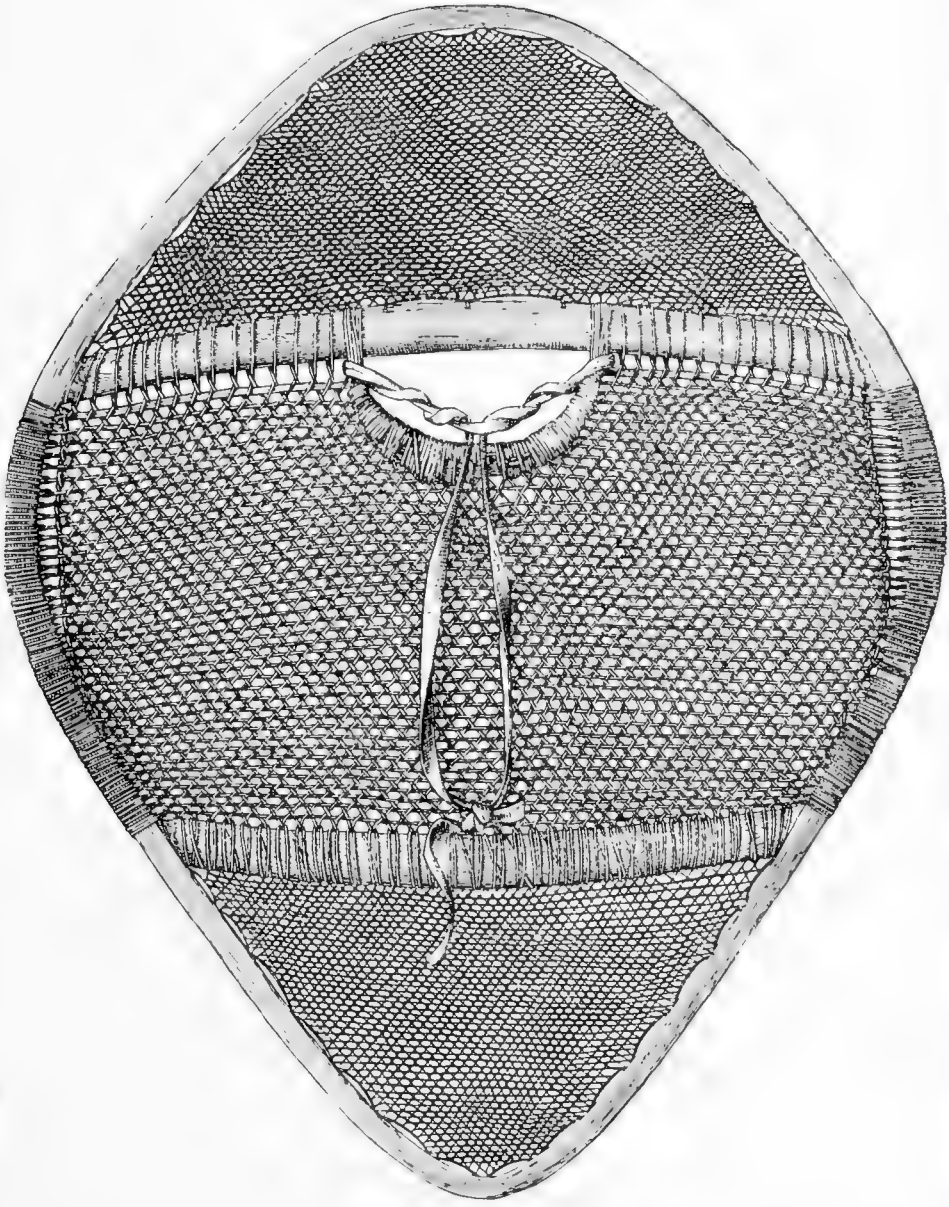
The netting of the toe is of finer line and meshes than the middle or between the bars; while that between the heel bar and heel of the snowshoe is finest of all.

The netting between the bars holds the joints of the frames where they lap over each other.

The toe and heel spaces of netting are held in place by the line passing under the threads which are wrapped around the bars from the netting between them, and again are fastened or slipped through loops of thread or line which are let through the frame of the snowshoe.

Near the center of the toe-bar is a space left in the netting between the bars to admit the toes of the wearer and allow them free action while walking. This space is semicircular and is inclosed by several strands of line passing over the toe-bar and forming loops, which have the diagonal lines of the netting passed around them and drawn tight.

The snowshoe is held to the foot by a wide buckskin thong attached at the semicircular space back of the toe-bar. The ends must be far



NENENOT SNOWSHOE "BEAVER-TAIL."

enough apart to admit the width of the foot as far as the toes, and must be then drawn down to prevent the foot from pushing too far forward and striking against the toe-bar. The loop passing over the toes must be slack enough to allow free movement of the foot. When the strap suits the foot it is passed around the heel of the wearer and tied sufficiently tight to give ease and comfort. If too tight, the weight soon presses the tendon of the heel. If too loose, it drops down and the toe slips from under the toe band.

The single-bar snowshoes are not much used, because they are somewhat difficult to make. They are of two styles. One has the bar directly under the center of the foot. It is wide, and should be strong enough to sustain the weight of any wearer. The other style is where the single bar is at the front of the toes, which pattern differs from

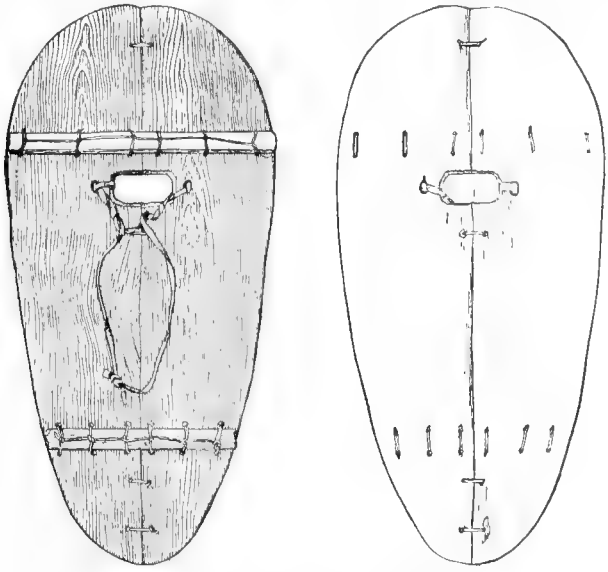


FIG. 131.—Wooden snowshoe, Little Whale river.

the "beaver-tail" style only in the absence of the heel bar. This pattern is considered the easiest of all to wear and walk in when once learned. The foot straps are exactly like those of the common kinds.

The single bar in the middle of the snowshoe renders it a matter of great discomfort until one is accustomed to it, as the straps are simply loops for the toe and heel. This pattern has been already figured. The largest snowshoes measure as much as 28 inches across and 3 feet in length.

Some of the Indians acquire great expertness in the use of these snowshoes, and are able to run quite rapidly with them. The width of the shoes causes one to straddle widely to allow one snowshoe to pass above and over the other. Care must be exercised that while bringing the rear foot forward the frame does not strike the ankle and produce a serious bruise. In ascending a hill the toe must elevate the snow-

shoe to avoid a stumble. In descending the body must be thrown well back or a pitch heels over head ensues, and sometimes the frames strike the back of the head.

To put them on the feet the foot must enter the loop from forward toward the rear, and when the loop is on the foot the latter must be turned within the loop and then passed under the toe band.

Everybody wears snowshoes—men, women, and children. Without them travel in winter would be an impossibility, and as the capture of furs is made in winter and the ground to be hunted over must of necessity be of great area, the snowshoe becomes a necessity as much as the canoe in summer.

I collected two peculiar pairs of snowshoes, made of flat spruce boards (Fig. 131). They are shaped exactly like netted snowshoes of the "beaver tail" pattern, and the arrangement of the foot strap is the same as usual.

They came from the Little Whale river Indians, who informed me that they were worn on soft snow.

In the spring of the year, when the snow is rapidly melted by sun, the netted snowshoes become clogged with slush, rendering the weight very fatiguing. Wooden snowshoes are admirably adapted for that season of the year, and may be made in a few hours, while the netted ones require several days' assiduous labor. The Indians of the Koksoak valley do not use the wooden snowshoes.



Fig. 132—Bow, Nenenot.

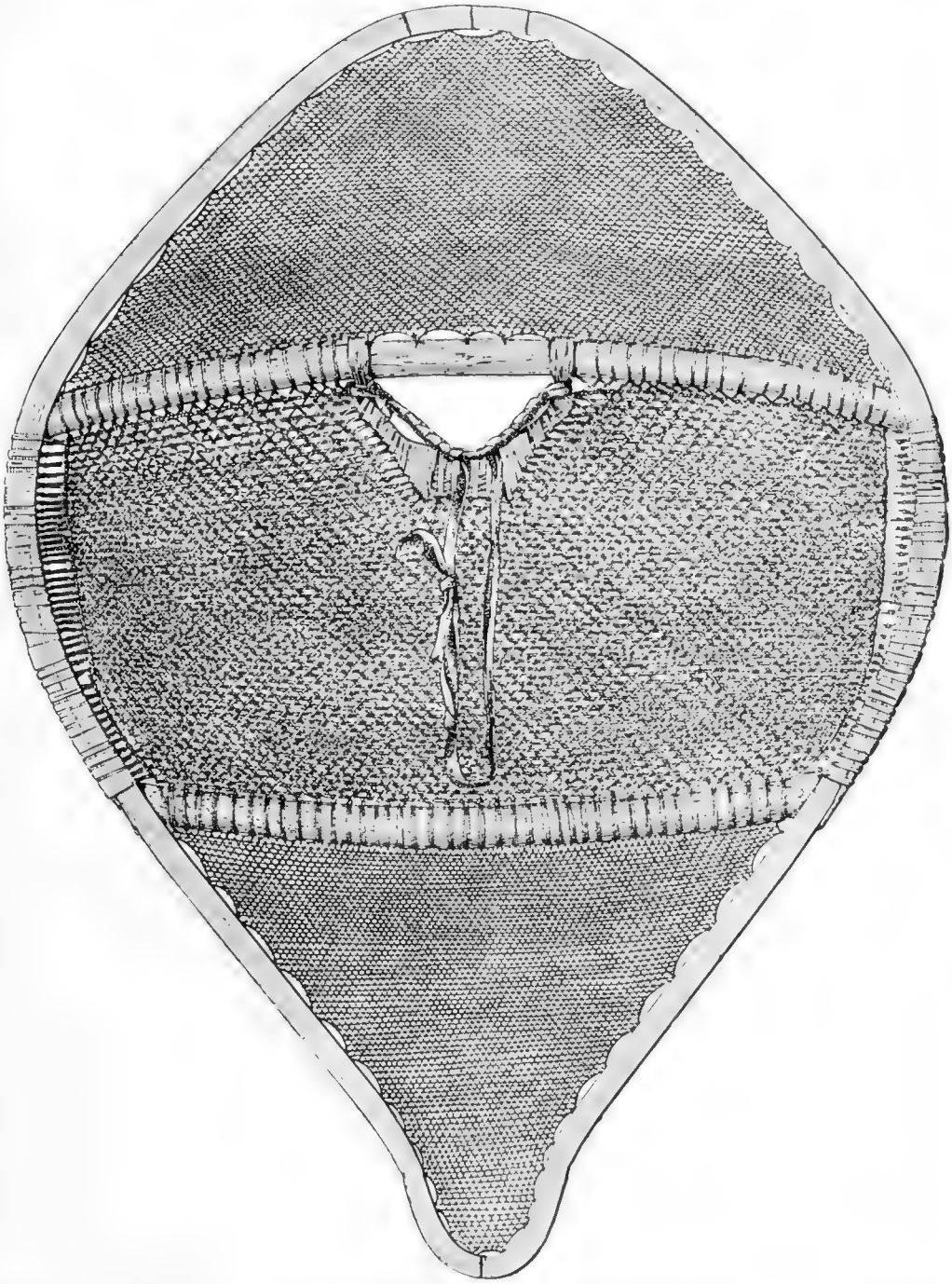
WEAPONS.

In former times these Indians used the bow and arrow exclusively, but they have now nearly discarded these weapons for the guns which they procure from the traders.

The bow and arrow is, however, still used to kill ptarmigan, hares, and rabbits. The bow (Fig. 132) consists of a piece of larch or spruce wood of 4 to 6 feet in length. It is only slightly narrower and thinner at the ends, and nearly an inch thick and an inch and a half wide at the central portions. But little ingenuity is displayed in the construction of these weapons. They have considerable elasticity, and if broken it is easy to obtain a piece of wood from the forest and fashion another. The string is a strand of deerskin, twisted or rolled. It is rare to find a bow that has a single string.

The arrows are usually 2 feet or 30 inches long, and feathered with three ptarmigan feathers. (Figs. 133–136.) The head is usually an egg-shaped knob, terminating in a slender point which soon breaks off.

This weapon is used for small game, as the cost of ammunition is too great to spend it upon game as readily procured



NENENOT SNOWSHOE—"ROUND-END."

by this cheaper method. The Indian is very expert in the use of the bow and arrow, and is able to knock over a ptarmigan or crouching hare every time at 25 yards. The force with which the arrow is projected is astonishing. I have seen a ptarmigan rolled for many yards amid a perfect cloud of feathers when struck by the arrow. It often tears the entire side out of the bird.

In former years the arrow did great execution among the deer in the water or deep snow banks among which they floundered when driven into them by the Indian who, on snowshoes, was able to travel where the deer sank nearly out of sight.



FIG. 133.—Arrow, Nenenot.



FIG. 134.—Arrow, Nenenot.



FIG. 135.—Arrow, Nenenot,



FIG. 136.—Arrow, Nenenot.

Among the Indian boys it is yet a favorite amusement to shoot small birds with the bow and arrow Small crossbows also are used by children. They have doubtless been made after those brought by some white man. The children have great sport with these bows.

The spear, already referred to, for killing the swimming reindeer, is shown in Fig. 137. The wooden shaft is 6 feet long, and the steel point, which is made of a flat file beaten down to a quarter of an inch square, is 11 inches long. It is set into the end of the shaft and fastended by a whipping of sinew.

The weapon is held by the hand in a manner peculiar as well as uncomfortable. The closed hand over the butt end of the weapon is so

placed as to have the fingers upward and the outside of the hand toward the point, this rather awkward grasp enables the person to let go of the weapon in case of threatened disaster resulting from a misdirected thrust. The collection also contains three models of deer spears, Nos. 3205–3207. These are often also used as arrows to shoot at larger game when the Indian is out hunting ptarmigan, hares, and rabbits. A hungry wolverene or a famished wolf would prove troublesome to kill with the blunt arrows. These models differ from the larger spear only in size.

The Little Whale river Indians use a peculiar spear for killing white whales. (Figs. 138, 139). It is modeled after the Eskimo harpoon, but has no "loose shaft," or



FIG. 137.—Deer lance, Nenenot.

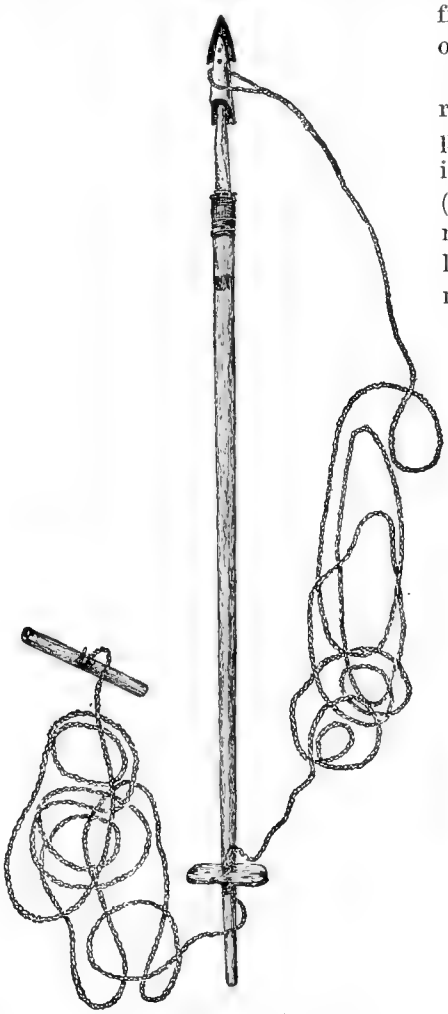


FIG. 138.—White whale spear, Little Whale river.



FIG. 139.—Point of white whale spear enlarged.

rather, the fore shaft and loose shaft are in one piece, and has a circular wooden disk fitted to the butt of the shaft, which takes the place of the bladder float, and serves to impede the motions of the animal when

struck. Reindeer antler is substituted for the ivory of the Eskimo weapon. The blades are of copper or iron and riveted in. These spears are 8 or 10 feet long.

The snare (Fig. 140) forms one of the less important methods of procuring these animals. It is of parchment made from the skin of the reindeer cut into thin narrow thongs. Several of these strands, usually three, are plaited together to form a layer; and of these layers three are plaited together to form the snare line. It often is made, however, of three single strands cut somewhat wider and creased so that they will lie well when the three are plaited. The more strands the greater the

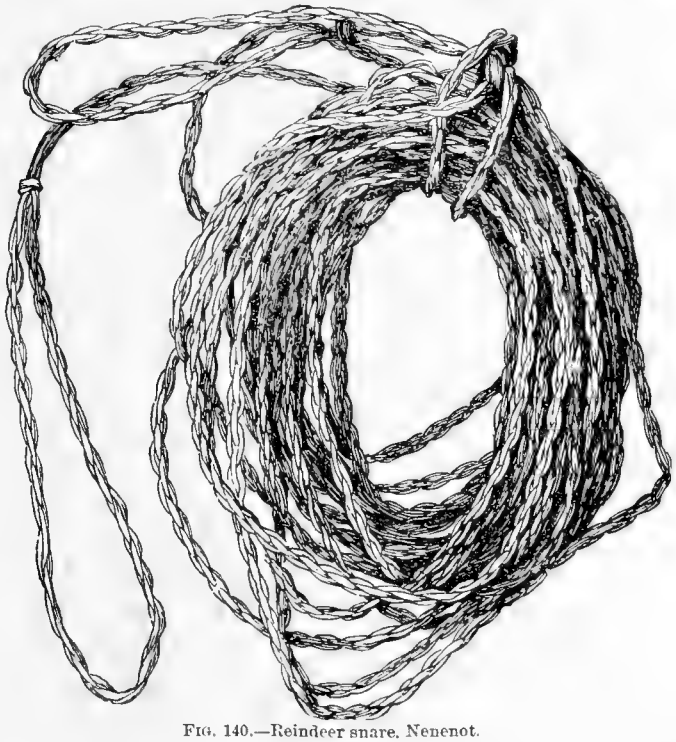


FIG. 140.—Reindeer snare. Nenenot.

flexibility of the line, but as there must be a certain amount of stiffness to hold it in position the many strands must be woven more tightly together. The length varies from 10 to 20 feet, and at the end is a loop formed by turning the strands back and splicing them. Through the loop the other end is passed, and the noose is made.

When a herd of deer is discovered in a favorable locality the people of the vicinity are informed and hasty preparations are made.

The effort is to cause the deer to pass through a narrow defile containing bushes. The snares are then placed in position by tying the free end of the line to a suitable tree and suspending the noose where the heads or antlers will become entangled. Some are placed so that when the foot is lifted the noose is carried along and tightens on it.

The people surround the animals, and at a given signal shout and create the greatest din, to confuse the creatures, which plunge toward the place where the snares are set. One or two hunters concealed in that locality appear suddenly and further confuse the now panic-stricken animals, which rush in every direction before their foes. They become immeshed in the nooses and are held until their throats are cut or they are choked by the cord.

It frequently happens that two deer will be caught in a single snare. The Indians assert that it is a most ludicrous sight to witness two sturdy bucks caught by the antlers in a single snare. They appear to accuse each other of the misfortune, and struggle terribly to free themselves. In the animals which are strangled by the noose the congested blood distends the veins and renders the flesh very dark.

Previous to the general use of guns the snaring method was of greater importance than at the present day. Even now the Indian does not lose any opportunity of employing the snare.

Some of the snares are made of tanned skin, which is softer and is often ornamented with strands of beads attached to the end of the line. Some of them are colored red, with a mixture of vermilion and hematite earths, thinned with water.

HUNTING.

I have already described the methods of hunting the reindeer and of capturing small game.

The beaver is not plentiful in the Ungava district, and not until the headwaters of the Koksoak and the lakes near the source of George's river are reached are they to be found at all, excepting occasional stragglers.

The Indians have few of the skins of this animal to sell at the trading post of Fort Chimo.

The methods of capture differ in some respects from those elsewhere employed.

The habits of the beaver are so well known that a statement of their manner of life is unnecessary.

The food supply north of latitude 55° is so limited in quality and quantity that the scarcity of the animals is due entirely to the absence of the food necessary for their existence.

When the dams and structures made by the beaver are discovered the people devise means to capture it.

If it is convenient to get at the holes leading to the structure, which are always under water so deep that it will not freeze to the bottom, they are closed with a stick of wood and an opening made in the top of the hut. The animal is then caught by the hind legs or tail and lifted out. It seldom attempts to defend itself at first. As soon as the hunter can do so he jerks the animal out, and with a blow on its head kills it. If he should pause for an instant from the time the hand is put on the

animal until the death blow is given, that very instant he certainly will be bitten with teeth so sharp and powerful that the fingers may be snipped from the hand as though with a pair of shears. The wound thus inflicted is often very severe and difficult to heal, as the bite is not only cutting but crushing.

Where the water can be drained from the pond or lake in which the beavers' hut is built, the Indians often leave it high and dry by damming off the supply and allowing the water to drain away. As soon as the house is out of water the occupant emerges and is killed. Beavers are sometimes shot while sporting on the water during moonlight nights.

Some of the animals are captured by means of a net of peculiar construction. This net is of fine deerskin thongs netted into a circle nearly 2 feet in diameter, with meshes about an inch square. The meshes in the outer row are threaded upon a stout thong of deerskin, in length about four times the diameter of the net. This thong is now tied at the ends, and over one end thus tied is slipped a ring made of spruce root and wound with sinew to strengthen it. This ring is about an inch in diameter, only sufficient to allow freedom of the ends of the line. It is fastened to one of the meshes of the net in order to keep its place.

Where the water is too deep and only a single beaver is in the lodge the net is carefully spread over the mouth of the exit so placed as to form a purse into which the head and neck of the animal will be thrust as it leaves the hut. The mouth of the purse now tightens from the ring slipping along the string, and thus strangles the animal or else causes it to drown as it struggles to escape from the tightening cord.

The net is said to be a very effective means of capturing the beaver and will succeed when it has become too wary to be shot on the surface of the water.

The flesh of the beaver is considered valuable food by these people. They prize it highly and prefer the flesh of the female to that of the male.



FIG. 141.—Crooked knife, Nenenot.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS, TOOLS, ETC.

One of the most important tools used by the Nenenot is the "crooked" knife (Fig. 141). These instruments are made from steel files or knife blades. They are of various sizes depending on the amount of material at hand. The Indian takes a piece of metal and grinds one side of it flat and smooth; the other is edged like a drawing knife. The blade is now heated and bent to the desired curve. Some are more bent than others and some have only the point bent to one side. The few left-

handed persons have the blade formed to suit themselves. It is set in a handle curved from the user and bent upward like the blade. At the end of the handle is generally to be found a thong on which a wooden button is placed for attachment to the belt, as no man ever goes off on a journey without this knife, however short may be the distance.

The handle is held in the hand at right angles or across the body and invariable drawn toward the user. It is employed for all purposes of whittling or shaving wood and one would be surprised to observe what large strips will separate when started with this apparently frail blade.

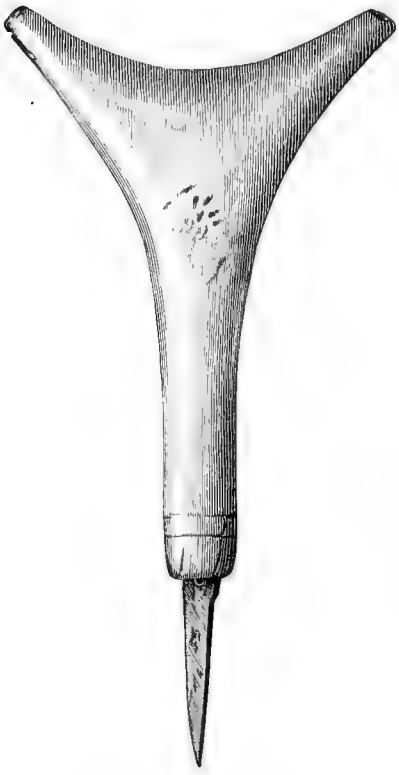


FIG. 142.—Awl, Nenenot.

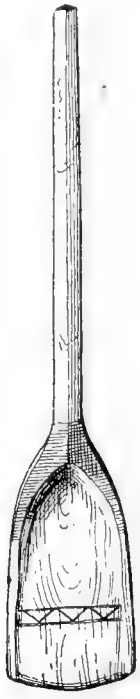


FIG. 143.—Snow shovel, Nenenot.



FIG. 144.—Ice-scoop, Nenenot.

The strips and slats of canoes, paddles, snowshoes, and in fact everything that can be cut from wood, are made with this knife. It requires much skill to guide the blade so as to cut the wood evenly; and to this end the thumb, which is placed upon the outer extremity of the handle, must steady the blade. The strain of the blade upon the handle is very great, and it must be securely held by means of stout thongs wrapped around it.

The crooked knife is a form of instrument in use among the Indians and Eskimo alike, and one of the few implements which those widely differing people have in common.

Awls (Fig. 142) are made of steel or iron. The back or spring of a pocketknife or a portion of a small file appears to be the favorite material for forming them. They are usually chisel-shaped and have rectangular corners. The handle into which the metal is fastened is generally of deer horn. The shape of the handle varies from a Y shape to that of a crescent.

These tools are constantly required for piercing holes in the various woods used in manufacture. Articles of simple construction the Indian prefers to make for himself, rather than pay an extortionate price to the trader. He is able to accomplish remarkable results with rude tools of his own make.

Snow shovels are made of wood and are much used, for during the winter, when the snows are constantly accumulating around the camps, the occupants necessarily remove some to form a pathway from the door of their tent, and as snow forms an admirable protection, it is thrown or banked up around their tents to prevent the wind from blowing under. In the spring nearly all the aged people carry one of the wooden shovels to clear away a path or as a help to walk while the slushy snow is so treacherous. Fig. 143 represents a common form of wooden snow shovel. These are often painted with vermillion or indigo.

Fig. 144 shows a special form of snow shovel designed for cleaning the ice from the holes through which the people fish. It usually has a blade made from the brow antler or one of the broad palms from the horns of the reindeer. The horn portion is attached to the wooden shaft or handle by means of thongs running through holes bored for that purpose.

The ice-picks (Fig. 145) used in times gone by were pieces of reindeer horn or bone, shaped like a narrow mortising chisel and attached to staffs of wood. The chisel or pick was fastened to the staff by means of stout thongs to prevent a side movement from the groove into which it was set. The upper end of the staff was at times shod with bone or horn so as to be available for a walking staff.

The ice-pick of the present day has a piece of iron or steel substituted for the horn or bone; but, being heavy, it is not so often carried from place to place. An Indian will in an incredibly short time pierce a hole through 3 feet thickness of ice with it. A white man can not equal them in this work.



FIG. 145.

Combs for the hair are purchased from the traders. They are highly prized and are kept in little birchbark bags. For cleaning out the dirt which collects on the comb the tail of a porcupine is used. The needles or spines are picked out of the tail, leaving the stiff, coarse hairs, which serve the purpose of cleaning the comb quite well. This tail is usually appended to the comb-case.

The natives sometimes make wooden combs like the one shown in Fig. 146, in imitation of those purchased.

After a woman's hair has been combed half of it is collected on each side of the head and rolled or wound up on small pieces of board (Fig. 147) similar in shape to the "winders" on which darning or knitting cord is wrapped. Strands of beads are now placed upon these to hold the hair in place.

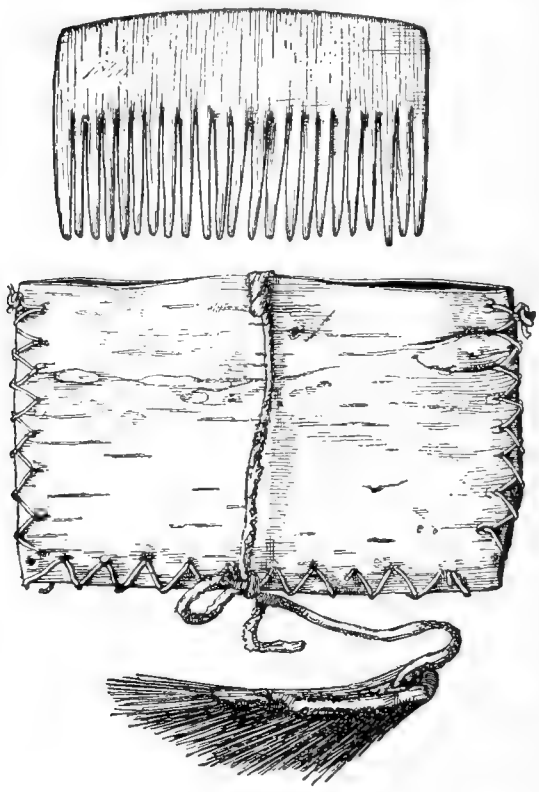


FIG. 146.—Comb, with birckbark case and cleaner.

A remarkable object is shown in Fig. 148. It is one of a pair of boards procured from one of the Little Whale river Indians, by whom they are used to assist in swimming. One board is held in each hand and used as a paddle to push the swimmer along. Indians able to swim are scarce. I have not seen these boards in use, and am not able personally to speak concerning their alleged function.

The fish-hook shown in Fig. 149 has a barb of steel or iron. It is on the smaller hooks made of one of the ribs of the larger trout.

AMUSEMENTS.

The boys have no consideration for the females of their own age, but treat them as inferiors and fit for nothing but to be subjects of almost constant annoyance and persecution. When a number of boys collect they are sure to maltreat the women, even those advanced in years, and appear to delight in any opportunity to subject them to the rudest mischief. If a woman ventures to peep from the tent in summer a shower

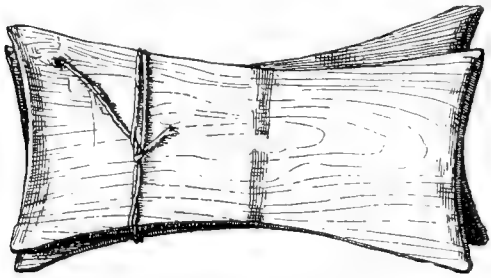


FIG. 147.—Boards for woman's hair.

of water is sure to be flung on her by some boy. In winter snowballing is equally annoying, and when parties of women go to the woods to get fuel the pack of boys is sure to waylay them as they return. If the boys can separate the women their fun is complete; their dresses are torn and their bundles of fuel scattered. They often retaliate, however, and strip the clothing from some unfortunate boy who is compelled to return to camp in a nude condition, much to the

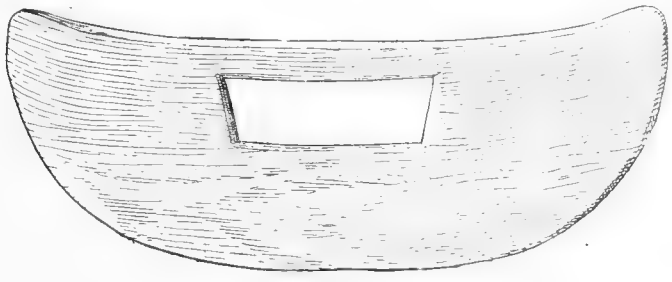


FIG. 148.—Swimming board.

amusement of the people. This form of disgrace appears to be the most severe which can be inflicted upon a male; and the jokes to which he is afterward subjected keep him the object of ridicule for many days.

Besides practical jokes upon women, running, jumping, wrestling, and practicing with the bow and other weapons suited to their age, appear to be the principal amusements of the boys. The girls have never been observed to play at games of any kind. Their chief occupation is to keep away from the boys. While walking out the girls generally toss stones or chips in the air and strive to keep at least two of them up at once. The Eskimo often practice this also, and, as it appears to be a general source of amusement among the Innuit, I suspect that the Indian borrowed it from them. Wrestling appears to be the principal test for physical strength and severe contests often engage the stronger individuals. They wrestle in the Eskimo fashion, and frequently indulge in trials of strength with these people. As would be expected, the stronger Eskimo are always the victors. All these contests, whether among themselves or with the Eskimo, are carried on with the best of good humor.



FIG. 149.—Fishhook and line.

FESTIVALS.

Feasts are given now and then to celebrate success in hunting and similar achievements.

In 1883 I was invited to attend a feast of furs to be given by one of the most energetic of the Indians. We repaired to the tents spread on the top of a high wall of rock a few rods from my house. As I approached the scene I observed a tent of different construction. It was nearly oval at its base and had a diameter of about 18 feet and a length of about 25 feet. The top was drawn to an apex resembling the common roof of a house. The entrance to the structure faced southeast. On a pole, supported with one end on the apex of the tent and the other resting on a post, were numbers of skins of various animals—wolves, wolverine, beaver, otter, foxes, and muskrat, together with a number of the finest reindeer skins. The sound of the drum was heard within the structure and as I approached the door the noise ceased. I paused and was invited to enter. Immediately two old men next the drummer moved to one side and motioned me to sit down on the pile of deerskins reserved for me. It was evident that the feast had been in progress for some time. Around the interior of the structure groups of men were idly disposed, some reclining and others standing. Not a word was spoken for some time, and this gave me opportunity to look around. The floor was covered with boughs from the neighboring spruce trees, arranged with unusual care, forming a soft carpeting for those seated within. I saw a number of piles of deerskins and several small heaps covered with cloth. To break the silence I inquired if the drum was tired. A smile greeted the inquiry. Immediately an old man came forward, tightened the snare of the drum, and arranged the string, suspending it from one of the tent poles at the proper height for use. He then dipped his fingers into a vessel of water and sprinkled a few drops on the membrane of the drum-head to prevent it from breaking under the blows to be delivered. The performer then seized the drumstick with the right hand and gave the membrane a few taps; the transverse cord of twisted sinew, holding the small cylinders of wood attached to it, repeated the vibration with increased emphasis. A song was begun and the drum beaten in rythm to the monotonous chant of o-ho, o-ho, etc. Three songs with tympanic accompaniment followed. The songs appeared alike and were easily learned. In the meanwhile the guests were treated to a strange-looking compound which had lain hidden beneath one of the cloths and is known as "pemmican." I was solicited to accept a piece. The previously assembled guests had either brought their own bowls and saucers to eat from or else appropr.ated those available. Not to be at a loss, one of the young men remarked that he would find one. From among the accumulated filth around one of the center poles supporting the structure a bowl was produced. The man coolly took the handkerchief which was tied around his forehead to keep his matted hair from his face and wiped out the interior of the

bowl, and placing a piece of the pemmican within it, handed it to the attendant whose duty it was to offer it to me.

I, however, found it quite inedible. Other guests constantly arrived and some departed, made happy by their share of this compound of rancid tallow and marrow with a due admixture of pounded dry meat of the reindeer. I soon departed, and attempted to take the remnant of the pemmican with me. This was instantly forbidden, and information given me that by so doing I should cause all the deer to desert the vicinity, and thus make the people starve. I explained that such was not my desire, and after wishing continued prosperity and enjoyment, I made my way out. I was then informed that the feast would continue for a time, and wind up with an invitation to the women, who had hitherto been excluded, to come and eat the remnants left by the men. At the end of two days thereafter the feast concluded and a dance took place. In this performance there was nothing remarkable. The men sang songs and kicked up their heels, while the women shrugged their shoulders as they swayed their bodies from right to left, and assumed various other postures, although their limbs were apparently kept in a rigid position, occasionally uttering their plaudits as the men made humorous compliments to their generous host.

This feast was given by one who had been unusually successful in the capture of fur-bearing animals, and, to prove his wealth, displayed it before the assemblage and gave a feast in consideration of his ability. Other feasts of a similar character occur, and differ from this in no special feature.

The principal source of amusement with the men is the game of draughts or checkers. While the men are in the tent or on the hillsides awaiting the approach of bands of deer their idle moments are employed over this game. Neither hunger nor the sight of game is sufficient to distract them, so intently are they absorbed.

The game is played as in civilization, with only slight differences. I am not aware that wages are laid upon its issue. Some of the men are so expert that they would rank as skillful players in any part of the world.

Small boards that may be carried in the hunting bag are used on trips to while away the tedium of the long winter evenings with only the light of the flickering fire of the dry limbs of spruce. Far into the night the players engage, and are only disturbed when one of their tired companions starts from his sleep to relate a wondrous dream and have it expounded by the listeners, who sit aghast at the revelations.

They also have a game corresponding to "cup and ball," but it is played with different implements from what the Eskimo use, as may be seen by referring to Fig. 150. The hollow cones are made from the terminal phalanges of the reindeer's foot. The tail tied to the end of the thong is that of a marten or a mink. The player holds the peg in one hand, and tossing up the bones tries to catch the nearest bone on the

point of the peg. The object of the game is to catch the bone the greatest possible number of times. It is in no sense a gambling game.

The only musical instrument used by these people is the drum or tambourine, which is of the form shown in Fig. 151. These drums vary



Fig. 150.—Cup-and-ball, Nenenot.

in diameter from 22 to 26 inches, and are constructed as follows: The barrel is made of a thin slat of spruce, bent into a hoop, with the ends joined in a lap, spliced nearly a foot long, which length is sewed by four perpendicular seams. The stitches are made with deerskin thread put through perforations, near together, made with an awl. The next operation is to prepare for a head a thin reindeer skin, which has been tanned. The skin is moistened and sewed so that all holes in it are closed. A narrow hoop of a size to fit tightly over the barrel of the drum is made and the moist skin stretched over it. The edges of the skin are turned inward, and within this hoop is placed the barrel of the drum.

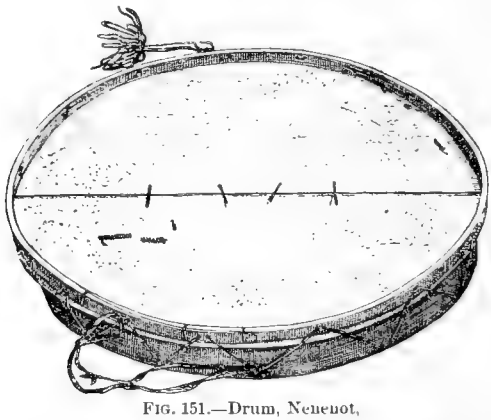


Fig. 151.—Drum, Nenenot.

A second hoop, two or three times as wide as the first, is prepared and fitted over the barrel and head. It is pushed down as far as the elasticity of the membrane will allow, or about half the width of the top hoop. Through the outer hoop have been made a number of holes and corresponding but alternate holes made in the farther edge of the barrel of the drum.

Through these holes a stout thong is threaded and passing from the edge of the barrel to the outer hoop is drawn so tightly as to push the inner hoop along the outer circumference of the barrel and thus tighten the membrane to the required degree. The outer hoop now projects an inch or more beyond the membrane and thus protects it from injury by careless handling.

Across the membrane is stretched a sinew cord on which are strung, at right angles to the cord, a number of barrels made from the quills of the wing feathers of the willow ptarmigan. Across the underside of the membrane is stretched a similar cord with quills. These serve the purpose of a snare on the drum. The stick used for beating the drum consists of a piece of reindeer horn cut so as to have a thin and narrow handle a foot in length and terminating in a knob more than an inch long and as thick as the portion of horn permits. The drum is suspended from the poles of the tent by means of thongs. The performer tightens the snares, and sprinkles a few drops of water on the drumhead lest the blows, cause it to split under the strain. Nothing is done, nothing contemplated without sounding the drum. It is silent only when the people are asleep or on a tramp from one locality to another.

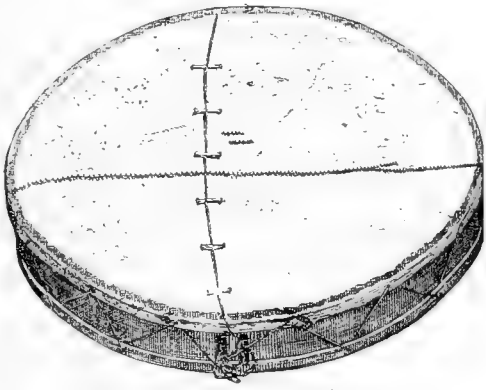


Fig. 152.—Drum, Little Whale river.

If a person is ill the drum is beaten. If a person is well the drum is beaten. If prosperous in the chase the drum is beaten; and if death has snatched a member from the community the drum is beaten to prevent his spirit from returning to torment the living.

The drumbeat is often accompanied with singing which is the most discordant of all sounds supposed to be harmonious.

The drums used by the Little Whale river Indians (Fig. 152, No. 3223) differs greatly in construction from those made by the Ungava Indians. The size is rarely so great, seldom exceeding 22 inches. These drums have two heads or membranes fitted on the barrel and secured by means of a single hoop for each head. The two hoops are then connected by the tightening strings.

The membranes are invariably made of deer skin in the parchment condition and not of tanned skins. The snares or thongs across the heads are finer and have pieces of wood instead of quills as "rattlers." The drumstick is a piece of reindeer horn cut as before described; or else, as if to add to the din, a gun-cap box is pierced through from side to side and a few pebbles or shot placed within. A stick is then inserted in the hole through the box and the whole covered with buckskin to prevent separation of the lid and box. This makes a distracting noise.

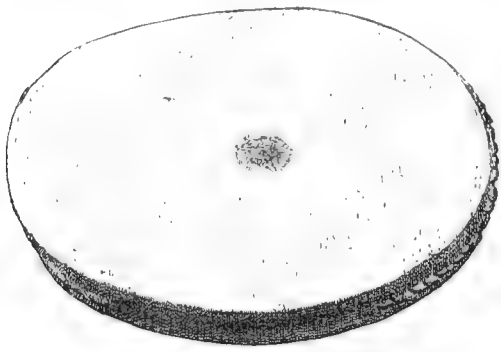


FIG. 153.—Rattle, Nenenot.

Rattles for the children (Fig. 153) are made of a hoop of wood bent to a circular form and covered with two heads or membranes. Within it are placed a few pebbles or shot, to produce a rattling sound when

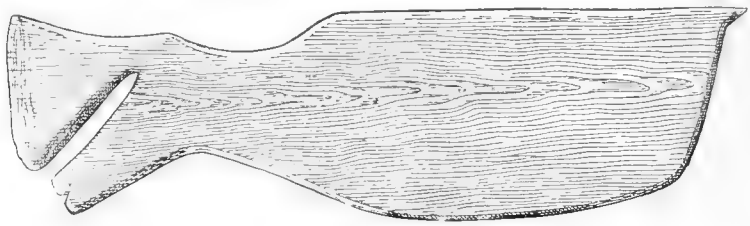


FIG. 154.—Target, reindeer, buck.

the membranes are dry. A cord attached to the circumference enables the rattle to be suspended from the tent-pole in front of the child for whose amusement it is intended. Other toys are made for the children,



FIG. 155.—Target, reindeer, doe.

but they were not easy for us to obtain. Pl. XLIII represents a doll, dressed in a woman's full suit of clothes. The boys amuse themselves by shooting with blunt arrows at images of reindeer, bucks, does, and fawns, cut out of flat boards stuck up in the snow (Figs. 154, 155).



DOLL, INDIAN WOMAN, FULL DRESS, NENENOT.

FOLKLORE.

During the long winter nights or during the periods of cold or inclement weather in which the Indians may not venture out, they sit around the fire and relate stories intended for the instruction as well as entertainment of the younger people. The older men have a great stock of these stories, and many of the women are noted for their ability in entertaining the children, who sit, with staring eyes and open mouth, in the arms of their parents or elders.

The following stories came to me directly and not through the medium of another white person, and probably I am the only white person who has heard some of them. I have endeavored to give them as nearly in the form of the original as the differences between the English and the Indian languages will permit.

Story of the wolverene and the brant.—A wolverene calling all the birds together addressed them thus: "Do you not know that I am your brother? Come to me and I will dress you in feathers." After having dressed them up he made wings for himself and said: "Now, brothers, let us fly." The brant told the wolverene, "You must not look below while we are flying over the point of land when you hear a noise below. Take a turn when we take a turn."

The first turn they took the wolverene did not look below, but at the second turn they took, when they came over the point of land, the animal looked below when he heard the noise of the shouting Indians and down he came like a bundle of rags.[1]

All the Indians ran up to him and exclaimed "There is a brant fallen down." One of the old Indian women got hold of him and began to pluck his feathers off, then to disembowel him. She of course smelled the horrible stench and exclaimed, "This goose is not fit to eat as it is already rotten!" She gave the carcass to one of the children to throw away. Another old woman came up and inquired, "Where did you throw the brant goose to? How could it be rotten? It is not long since it was killed." The former old woman replied to her, "Go and see, if you do not believe." She went and found nothing but the dead wolverene.

Story of the wolverene.—A wolverene was running along the seashore and perceived a number of geese, brant, ducks, and loons sitting in the water a short distance off. The wolverene addressing them said, "Come here, brothers. I have found a pretty bees' nest. I will give it to you if you will come on shore and have a dance." All the birds went on land. The wolverene said, "Let us have a dance and I will sing. Shut your eyes and do not open them until we are done dancing. He began to sing, "A-ho'u-mu-hou-mu'-mu'-hŭm'." The last word was

[1]When the Indians perceive a flock of these brant they make a loud clamor, which frightens the birds so much that they lose their senses, fall to the ground and are thus killed. These birds are only seen in the spring migrations and then in great multitudes, while in the fall it is rare to see even a single individual, as they have a different return route than in spring.

so often repeated (accompanied with the act of the wolverene snipping off the heads of the birds) that the loon opened one eye and saw the headless ducks kicking. The loon ran to the water and exclaimed, "Our brother has killed us!" The wolverene ran after the loon but the loon dived under the water and came up a distance off and cried out, "A ho ho ho ho ho ho!" The wolverene screamed, "Hold your tongue, you red-eyed fowl." The wolverene returned to where the ducks had been killed; plucked their feathers off and cleaned them; put them into a large kettle and boiled them.

While attending to the cooking he saw a whisky-jack (Us' ka teon) (*Perisorens canadensis*) flying about. The wolverene took a firebrand and threw it at the bird, exclaiming, "You will be telling on me, you long-tongued bird!" The jay flew away and told the Indians that "Our brother (wolverene) has killed a lot of ducks and has them cooked," adding, "I think he is sleeping. I'll show you where he is if you will come." The Indians replied, "We will go, for we are very hungry." They went and found the wolverene asleep alongside the pot. The Indians ate all of the meat of the ducks. After they had finished the meat they put the bones back into the kettle and went away. The wolverene awakened after a time, took his dish and said to himself, "Now, I shall have my dinner." He poured all the broth into his dish and found nothing but the bones remaining. In his surprise he said, "Surely, I have been sleeping a long time; the meat is all boiled away." The jay told him that he had told the Indians. The wolverene said, "Why did you tell? you stupid bird; I was keeping a nice piece of fat for you.[1] You will not, now, get it for your impudence."

The deer and the squirrel.—A reindeer called all the mammals and birds together and announced that he would give names to all of them. When he came to name the squirrel he inquired of the little creature what name it would prefer. The squirrel replied that it would like to have the same name as the black bear. The reindeer smiled and informed the squirrel that it was too small to have the name of the bear. The squirrel began to cry and wept so long that his lower eyelids became white.

The young man who went to live with the deer.—A young man one morning told his old father that he had dreamed the night before that a deer had asked him to come and live with them. The old father replied, "That is a good sign; you will kill many deer after that dream." The young man went away to hunt, and while out he saw a large herd of deer. A young doe from the band ran up toward him, and he was about to fire at her when she said to him, "Do not fire, for my father has sent me to you. Please put up your arrows." She came nearer and informed him that her father had sent her to ask him to come and live with the deer forever.

[1]The jay is well known to be particularly fond of fat of any kind, hence the tempting morsel withheld was a source for future reflection.

The young man inquired, "How could I live with you when it is upon deer that I live? I live in a tent and can not live outside. I can not live without fire. I can not live without water." The doe replied, "We have plenty of fire, water, and meat; you will never want; you will live forever. Your father will never want, as there will be enough deer given to him." The man consented to go with them. The doe pointed to a large hill and said, "That is our home." She told him to leave his deerskin mantle, snowshoes, and arrows on the ground, but to keep the bow. As they were walking along they came to a big valley. She informed him that that was their path. The two went toward the steep hillside and found the ground to be covered with deer. Some of the deer were frightened when they saw the man coming, and started to run. The doe's father said to the frightened deer, "Do you not pity the poor Indians who have to hunt for their living while we do not?" When the young man and the doe came up, the father of the doe addressed the young man, asking if he was hungry. The man replied, "Yes." The father then gave him a piece of nice meat and some fat. After the man had finished eating the father inquired, "Is your father also hungry?" The son replied, "Yes."

The old buck informed the young man that they would give the son's father some deer to-morrow. After the young man had slept out one night his father, in the morning, went out to look for his son, but found only his mantle, snowshoes, and arrows, which had been cast aside the day before, and also found the tracks in the valley leading to the home of the deer under the hill. The old man returned to his tent and told the other Indians that his son had gone away to live with the deer. The old man then said, "Let us make snares and we will yet take him, as he can not run as fast as the deer." The Indians prepared a number of snare nooses and went to the valley to set them among the bushes on the path. The father of the young doe saw what was going on in the valley and told the rest, "Let us go and give the old man some deer." He told the young man to come with them. The man replied that he could not accompany them, as he would be left behind in no time while they were running. The old buck instructed the young man to keep among the rest of the deer and he would not be left behind them. All the deer then went out to the valley. The young man kept among them; and as they were going through the bushes he heard the shouts of the Indians who were concealed behind them. The deer saw the snares and some of the animals fell into the nooses and were caught. The remainder, with the young man, were soon beyond the snares. The Indians began to kill the deer which had been taken in the nooses, and when they had finished they found they had not captured the young man. They consulted together and decided to search among the tracks of the escaped deer to ascertain whether his foot-prints were among them. They found his track and also the mark of his bow as he had dragged it along in the snow.

The young man's father then said, "Let him go if he thinks he is able to live with the deer;" and the people returned to their tents.

The wolf's daughter going to seek her lover.—An old mother wolf one morning said to her daughter, "You must go and look for your lover or else we shall all starve to death, as your brothers can not kill any deer." The daughter inquired of her mother, "Who is my lover?" The mother replied, "The otter is your lover. He lives in the water. If you go to the narrows of the lake you will find him." The daughter said she would go. So early in the morning she started off, and as she was going along the shore of the lake she saw an open hole in the ice, and in the water the otter was sitting. The wolf went up to the otter, but the otter swam away and was going to dive, when the wolf said, "Do not dive and go away. My mother says you are my lover." The otter asked, "How can I be your lover when I live in the water?" The wolf replied, "You can live on the land as well as in the water." The otter answered back, "I will not live on the land." The wolf retorted, "You will have to live on the land, and if you do not come out I shall smother you in the water." The otter said, "You can not smother me, for I have a number of holes made in the lake ice." The otter dove into the water and disappeared. The wolf began to howl dismally when the otter vanished. The wind began to blow and drifted the snow furiously. The snow fell into the otter's breathing holes and filled them with slushy snow, which soon froze and completely stopped all the holes in the ice but one where the wolf was sitting. This hole was kept clear of snow and ice by the wolf scraping it out as fast as it collected. Soon she heard the otter going to the holes for breath, but when he came near the hole where the wolf was sitting she could hear him snuffing for air, and she stood with open jaws ready to seize him when he should appear. The otter was nearly exhausted, so the wolf went off a little distance, and the otter came up to the surface of the water nearly out of breath. He crept out of the water and rolled himself in the dry snow to take the water off of his coat of fur and exclaimed to the wolf, "I will live with you; I will live with you." The wolf then addressed her lover and said, "Did I not tell you I would smother you?" The otter did not reply to this, but asked her, "Have you got a piece of line? Give it to me, and I will go to catch some fish for you if you will go and prepare a tent." The wolf drew out a piece of fishing line and handed it to the otter. The otter went down into the same hole in the ice whence he had come. He was gone some time, and in the meantime the wolf was busy making the tent, which was completed before the otter returned. Soon after, however, the otter came back to the hole with a long string of fish which he had killed and had them all strung on the line. He left the string of fish in the hole in the ice with one end of it fastened to the ice. The otter rolled himself in the snow to remove the water from his fur, and then went to the tent to tell his wife to go and get the fish which he had left in the hole in the ice.

The wolf went and hauled up the line, which was full of fish, and began to devour so many that soon she could scarcely move. She hauled the remainder of the fish home to the tent.

The otter was sleeping when she returned. She proceeded to clean the fish and put on a large kettle full of the fish to boil for supper. She then crept into bed with her husband, and the next morning she was delivered of a young otter and a young wolf. After the father and mother had taken their breakfast the latter sat with her head hanging down and seemed to be in a miserable mood. The otter inquired of the wife wolf, "What is the matter with you that you sit so quietly?" The wolf answered: "I wish I had some deerskins with which to make clothing for the children. How nicely I should dress them!" The otter replied: "Open the door and I will show you where I get the deer." It was yet early, and the otter went away to seek the deer. The otter saw a band of thirty deer, but had no gun with which to kill them, so he frightened them, and as they were running away he sprang at them each, and jumped through them from end to end. He killed all of them in this manner and then rolled in the snow to cleanse himself. After that was done he wended his way home, and on arriving informed his wife (for it was then a little after sunset) that on the morrow she should go to bring home the deer he had killed, adding that she could follow his track, and thus find them. The wife had a big pot of fish cooked for him when he returned, and when he had finished his supper he went to bed. As soon as the wife suspected her husband to be asleep she went after the deer, and by hauling four at a time she soon had them all brought, and laid them before the tent. When that was finished she went to bed. In the morning the otter told her to get up and make a fire, as she would have to go for the carcasses of the deer which he had killed the day before. The wife replied: "I have already brought them all home." The otter asked her: "How could you bring them home in the dark?" The wife answered: "Look out through the door if you do not believe me." The otter looked and saw the thirty deer all piled up before the door. He turned and looked at his wife, but made no remark. The wolf asked him: "Why do you look at me, so hard?" The otter said: "I was wondering how you could get them home in such a short time." The wolf said: "Come, and take your breakfast, for you will have to help me skin the deer." After they had finished eating their breakfast they began to skin the deer, and soon had them done. The wolf told her husband to make a stage or scaffold for the meat, adding that she would clean the skins. The otter prepared the stage, which in a short time was completed. The meat was placed on the stage and the skins hung up to dry around the tent. They then went in to take their supper. The wife was not in a talkative mood, and soon went to bed. The next morning the wolf hung her head down, and the otter seeing her again in such mood, inquired what was the matter with her that she should be so quiet.

The wolf replied: "I am thinking of my poor father and mother and brothers; I suppose they will all be starved to death. My old father told me to tell you to put a mark on the middle of the lake so they would know where I am." The otter went to the middle of the lake and erected a pile as a mark by which the wolf's relations should know it. The brothers of the otter's wife were on the hill looking for the mark set up by their sister's husband, and when they saw it they exclaimed: "Our sister has saved us! our sister has saved us!" and ran back to their old father's home to give him the joyful intelligence that they had seen the mark put up by the husband of their sister. The old wolf then told his family that they would go and seek their sister and daughter to live with her and her husband. They all went to the hill by the lake, and from the top of it they saw the mark, and from it they followed the track of the otter until they saw the tent in the edge of the woods. They exclaimed: "There is our sister's tent, for the deerskins are hanging outside." They raised such a joyful shout at the prospect before them, that the noise frightened some young otters (for the family had now become larger) which were playing outside. The little ones scampered in and hid themselves behind their father's back. The father inquired, "What is the matter, that you are so frightened?" The little ones replied: "We are running from the Hunger" (for that was the name they applied to the wolves). The mother replied: "Perhaps they see my father, mother, and brothers coming." The otter told his wife to go out and see. She complied, and when she opened the door they saw a row of gaunt wolves; nothing but skin and bones. The newcomers immediately fell to, and began to devour the meat which was on the stage. The otter's wife remonstrated, and said: "Do not be so greedy; my husband is not a stingy man. I take my meals when he is sleeping, and pretend not to eat much during the day." They all went into the tent and the otter soon went to bed. When they thought he was asleep, they began to eat all the raw meat and fish, and soon finished it. In the morning when the otter had awakened, he remarked to his wife: "I think your brothers will make a fool of me." The wife asked: "What makes you think so?" The otter replied: "They look at me so hard, that I do not know where to turn my eyes." After breakfast the otter and his wolf brothers went away to look for deer. They soon came upon a band of them, and the otter told the wolves to go and kill them. The wolves ran after the deer, but got only one of them. After the deer were frightened by the wolves, the otter sprang after the deer and soon killed every one of them in the same manner he had killed the others. He then cleaned himself in the dry snow and returned home. The wolves had started for the tent before the otter, so when the latter returned they asked the otter: "How many deer did you kill?" The otter replied: "I killed all that were in the band," adding, "In the morning you will have to go for the

deer." So everything was got ready for an early start and they all retired to bed. When they awakened in the morning, one of the wife's brothers said to another: "Look at our otter brother; he has a white mouth." The otter turned to his wife and said to her: "Did I not tell you that your brothers would make a fool of me?" The otter then took his two otter children in his arms, and told his wife that she would have to make her living as best she could, as he would not live with her any more, that he was going away to leave her. He darted off to the lake, and disappeared under the ice, and was never seen again.

The devil punishing a liar.—A bear (mackwh) had two young cubs which she did not want to let know that summer had come, but kept them in the den and would not let them go out. The young ones continually inquired if the summer had come, and repeated the question every time the mother returned from the outside. She invariably answered, "No." Some days after she fell asleep, when she had returned from one of her trips, and while sleeping her mouth opened wide. The young ones said to each other: "Surely the summer is come, for there are green leaves in our mother's mouth." The mother had told her children how beautiful was the summer time, how green the trees, how juicy the plants, and how sweet the berries; so the cubs, impatient, while longing for summer that they might enjoy what was outside of their den, knew by the leaves in their mother's mouth that she had deceived them. The older cub told the younger that they would slip out at the top of the den and go out while their mother was yet sleeping. They crept out and found the weather so fine and the surroundings so pleasant that they wandered some distance off by the time she wakened from her sleep. She ran out and called loudly for her children, seemingly surprised, and exclaimed: "My sons, the summer has come; the summer has come." The cubs hid when they heard their mother's voice. She called to them until nightfall. The older cub said to his brother: "I wish the devil (A-qan′) would hear her and kill her for telling us the summer had not come, and keeping us in the house so long when it was already pleasant outside."

The mother bear soon screamed to her sons: "The devil has heard me and is killing me."

The cubs heard the devil killing their mother with a stone, pounding her on the head.

They became frightened and ran away.

A wolverene destroys his sister.—A wolverene having wandered far, for several days without food, suddenly came upon a bear. The former, feeling very hungry, conceived the plan of destroying his larger prey by stratagem. The wolverene cautiously approached the bear and exclaimed: "Is that you, sister?" The bear turned around and saw the wolverene, but in a low tone, which the wolverene did not hear, said to herself: "I did not know that I had a brother," so ran quickly away.

The wolverene continued to scream: "Come here, sister, our father has sent me to look for you. You were lost when you were a little girl out picking berries." Thus spoken to, the bear approached the supposed brother, who informed her that he knew of a place, on the hill there, where a lot of nice berries were ready for eating, saying: "Do you not see the berries growing on that hill, sister?" The bear answered: "I can not see so great a distance." So the two went up the hillside where the berries grew. When they arrived at the place, and it was some distance off, the bear asked: "How is it that your eyes are so good?" The wolverene replied: My father mashed a lot of cranberries into my eyes and put me into a sweat house." The bear said: "I wish my eyes were as good as yours." The wolverene answered: "I will make your eyes as good as mine if you will gather a lot of cranberries while I prepare a sweat house." The bear went to gather berries while the other prepared the house during her absence. The wolverene selected a stone having a sharp edge, which she concealed under the moss in the sweat house, while she procured a larger stone for the pillow.

After the sweat house was completed the wolverene cried out: "Sister, the sweat house is finished!" The bear returned, bringing a quantity of berries. They both went into the sudatory, whereupon the wolverene instructed the bear to lie with her head upon the stone pillow, while he prepared the crushed berries to put in her eyes. He then said to her: "Now, sister, do not move; you may find the berries will hurt the eyes and make them very sore, but they will be better soon." The wolverene filled the bear's eyes full of the sour berries, which made her exclaim: "Brother, they are making my eyes very sore." The wolverene answered: "You will find them the better for that. After I get your eyes full of the berries I will blow my breath on them." After the eyes of the bear were full of berries the wolverene said: "You are too good to be a sister," so he struck her on the head with the sharp-edged stone and cleft her skull between the eyes and killed her.

The rabbit and the frog.—One day a rabbit was wandering among the hillsides, and at a short distance from him he observed a tent belonging to some Indians. Being timid he crept up to the side of the tent and peeped through a small hole, and saw inside of it a frog sitting near the fire. The rabbit seeing no danger accosted the frog thus: "Brother, what are you doing?" The frog replied: I am playing with the ashes. My brothers have gone off hunting and I am here as I have a very sore leg and can not go far." The rabbit rejoined, "come with me and I will keep you?" The frog answered, "I can not walk as my leg is too sore." The rabbit offered to carry the frog on his back. The rabbit took the frog and giving him a toss threw him on his back and said: "This is the way I will carry you." So they started for the home of the rabbit, where, upon arriving, the rabbit

placed the frog inside of the tent while the former went out to look for something to eat. While seeking food the rabbit suddenly spied a smoke curling from among the willows which grew along the branch of the creek. He became frightened and started to run homeward exclaiming. "I have forgotten my crooked knife and I must go quickly to get it." (This part, or what the rabbit says to himself, is sung as a song; with an attempt at imitation of the rabbit's voice.) The rabbit ran hurriedly home and sprang into the tent, whereupon the frog observing the fright of the other inquired, "Brother, what is the matter that you are so excited?" The rabbit answered, "I saw a large smoke." "Where is it?" inquired the frog. The rabbit replied, "It is from among the willows along the creek that runs near by." The frog began to laugh at the foolish fear of the rabbit and answered him that the smoke proceeded from the lodge of a family of beavers, and taunted the rabbit for being afraid of such a timid creature as a beaver when they are good to eat, adding that his own (frogs) brothers often carried him to the beavers' houses to kill them when they were out of food; although his brothers could never kill any of them.

The rabbit was pleased to hear the frog was such a great hunter, and gladly offered to carry the frog to the lodge of the beavers that some food could be procured. The frog accepted the offer and was carried to the creek bank. The rabbit then built a dam of stakes across the stream and below the lodges in order that the beavers should not escape. The frog then directed the rabbit to break into the top of the lodge so that the frog might get at the beavers to kill them. While the rabbit was breaking into the lodge of the beavers, the frog purposely loosened some of the stakes of the weir below in order to allow the beavers to escape, hoping that the rabbit would become angry at him for so doing. When the rabbit saw what mischief the frog had done, he took the frog and roughly shoved him under the ice into the water. This did not harm the frog as it could live under water as well as on land, but the rabbit did not know that, so he believed he had drowned his brother the frog. The rabbit then returned to his home, regretting he had acted so harshly and began to cry for his brother, The frog in the meanwhile, killed all of the beavers and tied them together on a string, then slowly crawled to the rabbit's home with his burden on his back. The frog crept up to the tent but was afraid to enter so he began to play with the door flap of the tent to make a noise to attract the attention of the rabbit within. Finally he cried out to the rabbit, "Brother, give me a piece of fire for I am very cold." The rabbit did not recognize the tired, weak voice of his brother frog, and, afraid lest it be some enemy endeavoring to entice him from his home, picked up a piece of dead coal which had no fire on it and flung it outside. The frog then said, "Brother, there is no fire on this piece and I can not cook my beavers with it." The rabbit then ran out quickly and tenderly carried the frog inside, and immediately the latter

began to moan and appear to suffer so much that the rabbit inquired what was the matter and asked if the beavers had bitten him. The frog said, "No, it was you who gave me such a hard push that you have hurt me in the side." The rabbit assured the frog that the injury was unintentionally caused. The frog then directed the rabbit to prepare and cook the beavers. The rabbit went out to fetch them but he began to eat and did not stop until they were all devoured. After having finished eating them the rabbit went for a walk. Ere long he noticed a huge smoke curling from the farther end of a valley and becoming greatly frightened he exclaimed, "I have forgotten my crooked knife and I must go quickly to get it." He dashed into his door in a terrible state of mind. The frog coolly inquired, "What is the matter that you are so scared?" The rabbit said, "I have seen a great smoke at the farther end of the valley through which the creek runs." The frog laughed loudly at his fear and said, "They are deer; my brothers often had me to kill them, as they could not kill any, when we had no meat." The rabbit was delighted at that so he offered to carry the frog toward the place. The frog directed the rabbit to make a snowshoe for the one foot of the frog. The rabbit soon had it made and gave it to his brother. The frog then said, "Carry me up towards the smoke." The rabbit slung the frog on his back and away they went in the direction of the deer. The frog then told the rabbit to stand in one place and not to move while he (the frog) would work at the deer, and when he had finished he would call him up to the place.

The frog killed all the deer in a very short time, skinned them, and stuck the head and neck of one of the deer into the snow so that it would be looking toward the place whence the rabbit would come. The frog then took the lungs of one of the deer and put it out to freeze. The cold turned the lungs white as tallow. The frog shouted for his brother rabbit to come quickly. When the rabbit came bounding near he saw the eyes of the deer's head staring at him in a queer manner; he was so much alarmed that he exclaimed to the frog, "Brother, he sees me." The frog smiled and said, "I have killed him; he is dead; come on; I have a nice piece of fat saved for you." (It was the frozen lungs of the deer.) So he gave the rabbit a large piece and told him to eat it all and quickly, as it was better when frozen and fresh from the deer's back. The rabbit greedily swallowed large portions and did not observe the deception. After a time they built a lodge or tent for the night. Some few hours after the tent was made the frozen deer lungs which the rabbit had eaten began to thaw and it made the rabbit so violently ill that he vomited continually the entire night. The frog had served him this trick as a punishment for having eaten all of the beaver meat two days before.

The wolverene and the rock.—A wolverene was out walking on the hillside and came upon a large rock. The animal inquired of the rock, "Was that you who was walking just now?" The rock replied,

"No, I can not move; hence I can not walk." The wolverene retorted that he had seen it walking. The rock quickly informed the wolverene that he uttered a falsehood. The wolverene remarked, "You need not speak in that manner for I have seen you walking." The wolverene ran off a little distance and taunted the rock, challenging it to catch him. The wolverene then approached the rock and having struck it with his paw, said, "See if you can catch me." The rock answered, "I can not run but I can roll." The wolverene began to laugh and said, "That is what I want." The wolverene ran away and the rock rolled after him, keeping just at his heels. The animal finally began to tire and commenced to jump over sticks and stones until at last the rock was touching his heels. At last the wolverene tripped over a stick and fell. The rock rolled over on him and ceased to move when it came upon the hind parts of the wolverene. The animal screamed, "Get off, go away, you are hurting me; you are breaking my bones." The rock remained motionless and replied, "You tormented me and had me run after you, so now I shall not stir until some one takes me off."

The wolverene replied, "I have many brothers and I shall call them." He called to the wolves and the foxes to come and remove the rock. These animals soon came up to where the rock was lying on the wolverene and they asked him, "How came you to get under the rock?" The wolverene replied, "I challenged the rock to catch me and it rolled on me." The wolves and foxes then told him that it served him right to be under the rock. They endeavored, after a time, to displace the rock but could not move it in the least. The wolverene then said, "Well, if you can not get me out I shall call my other brother, the lightning and thunder." So he began to call for the lightning to come to his aid. In a few moments a huge dark cloud came rushing from the southwest, and as it hurried up it made so much noise that it frightened the wolves and foxes, but they asked the lightning to take off the coat of the wolverene but not to harm his flesh. They then ran away. The lightning darted back to gather force and struck the rock, knocking it into small pieces and also completely stripped the skin from the back of the wolverene, tearing the skin into small pieces. The wolverene stood naked, but soon began to pick up the pieces of his coat and told the lightning, "You need not have torn my coat when you had only the rock to strike."

The wolverene gathered up his pieces of coat and said he would go to his sister, the frog, to have her sew them together. He repaired to the swamp where his sister dwelt and asked her to sew them. She did so. The wolverene took it up and told her she had not put it together properly and struck her on the head and knocked her flying into the water. Ho took up the coat and went to his younger sister, the mouse. He directed her to sew his coat as it should be done. The mouse began to sew the pieces together and when it was done the wolverene carefully examined every seam and said, "You have sewed

it very well; you will live in the tall green grass in the summer and in grass houses in the winter." The wolverene put on his coat and went away.

Creation of people by the wolverene and the muskrat.—As a wolverene was wandering along the bank of a river he saw a muskrat swimming in the edge of the water. He accosted the latter animal with the inquiry, "Who are you? Are you a man or a woman?" The muskrat answered, "I am a woman." The wolverene informed her that he would take her for a wife. The muskrat replied, "I live in the water; how can I be your wife?" The wolverene told her that she could live on the land as well as in the water. The muskrat went up on the bank to where the wolverene was standing. They selected a place and she began to prepare a home for them. They ate their suppers and retired. Soon after a child was born. The wolverene informed his wife that it would be a white man and father of all the white people. When this child was born it made a natural exit. In due time a second child was born which the wolverene decreed should be an Indian and the father of their kind. This child was born from its mother's mouth. After a time a third child was born, and the wolverene announced it to be an Eskimo and father of its kind. This child was born *ab ano*. In the natural course of events a fourth child was born, and the wolverene decided it to be an Iroquois and father of its kind. This child was born from its mother's nose. After a time a fifth child was born and the wolverene decreed it should be a Negro and father of its kind. This child was born from its mother's ears. These children remained with their parents until they grew up. Their mother then called them together and announced to them that they must separate. She sent them to different places of the land, and, in parting, directed them to go to the white men whenever they were in need of anything, as the whites would have everything ready for them.

Origin of the whitish spot on the throat of the marten.—A man had a wife whom a marten fell in love with and endeavored to possess. Whenever the man would go away from his home the marten would enter, sit by the woman's side, and endeavor to entice her to leave her husband and go to live with him. One day the man returned unexpectedly and caught the marten sitting by the side of his wife. The marten ran out. The man inquired of his wife what the marten wanted there. The woman replied that the marten was striving to induce her to desert him and become his own wife.

The next time the man went off he told his wife to fill a kettle with water and put it on the fire to boil. The man went outside and secreted himself near the house. He soon saw the marten go into the house.

The man stole quietly to the door of the house and listened to the marten, which was talking to his wife. The man sprang into the house and said: "Marten, what are you doing here, what are you trying to

do?" The man seized the kettle of hot water and dashed it on the breast of the animal. The marten began to scratch his burning bosom and ran out into the woods; and because he was so severely hurt he now keeps in the densest forests, away from the sight of man.

The Indian and his beaver wife.—One day an Indian was hunting along the bank of a stream and in the distance saw a beaver's house. In a moment he perceived a beaver swimming toward him. He drew up and was on the point of shooting it when the animal exclaimed, "Do not shoot, I have something to say to you." The Indian inquired, "What is it you have to say?" The beaver asked him, "Would you have me for a wife?" The Indian replied, "I can not live in the water with you." The beaver answered, "You will not know you are living in the water, if you will follow me." The Indian further remarked that he could not live on willows and other woods like a beaver. The beaver assured him that when eating them he would not think them to be willows. She added, "I have a nice house to live in." The man replied, "My brother will be looking for me if I come in and he will not know where I am. The beaver directed the man to take off his clothing and leave them on the bank and to follow her. The Indian did as he was instructed. As he was wading through the water he did not feel the water touching him; so they presently began to swim and soon reached the home of the beaver. The beaver told him as she pointed ahead, "There is my home, and you will find it as good and comfortable as your own tent." They both entered and she soon set before him some food which he did not recognize as willow bark. After they had slept two nights his brother became alarmed and went to search for him, and soon found his track. In following it up his brother came to where he had left his clothing on the bank of the stream.

The brother was distressed at finding such things, so went sorrowfully back to the tent thinking that his brother had been drowned, and so told the other Indians when he arrived. With a heavy heart he went to bed and in the morning he awakened and told his wife that he had dreamed his brother was living with a beaver. He told his wife to make some new clothing for the lost brother as he would go and seek the haunts of the beavers to discover his brother. The man occupied himself in making a pair of snowshoes, while the wife prepared the clothing. The next day she had the clothing done and he directed her to make them into a small bundle as he would start on the search early the next morning. Other young men desired to accompany him on the search, but were advised to remain at home as their presence would prevent him from reaching the beaver's retreat. Early in the morning he started off, taking the clothes and snowshoes with him. After some time he found the place where the beaver had her house and in which he suspected his brother to be living. He went to work to make a dam across the stream so as to decrease the depth of water around the beaver's house. The wife had borne two children to the

husband by this time, and when the father had seen the water going from their house he told the children: "Your uncle is coming and he is certain to kill you." The water had soon gone down sufficiently to enable the man to cross the stream to where the house was situated.

On arriving there he began pounding at the mud walls. The father told the children to go out or else the house would fall on them. The man outside quickly killed the two young ones. The wife knew she would soon be killed also, and after they had heard the deathblows given to their children she said to her husband, "If you are sorry that I am killed and ever want to see me again, keep the right hand and arm of my body; take off the skin and keep it about you." In a few minutes the brother had begun again to tear out the sides of the lodge. The husband told her to go out, and that his love for her would make him keep her right hand. She then went out and was quickly killed with a stick. When this was done and the husband had heard it all he was very sorry for his wife. Again the man began to destroy the rest of the house and soon had a large hole in the wall of one side. The husband then said to him, "What are you doing? You are making me very cold." The brother replied, "I have brought some warm clothing for you and you will not feel cold." "Throw them in," said the husband, "for I am freezing." He put on the clothes, and while he was doing it the brother noticed the hairs which had grown on the other's back, but said nothing about it. The husband then sat in his house until the other was near freezing to death. The brother then said to him, "Come with me; you can not stay here." The husband demanded, as a condition of returning, that the brother should never say anything to him to make him angry if he went back. The brother promised him not to do so. They then started to return, the brother taking the bodies of the children and mother on his back, the husband walking ahead. They soon arrived at the home of their people. The brother threw down the beavers and directed his wife to skin them. The husband of the beaver asked for the right hand and arm of the beaver who had been his wife. It was given to him. He got one of the other women to skin it, and told her to dry the skin and return it to him. Three nights after their return to their people a great many beavers were killed and a large kettle full of flesh was boiled for food. The people pressed the runaway brother to eat of the flesh of the beavers. He informed them that if it was the flesh of a female beaver he would not eat it. They told him that the flesh of the male beavers was all finished long ago. They forced him to eat a large piece of meat, and when he had swallowed it they gave him more of it. The second piece was no sooner down his throat than a large river gushed from his side. The Indian jumped into the river, while the rest ran away in terror and, as these latter looked down the river, they saw the man swimming by the side of his wife who had been a beaver.

The venturesome hare.—A hare, which had lost his parents, lived

with his grandmother. One day, feeling very hungry, for they were extremely poor, he asked his grandmother if he could set a net to catch fish. The old woman laughed at the idea of a hare catching fish, but to humor him, she consented, for she was indulgent to him because he was her only charge and looked forward to the time when he should be able to support her by his own exertions, and not to rely on the scanty supplies which she was able to obtain. These were very meager, as she was infirm, and dreaded exposure. She then told him to go and set the net, but added that she had no fire to cook them with, even if he should catch any. The hare promised to procure fire if he caught the fish. He went to set the net in a lake where he knew fish to be plentiful. The next morning he went to the net and found it to be so full of fish that he was unable to take it up. He lifted one end and saw there was a fish in every mesh of the net. He shook out some of the fish and then drew out the net. Part of the fish were buried, and a large load taken home. He put the fish down outside of the tent, and went in. He told the old woman to clean the fish and that he would go across the river to the Indians' tent and get the fire with which to cook them. The old woman was speechless at such proposed rashness, but as he had been able to catch so many fish she refrained remarking on his contemplated project of obtaining fire in the face of such danger. While the old woman was cleaning the fish he went back after the net which he had put out to dry on the shore of the lake.

He folded it up, placed it under his arm, and ran to the edge of the river which was far too wide to jump over. He used his cunning and assembled a number of whales. These animals came puffing up the stream in obedience to his command. He ordered them to arrange themselves side by side across the stream so that he could walk across on their backs. He most dreaded the Indians, but jumped into the water to wet his fur. This being done he sprang from one whale to another until he was safe on the opposite shore. He then laid down in the sand and bade the whales to disperse. Some Indian children soon came playing along the sandy bank and saw the hare lying there. One of the children picked up the hare and started home with it. When the boy arrived and told how he had obtained the hare he was directed to put it in the iron tent (kettle) where there was a bright fire crackling.

The child put down the hare, upon which an old man told the boy to kill the hare. The hare was terribly frightened, but opened a part of one eye to ascertain whether there was any place of exit beside the door. In the top of the tent he observed a large round hole. He then said to himself: "I wish a spark of fire would fall on my net." Instantly the brands rolled and a great spark fell on the net and began to burn it. The hare was afraid of the fire, so he sprang out of the hole in the apex of the tent. The Indians saw they had been outwitted by a hare,

and began to shout and pursue the animal, which attained such speed that when he came to the bank of the river he had not time to recall the whales. He gave an extraordinary leap and cleared the entire expanse of the water. He examined the net and found the fire smouldering. On arrival at his own home he said to his grandmother: "Did I not tell you I would get the fire?" The old woman ventured to inquire how he had crossed the river. He coolly informed her that he had jumped across.

The spirit guiding a child left by its parents.—An Indian and his wife had but one child, which was so infested with vermin that when the parents contemplated going to the tents of some distant friends the father advised the mother to leave the child behind. The next morning after the mother had taken down the tent the little boy asked her "Mother, are you not going to put on my moccasins?" the mother replied, "I shall put them on after I have put on my snow-shoes." The little boy said, "Surely you are not going to leave me!" She said, "No;" but took hold of her sled and started off. The little boy cried out, "Mother, you are leaving me," and endeavored to overtake her in his bare feet; but the mother soon was out of sight. The little boy began to cry and retraced his steps to the tent place. There he cried until the spirit of a dead man came to him and asked, "Where is your mother?" The boy replied, "She has gone away and left me." "Why did she leave you?" asked the old man. "Because I was so covered with lice," replied the boy. The spirit said it would remove all of the lice but three. So it began to pick them off. After this was done the spirit asked, "Where did your mother go?" The boy pointed out her track. The spirit then said to the boy, "Would you like to go to your mother?" The boy answered, "Yes." The spirit put the boy on his back and started in the path made by the sled of his mother. After a while they came to a tree and in looking at it the boy saw a porcupine sitting among the branches. The boy greatly desired to have the animal. So he said, "Grandfather, I wish you would kill the porcupine." The old man answered, "It will make too much smoke for me to kill it." After a time they came across a hare which the boy again desired to have. To this the man assented. So he put the boy down in the snow and soon caught the hare and killed it. It was now becoming dark, so they made their camping place for the night. The spirit gave the boy the hare and told him to cook it. After the meat was cooked the boy asked the old man what parts of the animal he preferred. The old man said "Give me the lungs and kidneys." The boy gave him those parts and consumed the remainder himself. They laid down to sleep and in the morning they again started on the sled track. About noon they came to the tents of the Indians, and among them was the tent of the father and mother of the little boy. The spirit placed the boy down on the outside near the door of the mother's tent and told him to go in. The boy entered and saw his father and mother

sitting near the fire. The mother in astonishment said, "Husband, is this not our little boy whom we deserted at our late camp?" The husband asked the boy, "Who brought you here?" The little boy answered, "My grandfather." The mother inquired, "Who is your grandfather?" The father asked, "Where is he now?" The boy replied, "He is sitting outside." The father asked his wife to look outside and see if any one was there. The woman did so and informed him that "I see some one sitting there, but I do not know who it is." The spirit replied, "You should call *me* somebody when you are *no one* to leave your child to perish." The husband directed his wife to invite the old man into the tent.

The spirit declined to enter. The father then asked the son to tell him to come in. The boy went out and conducted the old man within the tent. The latter seated himself across the fire (this is intended to mean opposite the door but on the other side of the fire). They slept in the tent that night, and when the little boy awakened he found all the people preparing to snare deer. The people asked the little boy to accompany them. He did so, and when he was ready to start he asked the old man what part of the deer he should bring home for him. The old man replied that he would enjoy the lungs better than any other part. The boy promised to bring a quantity for him on his return in the evening. Toward evening the boy returned loaded with choice bits for the old man who had conducted him to his father and mother. While outside of the tent he called to the old man, saying that he had brought home some food for him. Hearing no reply he entered the tent, and not seeing the man he inquired of his mother where the person was. The mother announced that he had departed, but did not know where he had gone. It was late, but the boy resolved to rise early and follow his track. He was up at daybreak, and finding the track followed it until he observed the spirit crossing a large lake which was frozen over. The boy cried out to the old man to wait for him. The spirit awaited his approach. The boy said to him, "Why did you go away when I had promised you some choice food?" The spirit replied that it could not dwell among living people, as it was only a spirit and that it was returning to its abode. The old man advised the boy to return to his people. The boy did so, but the next morning the desire to see the good old man seized the boy, and again he started to find him. The other people then tied the boy to a tree and he soon forgot his benefactor.

Fate of two Indian men.—Two Indian men who had gone off for the fall and winter's hunt were living by themselves. They were very unsuccessful in procuring furs and food, so that when the depths of winter had approached and the cold was intense they resolved to seek the camp of their friends. They were provided with nothing but bows and arrows. The next morning they started off and tramped all day without seeing a living thing. They made their camp and lamented

they had no food. They finally prepared to sleep, when one of them remarked to the other, "To-night I shall dream of porcupines." They slept, and in the morning the one related that he had seen a lot of porcupines around the tent while he was dreaming. They determined to proceed, but the one finally thought if they would stop there for the day and succeeding night they would have all the porcupine meat they would want. They remained there that day, and in the middle of the night they were aroused by a noise which proved to be porcupines gnawing the bark from the tent poles. The one man said, "Slip out and kill some with a stick;" but added, "Go out in your bare feet." He went out barefooted and killed two or three, and dashed back into the tent with his feet nearly frozen. He stuck his feet into the hot ashes and told the other man to bring in the animals. The other man did so, and began to prepare the flesh for cooking. They ate one of the porcupines, and by daylight were ready to begin their journey. They went idly along, shooting their arrows in sport at anything they could see. They continued this amusement until near sunset, when one exclaimed, "My arrow has struck something; see, it is moving." The other replied, "What can it be, when it is sticking only in the snow?" The other said he would try and find out what it was. He cautiously examined, and found when he began to dig it out that the arrow had entered the den of a bear. So they scratched away the snow and soon saw a long, black hair sticking out of the hole. He jumped back and exclaimed, "It is some sort of animal with black hair." The other replied, "Let us try and get it out. It may be good to eat." They finally drove the bear out and soon killed it. They began to skin it, which was soon done. One of the men then said, "It is too big and ugly to eat; let us leave it." The other, however, cut off a large piece of fat and put it on the sled. They then prepared their camp, and when morning came they started off and traveled all day. When night came they made their camp and soon had a huge fire burning. One of the men hung the piece of fat over the fire and the oil soon dripped into the fire. It created such a nice smell that one of them said, "Let us taste the fat; it may be good to eat." They tasted it and found it so good that they rated each other soundly for being so foolish as to leave such nice flesh so far behind them. They resolved to return for it. So they returned for the carcass of the bear, which was far behind them, and as it had tasted so good they determined to lose no time in starting. They went immediately, although it was now dark and very cold. They came to the place where it had been left and discovered that the wolves and foxes had eaten all the meat, leaving nothing but the bones. They were very angry, and began to lay the blame each on the other for having left it. They regretted they had left such meat for wolves and foxes. They determined to proceed to where they had camped the third time. On the way they became very thirsty, and, stopping at a creek to drink,

they drank so long that their lips froze to the ice of the water hole, and they miserably perished by freezing.

The starving wolverene.—On the approach of winter a wolverene, which had been so idle during the summer that he had failed to store up a supply of provisions for himself, his wife, and children, began to feel the pangs of hunger. The cold days and snowstorms were now at hand. The father one day told his wife that he would go and try to discover the place where his brothers, the wolves, were passing the winter and from them he would endeavor to procure some food. The wife desired him not to remain away long, else the children would starve to death. He assured her that he would be gone no longer than four days, and made preparations to start early on the succeeding morning. In the morning he started and continued his journey until near nightfall, when he came to the bank of a river. On looking at the ice which covered its surface he descried a pack of wolves ascending the river at a rapid rate. Behind these were four others, which were running at a leisurely gait. He soon overtook the latter group, and was perceived by one of these old wolves, which remarked to the others, "There is our brother, the wolverene, coming." The animal soon joined the wolves and told them that he was starving, and asked for food. The wolves replied that they had none, but that the wolves in advance were on the track of some deer and would soon have some. The wolverene inquired where they would camp for the night. They told him to continue with them on the track of the others until they came to a mark on the river bank. The wolves, accompanied by the wolverene, continued their way until one of the old wolves called attention to the sign on the bank and proposed they should go up to it and await the return of the others. They went up and began to gather green twigs to make a clean floor in the bottom of the tent. This was no sooner done than the young wolves (the hunters) returned and began to put up the tent poles. The old wolves said they themselves would soon have the tent covering in place. The wolverene was astonished at what he saw and wondered whence they would procure the tenting and fire. The old wolves laughed as they observed his curiosity, and one of them remarked, "Our brother wonders where you will get the tent cover from." The wolverene replied, "I did not say that; I only said my brothers will soon have up a nice and comfortable tent for me." The wolves then sent him off to collect some dry brush with which to make a fire. When he returned the tent was already on the poles. He stood outside holding the brush in his arms. One of the wolves told him to bring the wood inside the tent. He entered and gave the brush to one of the young wolves (the leader of the hunters). The leader placed the brush in position to create a good fire, and while that was being done the wolverene wondered how they would start the fire. One of the old wolves remarked, "Our brother wonders where and how you will get the fire." He made no reply, as one of the young wolves (the leader) took up a kettle

and went outside to get some snow to melt for water, and returned with it full of snow. He set the kettle down and sprang quickly over the pile of brush and it started into a blaze in an instant. It was now an opportunity for the wolverene to wonder whence should come the supply of meat to boil. One of the old wolves said, "Our brother wonders where you will get some meat to cook for supper." One of the young wolves went out and brought in a brisket of deer's meat. As soon as the wolverene saw the meat he asserted that he did not wonder about the source of the supply of meat, but that he only wished there was some meat ready for cooking. The meat was cut up and placed in the kettle and when it was ready it was served out. The choicest portions were selected for the wolverene and placed before him with the injunction to eat all of it. He endeavored to consume it, but the quantity was too great even for him. He, having finished his meal, was about to place the remainder on one of the poles when a wolf, observing his action, told him not to place it there or else the meat would change into bark. He then laid it down on a piece of clean brushwood and when he suspected the eyes of the wolves were not turned toward him he stealthily inserted the portion of meat between the tenting and the pole. The wolves saw his action and in a few minutes the wolverene became very sleepy and soon retired. One of the wolves carefully displaced the meat from the pole, where the wolverene had put it, and thrust in its stead a piece of bark. In the morning when the wolverene awakened his first thought was of the remnant of food. He reached up for it and found nothing but the piece of bark. The wolves were on the alert and one of them said, "Did I not tell you it would change into bark if you put the meat in that place?" The wolverene hung his head and answered, "Yes," and again laid down to sleep. By the time he awakened the wolves had a second kettle of meat cooked. They desired the wolverene to arise and eat his breakfast. The leader told him to hasten with his meal, as he had discovered some fresh deer tracks. The wolverene thought he would watch how they broke camp and see where they put the tentings. He went off a few steps and while his back was turned the tent disappeared and he failed to discover where it was secreted. The animals then started off, the young ones taking the lead while the four old ones and the wolverene followed leisurely behind. After they had crossed the river the wolverene began to wonder where they would halt for the night. One of the old wolves told him they must follow the track of the leader and they would come to the sign made for the site of the camp. They continued for the entire day, but just before sundown they came across the bones of a freshly killed deer from which every vestige of meat had been removed, apparently eaten by wolves; so the wolverene thought he would stand a poor chance of getting a supper if that was the way they were going to act. The party continued on the track and soon came upon the mark for the tent site.

The wolverene was glad to rest, but sat down and began to look ahead in the distance for the returning hunters. After a few minutes he looked around and saw the tent standing there. The wolves then sent the wolverene for dry brush, while they gathered green branches for the tent floor. He brought so small a quantity that it would not suffice. The young wolves returned at the same time and they directed him to again procure some brush. When he returned he found they had stripped all the fat off of the deer meat, although, he had not seen them bring any when they returned, and placed it around the inside edges of the tent. The brush was put down and again the leader jumped over it and a bright, crackling fire started up. The wolves then said to themselves in a low tone of voice: "Let us go outside and see what our brother will do when he is left alone with the fat." They went outside and immediately the wolverene selected the nicest and largest piece of fat and began to swallow it. The wolves at the same moment inquired of him: "Brother, are there any holes in the tent cover?" His mouth was so full, in his haste to swallow the fat, that it nearly choked him. They repeated their inquiry and the wolverene gasped out the answer, "yes." The wolves then said: "Let us go inside." The wolverene sprang away from the fat and sat down by the fire. They put on a large kettle of meat and soon had their supper ready. They gave the wolverene all the fattest portions they could find. Having eaten so much of the frozen fat he became so violently ill, when the hot food melted the cold fat in his stomach, that he vomited a long time, and was so weak that he became chilly and shivered so much that he could not sleep. He asked for a blanket, but one of the wolves placed his own bushy tail on the body of the wolverene to keep him warm. The wolverene shook it off and exclaimed: "I do not want your foul-smelling tail for a blanket." So the wolf gave him a nice and soft skin blanket to sleep under. When he awakened he announced his intention to return to his family, as they would soon be dead from hunger. One of the old wolves directed the younger ones to make up a sledload of meat for the wolverene to take home with him. The wolf did so, but made the load so large and long that the wolverene could not see the rear end of the sled. When it was ready they told him of it, and, as he was about to start, he requested they would give him some fire, as he could not make any without. The leader asked how many nights he would be on the journey homeward. He answered, three nights. The wolf told him to lie down in the snow. He did so and the wolf jumped over his body three times, but strictly enjoined upon him not to look back at the sled as he was going along. The wolverene promised he would comply with his instructions. After the animal had started and got some little distance from the camp of the wolves he thought of the peculiarly strange things he had witnessed while among those animals; and, to test himself, he concluded to try the method of making a fire. He stopped, gathered

a quantity of dry brush and placed it as he had seen the wolves arrange it. He then sprang over it and a huge blaze gave evidence of the power within him. He was so astonished that he resolved to camp there. He melted some snow and drank the water and retired to rest, without having looked at the sled. The next morning he started early and made his camp before sunset, as he was very tired. He gathered some brush and made the fire by jumping over the pile of fuel. His supper was only some melted snow which he drank and retired. In the morning he started to continue his journey homeward and still had not seen the sled which he was dragging. As he was ready to start he was so confident of his ability to create fire that he threw away his flint and steel. He traveled all day until toward sunset he was so fatigued that he concluded to make his camp for the night. He was so elated with his newly acquired faculty of making fire that he eagerly gathered a great quantity of dried twigs and branches, until a large heap was before him. He jumped over it, and turned round to see the flames creep up and watch the sparks fly. There was not a sign of a blaze or a spark to meet his gaze. He again jumped over it, and again, until he was so exhausted that he could not clear the top of the pile, and at last he knocked the top of it over, as his failing strength did not enable him to avoid it. The only thing left for him to do was to return for his flint and steel, which he had so exultingly thrown aside. The animal berated himself soundly for having done such a silly trick. Not having seen the sled he was surprised to find how quickly he regained the site of the camp of the previous night. Having recovered his flint and steel he returned, and soon had a fire started; but it was now near daylight. He resolved to start on his journey as soon as he had some water melted for a drink. He began to think how quickly he had made the trip for his flint and steel, and concluded that the great length of the sled had been purposely made to cause him unnecessary fatigue, as it could not be so very heavy, or else that he must be extraordinarily strong. He determined to examine it, and did so. He could not see the farther end of the load. He flattered himself that he was so very strong, and concluded to continue his journey. He attempted to start the sled, and found he could not move it in the least. He upbraided himself for permitting his curiosity to get the better of his sense. He removed a portion of dry meat and a bundle of fat, and made them into a load to carry on his back. He placed the remainder on a stage, and was about ready to start homeward to his wife and children, whom he believed must be by this time nearly dead from starvation.

He put the pack of meat on his back and set out. That evening he arrived at his home, and as soon as his wife heard him her heart was glad. He entered and informed the family that he had brought home a quantity of meat and fat, and had procured so much as to be unable to carry it all at once. His wife begged him to fetch her a piece of

meat, as she was nearly starved. He went out and brought in a large piece of fat. The wife devoured such a quantity of it that she became very ill, and suffered all through the night. In the morning the wolverene stated he would return for the meat which he had stored away the previous day. He started in the early morning, so as to return by daylight.

As soon as the wolverene looked upon the sled loaded with meat the spell was broken. One of the old wolves ordered the young wolves to go and destroy the meat and fat which the wolverene had left on the stage. They eagerly set out on the track of the sled, and soon saw the staging where the wolverene had stored the remainder of the food. When they came up to it they fell to and devoured all but a few scraps of it. The wolves then went away, and in a few hours the wolverene returned. He saw what had happened and exclaimed: "My brothers have ruined me! My brothers have ruined me!" He knew it had been done because he had looked back at the sled, although strictly enjoined upon not to do so under any circumstance. He gathered up the fragments which the wolves had left and returned home. When he arrived there he informed his wife that his brothers had ruined him, because they had eaten all the meat which he had stored away while out hunting.

The starving Indians.—A band of Indians, who had neglected to store away a supply of food for a time of scarcity, were upon the point of starvation. An old man who lived at a little distance from the camping place of the band, had wisdom to lay by a good store of dry meat and a number of cakes of fat, so that he had an abundance while the other improvident people were nearly famished. They applied to him, begging for food, but they were refused the least morsel. One day, however, an old man came to him asking for food for his children. The man gave him a small piece of meat. When the man's children ate this food they began to cry for more. The mother told her little boy to stop crying. He persisted in his clamor until his mother asked him: "Why do you not go to the old U′ sets kwa nĕ po?" (the name means One whose neck wrinkles into folds when he sits down). This old man heard the mother tell her child to go to him, and muttered to himself, "That is just what I want."

The little boy went to the old man's tent door, and lifting aside the flap, said: "I want to come in." He went in and the old man addressed the boy by his own name, saying: "What do you want, U′ sets kwa nĕ po?" in such a kindly voice that the boy felt assured. The boy said: "I am very hungry and want some food." The old man inquired in an astonished voice: "Hungry? and your meat falling down from the stage?" The old man bade the boy sit down, while he went out to the stage and selected some choice portions and brought them into the tent and gave them to the boy. The old man then asked the boy if he had a sister. The boy said that he had a father, mother, and one sister.

After the boy had finished eating, the old man directed the boy to come with him and see the meat stages. They went out and the old man said: "Now, go home and tell your father that all of this food will belong to you if he will give me his daughter." The little boy went home and repeated what the old man had said. The father signified his willingness to give his daughter in marriage to the old man. The boy returned to the old man and stated that his father was willing to give away his daughter. The old man immediately went out, took some meat and fat from the stage, and then cooked three large kettles of food. When this was done he selected a suit of clothing for a man and two suits for women. He placed the nicer one of the latter near his own seat, and the other two suits directly on the opposite side of the fireplace (the place of honor in the tent). He then told the little boy to call all the Indians, adding: "There is your father's coat, your mother's dress, and your sister's dress. Tell your parents to sit where they see the clothing," pointing to the clothes intended for them, and the sister to sit near the old man, pointing to his own place. The boy ran out and apprised the people, together with his own relations. The boy returned to the old man's tent before the guests arrived. The boy's father came first, and the boy said: "Father, there is your coat." The mother then entered, and the boy said: "Mother, there is your dress." The sister then entered, and the boy pointed to the dress, saying: "Sister, there is your dress." All the other Indians then came in and seated themselves. They took two kettles of meat and broke the fat into pieces and feasted until all was consumed. The old man helped his wife, her father, mother, and brother to the contents of the other kettle. When all the food was finished the old man said to the boy, "U′ sēts kwa nĕ po, go and set your deer snares." The old man went with him to find a suitable place. They could find only the tracks of deer made several days previously. They, however, set thirty snares and returned home. The next morning they all went to the snares and found a deer in each one. The people began to skin the deer and soon had a lot of meat ready for cooking. They began to feast, and continued until all was done. By this time a season of abundance had arrived.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION—BUREAU OF ETHNOLOGY.

A STUDY OF SIOUAN CULTS.

BY

JAMES OWEN DORSEY.

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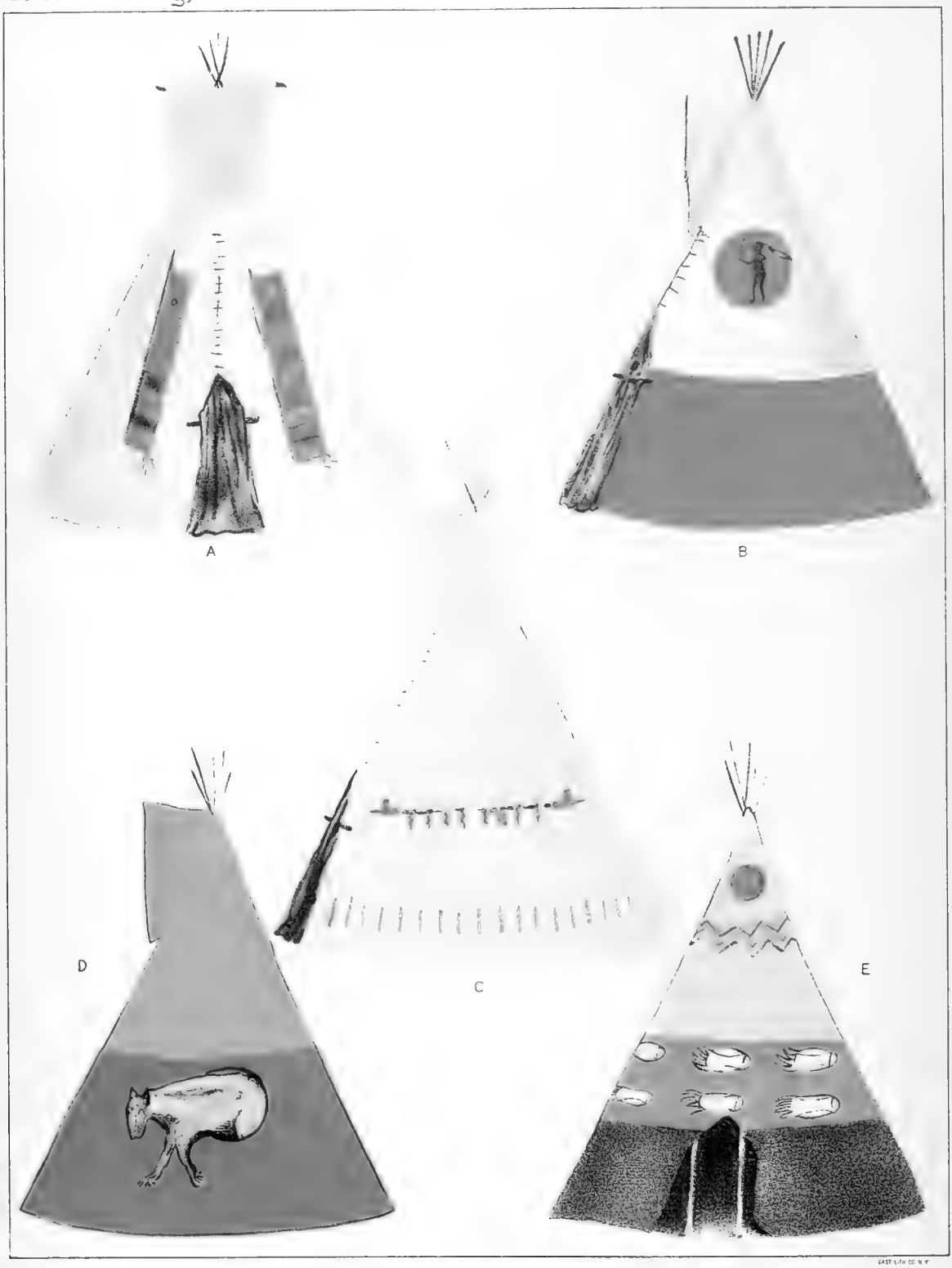
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SIOUAN TENTS.

A STUDY OF SIOUAN CULTS.

By James Owen Dorsey.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

DEFINITIONS OF "CULT" AND "SIOUAN."

§ 1. Cult, as used in this article, means a system of religious belief and worship, especially the rites and ceremonies employed in such worship. The present article treats of the cults of a few of the Siouan tribes—that is, with two exceptions, of such tribes as have been visited by the author.

"Siouan" is a term originated by the Bureau of Ethnology. It is derived from "Sioux," the popular name for those Indians who call themselves "Dakota" or "Lakota," the latter being the Teton appellation. "Siouan" is used as an adjective, but, unlike its primitive, it refers not only to the Dakota tribes, but also to the entire linguistic stock or family.

SIOUAN FAMILY.

The Siouan family includes the Dakota, Assiniboin, Omaha, Ponka, Osage, Kansa, Kwapa, Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago, Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow, Tutelo, Biloxi, Catawba, and other Indians. The Sapona, who are now extinct, probably belonged to this family.

The author was missionary to the Ponka Indians, in what is now part of Nebraska, from 1871 to 1873. Since 1878 he has acquired native texts and other information from the Omaha, Ponka, Osage, Kansa, Winnebago, Iowa, Oto, Missouri, and Dakota.

In seeking information respecting the ancient beliefs of the Indians the author has always found it expedient to question the Indian when no interpreter was present.

AUTHORITIES.

§ 2. This study is based for the most part upon statements made by Indians, though several publications were consulted during the preparation of the fifth and sixth chapters.

The following Indians had become Christians before the author met them: Joseph La Flèche, Frank La Flèche, John Big Elk, and George Miller, all Omaha. Joseph La Flèche, who died in 1888, was the leader of the civilization party in the Omaha tribe after 1855. He was at one time a head chief. He spoke several Indian languages, having spent years among other tribes, including the Pawnee, when he was in the service of the fur company. His son, Frank, has been in the Indian Bureau at Washington since 1881. The author has obtained considerable linguistic material from the father and son. The father, with Two Crows, aided the author in the summer of 1882 in revising his sociologic notes, resulting in the preparation of "Omaha Sociology," which was published in the third annual report of the director of the Bureau of Ethnology. John Big Elk, a full Omaha, of the Elk gens, furnished an article on "Sacred Traditions and Customs," and several historical papers, published in "Contributions to North American Ethnology, Vol. VI." George Miller, of the Ictasanda or Thunder gens, is a full Omaha, from whom was obtained nearly half of Chapter III, including most of the Omaha illustrations.

The following Indians were not Christians: Gahige, Two Crows, ₍ja¢iⁿ-naⁿpajĭ, and Samuel Fremont, all Omaha; Nudaⁿ-axa, a Ponka; and the Kansa, Osage, Missouri, Iowa, and Winnebago informants.

Two Crows has been connected in several ways with the ancient organizations of his people. He has been a head man, or nikagahi, being thus an ex-officio member of the class which exercised the civil and religious functions of the state. He has been a policeman during the buffalo hunt. He has acted as captain, or war chief, and he is the leading doctor in the order of Buffalo shamans, being the keeper of the "sweet medicine."

₍ja¢iⁿ-naⁿpajĭ, or He-who-fears-not-the-sight-of-a-Pawnee, is a member of the Black Bear subgens, and he is also one of the servants of the Elk gens, it being his duty to be present at the sacred tent of that gens, and to assist in the ceremonies pertaining to the invocation of the Thunder Beings.

Gahige was the chief of the Iñke-sabĕ, a Buffalo gens, and at the time of his death he was the keeper of the two sacred pipes.

Samuel Fremont is a member of the Eagle subgens. He came to Washington in the autumn of 1888 and assisted the author till February, 1889.

Nudaⁿ-axa is a chief of a part of the Thunder-Being gens of the Ponka. The author has known him since 1871.

The other Indian authorities need not be named, as they are in substantial agreement.

The following authorities were consulted in the preparation of the Dakota and Assiniboin chapter:

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———. Tah-koo Wah-kon, or, The Gospel Among the Dakotas, 1869.

SAY (THOS.), in James (E.), Account of Long's Exped. Rocky Mts., vol I, Phil., 1823.

SHEA (J. GILMARY), Am. Cath. Missions, N. Y. (after 1854).

SMET (Rev. P. J. DE), Western Missions and Missionaries, N. Y. (n. d.).

WOODBURN (Dr. J. M., Jr.), MS. Letter and Teton Vocabulary, 1890. Bureau of Ethnology.

ALPHABET.

§ 3. With the exception of seven letters taken from Riggs's Dakota Dictionary, and which are used only in the Dakota words, the characters used in recording the Indian words occurring in this paper belong to the alphabet adopted by the Bureau of Ethnology.

a, as in *father*.
ʻa, an initially exploded a.
ă, as in *what*, or as *o* in *not*.
ʻă, an initially exploded ă.
ä, as in *hat*.
c, as *sh* in *she*. See ś.
ɔ, a medial *sh*, a sonant-surd.
ć (Dakota letter), as *ch* in *church*.
ç, as *th* in *thin*.
ȝ, a medial ç, sonant-surd.
ȼ, as *th* in *the*.
e, as in *they*.
ʻe, an initially exploded e.
ĕ, as in *get*.
ʻĕ, an initially exploded ĕ.
g, as in *go*.
ġ (in Dakota), *gh*. See x.
ɳ (in Osage), an h after a pure or nasalized vowel, expelled through the mouth with the lips wide apart.
ħ (in Dakota), *kh*, etc. See q.
i, as in *machine*.
ʻi, an initially exploded i.
ĭ, as in *pin*.
j, as *z* in *azure*, or as *j* in the French *Jacques*.
ʞ, a medial k, a sonant-surd.
k', an exploded k. See next letter.
ķ (in Dakota), an exploded k.
ŋ (in Dakota), after a vowel has the sound of *n* in the French *bon*. See n.
ɯ (in Kansa), a medial m, a sound between m and b.
ñ, as *ng* in *sing*.
hn, its initial sound is expelled from the nostrils and is scarcely heard.
o, as in *no*.
ʻo, an initially exploded o.
đ, a medial b or p, a sonant-surd.
p', an exploded p.
q, as German *ch* in *ach*. See h.
s, a medial z or s, a sonant-surd.
ś (in Dakota), as *sh* in *she*. See c.
ʇ, a medial d or t, a sonant-surd.
t', an exploded t.
u, as *oo* in *tool*.
ʻu, an initially exploded u.
ŭ, as *oo* in *foot*.

ų, a sound between o and u.
ü, as in German *kühl, süss*.
x, *gh*, or nearly the Arabic *ghain*. See ġ.
ź (in Dakota), as *z* in *azure*. See j.
dj, as *j* in *judge*.
tc, as *ch* in *church*. See ć.
tc', an exploded tc.
ʇɔ, a medial tc, a sonant-surd.
ts', an exploded ts.
ʇs, a medial ts, a sonant-surd.
ai, as in *aisle*.
au, as *ow* in *how*.
yu, as *u* in *tune*, or *ew* in *few*.

The following have the ordinary English sounds: b, d, h, k, l, m, n, p, r, s, t, w, y, and z. A superior n (ⁿ) after a vowel (compare the Dakota ŋ) has the sound of the French n in bon, vin, etc. A plus sign (+) after any letter prolongs it.

The vowels ʻa, ʻe, ʻi, ʻo, ʻu, and their modifications are styled initially exploded vowels for want of a better appellation, there being in each case an initial explosion. These vowels can not be called "breaths," as no aspiration is used with any of them; nor can they be spoken of as "guttural breaths," as they are approximately or partially pectoral sounds. They have been found by the author not only in the Siouan languages, but also in some of the languages of western Oregon. In 1880 a brother of the late Gen. Armstrong, of Hampton, Va., who was born on one of the Hawaiian islands, informed the author that this class of vowel sounds occurred in the language of his native land.

ABBREVIATIONS.

The abbreviations in the interlinear translations are as follows:

sub.—subject.
ob.—object.
st.—sitting.
std.—standing.
recl.—reclining.
mv.—moving.
col.—collective.
lg.—long.
cv.—curvilinear.
pl.—plural.
sing.—singular.
an.—animate.
in.—inanimate.

CHAPTER II.

DEFINITIONS.

ALLEGED BELIEF IN A GREAT SPIRIT.

§ 4. It has been asserted for several hundred years that the North American Indian was a believer in one Great Spirit prior to the coming of the white race to this continent, and that, as he was a monotheist, it was an easy matter to convert him to Christianity. Indians have been represented as speaking of "The Great Spirit," "The Master of Life," etc., as if the idea of the one and only God was familiar to our aborigines during the pre-Columbian period.

While the author is unwilling to commit himself to a general denial of this assertion, he has been forced to conclude that it needs considerable modification, at least so far as it refers to the tribes of the Siouan stock. (See §§ 7, 15, 21-43, 72-79, 92-99, 311, 312, 322-326, 341-346.)

On close investigation it will be found that in many cases Indians have been quick to adopt the phrases of civilization in communicating with white people, but in speaking to one another they use their own terms. The student of the uncivilized races must ever be on his guard against leading questions and their answers. The author has learned by experience that it is safer to let the Indian tell his own story in his own words than to endeavor to question him in such a manner as to reveal what answers are desired or expected.

§ 5. In 1883 the author published an article on "The Religion of the Omahas and Ponkas," in The American Antiquarian of Chicago. Since then he has obtained additional data, furnishing him with many undesigned coincidences, which lead him to a broader view of the subject.

PHENOMENA DIVIDED INTO HUMAN AND SUPERHUMAN.

§ 6. In considering the subject from an Indian's point of view, one must avoid speaking of the supernatural as distinguished from the natural. It is safer to divide phenomena as they appear to the Indian mind into the human and the superhuman, as many, if not most natural phenomena are mysterious to the Indian. Nay, even man himself may become mysterious by fasting, prayer, and vision.

One fruitful source of error has been a misunderstanding of Indian terms and phrases. It is very important to attempt to settle the exact meanings of certain native words and phrases ere we proceed further with the consideration of the subject.

TERMS FOR "MYSTERIOUS," "LIGHTNING," ETC.

§ 7. The attention of the author having been called to the article on "Serpent Symbolism" of the Iroquoian languages, by Mr. Hewitt[1] of the Bureau of Ethnology, a similar investigation of the Siouan terms was made, the results of which are now presented. In connection with the terms for "serpent," Mr. Hewitt showed how they are related in the languages with which he was familiar with other terms, such as "demon," "devil," "wizard," "witch," "subtile," "occult," "mysterious," and "supernatural."

In Dakota we find the following: Waka^n, mysterious, wonderful, incomprehensible, often rendered "holy" by the missionaries; waka^n-hdi (in Santee), waka^n-kdi (in Yankton), lightning, perhaps containing a reference to a zigzag line or forked lightning; waka^n etco^n, to practice sleight of hand; and wa^{n}mducka, serpent. There are many derivatives of waka^n, among which are, Taku Waka^n, literally "something mysterious," rendered "some one mysterious," or "holy being," and Waka^n-tañka, literally, "Great mysterious (one)," both of which terms are now applied to God by the missionaries and their converts, though Waka^n-tañka is a name for the Thunder-being.

In Riggs's alphabet (Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VII), these words are thus written: Wakaŋ, wakaŋhdi, wakaŋkdi, wakaŋ ećoŋ, waŋmduśka, Taku Wakaŋ, and Wakaŋtaŋka. One of the Dakota words for "aged" is ka^n (kaŋ in Riggs's alphabet); but though this refers to persons we can not tell whether it is related to waka^n (or wakaŋ).

In the ɸ'egiha, the language spoken by the Ponka and Omaha, Wakanda means "the mysterious" or "powerful one," and it is applied in several senses. It is now used to denote the God of monotheism. Some of the old people say that their ancestors always believed in a supreme Wakanda or Mysterious Power. It sometimes refers to the Thunder-being. On one occasion, a Ponka shaman, Cramped Hand, said to the author: "I am a Wakanda." Wakandagi, as a noun, means a subterranean or water monster, a large horned reptile mentioned in the myths, and still supposed to dwell beneath the bluffs along the Missouri River. With this term compare the Dakota Uñkteqi (Uŋkteȟi, of Riggs) and the Winnebago Waktceqi, the latter having given a name to the Water Monster gens (Waktceqi ikikaratcada). Wakandagi is sometimes used adverbially, as, si wakandagi, he is wonderfully stingy! Ie wakandagi, he (a small child) speaks surprisingly well (for one so young)! ⅃a^{n}ɸi^n wakandagi, he runs very well (for one so young)! Ma^{n}ɸi^n wakandagi, he (a small child) walks very well! Wakandiɸe, to be in great haste, perhaps contains the idea of putting forth a great effort in order to accomplish something speedily. Wĕs'ă, a serpent, is not related to the others just given. Nor can the word for "wizard" or "conjurer" be found related to them. In Kansa, Wa-

[1] Am. Anthropologist, April, 1889, pp. 179, 180.

kanda is used of superhuman beings or powers, as in Omaha and Ponka, but the author never heard a shaman apply the term to himself. Wakandagi has another meaning, mysterious, wonderful, incomprehensible, as, nika wakandagi, mysterious man, shaman, juggler, doctor; naniũⁿba wakandagi, mysterious or sacred pipe; wakandagi wagaxe, the sleight-of-hand tricks of the mysterious men and women. Wakanda qudje, the gray mysterious one, the elephant. Wakaⁿ does not mean serpent, but pumpkin, answering to the Omaha and Ponka, wataⁿ, and to the Osage, wakqaⁿ and watqaⁿ. Ʇyetsʻa (almost, Byetsʻa) is the Kansa word for a serpent.

In Osage, Wakaⁿꞯa answers to the Kansa Wakanda, and Waꞯkaⁿ-ꞯa-ꞯi is the same as the Kansa, Wakandagi. Wetsʻa is a serpent. In Kwapa, Wakaⁿꞯaꞯi seems to answer to the Kansa Wakandagi.

In Ꞗoiwere (Iowa, Oto, Missouri), Wakaⁿꞯa is the same as the Kansa Wakanda. Wakaⁿ means a serpent. Wakaⁿ kiꞯraꞯoe, the Serpent gens. Wa-hu-priⁿ, mysterious, as a person or animal; but wa-qo-nyi-taⁿ, mysterious, as an inanimate object.

In the Winnebago, three names for superhuman beings have been found. One is Waꞯuⁿse or Waguⁿ꞊e, which can not be translated; another is Maⁿʻuⁿ-na, Earth-maker, the third being Qo-piⁿ-ne qe-te-rą̆, Great Mysterious One. Qopiⁿ꞊e seems related to waqopini (with which compare the Ꞗoiwere, wahupriⁿ), a term used to distinguish people of other races from Indians, just as in Dakota wacitcuⁿ (in Riggs's alphabet, waśićuŋ), now used for "white man," "black man," etc., retains in the Teton dialect its ancient meaning of superhuman being or guardian spirit. WakawaⁿX, in Winnebago, denotes a witch or wizard. Wakaⁿ-na is a serpent, and wakaⁿ ikikaratca-da, the Serpent gens; Wakaⁿtcaⁿ, or Wakaⁿtcaⁿ-ra, thunder, the Thunder-Being; Wakaⁿ-tcañka-ra, a shaman or mysterious man.

OTHER OMAHA AND PONKA TERMS.

§ 8. Other terms are given as being pertinent to the subject. They occur in the language of the Omaha and Ponka. Qube, mysterious as a person or animal (all animals were persons in ancient times); but a mysterious inanimate object is spoken of as being "waqube." Uqube means the mysteriousness of a human being or animal. Uqube-aꞯa¢icaⁿ, pertaining to such mysteriousness. Wakandaꞯa¢icaⁿ, pertaining or referring to Wakanda. Nikie is a term that refers to a mythical ancestor, to some part of his body, to some of his acts, or to some ancient rite ascribed to him. A "nikie name" is a personal name of such a character. I¢aʻe¢ĕ, literally, "to pity him on account of it, granting him certain power." Its primary reference is to the mysterious animal, but it is transferred to the person having the vision, hence, it means "to receive mysterious things from an animal, as in a vision after fasting; to see as in a vision, face to face (not

in a dream); to see when awake, and in a mysterious manner having a conversation with the animal about mysterious things."

§ 9. The names for grandfather, grandmother, and old man are terms of veneration, superhuman beings having these names applied to them in invocations. (See §§ 15, 99.)

SIGNIFICANCE OF PERSONAL NAMES AND KINSHIP TERMS.

In a note upon "The Religious Ceremony of the Four Winds or Quarters, as Observed by the Santee Sioux," Miss Fletcher[1] remarks: "A name implies relationship, and consequently protection; favor and influence are claimed from the source of the name, whether this be the gens or the vision. A name, therefore, shows the affiliation of the individual; it grades him, so to speak, and he is apt to lean upon its implied power. * * * The sacred import of a name in the mind of the Indian is indicated in that part of the ceremony where the "Something that moves" seems to overshadow and inclose the child, and addresses the wakan man as father. The wakan man replies, calling the god, child, at the same time invoking the supernatural protection and care for the boy, as he lays at the feet of the messenger of Unseen Power the offerings of gifts and the honor of the feast. The personal name[2] among Indians, therefore, indicates the protecting presence of a deity, and must, therefore, partake of the ceremonial character of the Indian's religion."

In this ceremony the superhuman being is addressed by the term implying *juniority*, and the human being, the wakan man, by that associated with *seniority*, an apparent reversal of the usual custom; but, doubtless, there can be found some explanation for this seeming exception to the rule.

MYTH AND LEGEND DISTINGUISHED FROM THE SUPERHUMAN.

§ 10. The Omaha, Ponka, and cognate tribes distinguish at the present day between the myth (higaⁿ, higu) and the legend or story (iuǥa, etc.) on the one hand, and what on the other hand is called "Wakandaꞁaǥicaⁿ," "uquⱱeaꞁaǥicaⁿ," and "iǥaʻeǥčaꞁaǥicaⁿ." The former are told only for amusement and are called, "iusictaⁿ iuǥa," lying tales. They are regarded as "iqawaǥčaꞁaǥicaⁿ," pertaining to the ludicrous. With this may be compared the statements of Lang :[3]

"Among the lowest and most backward, as among the most advanced races, there coexist the mythical and the religious elements in belief. The rational factor (or what approves itself to us as the rational factor) is visible in religion; the irrational is prominent in myth." * * * "The rational and irrational aspects of mythology and religion may be of coeval antiquity for all that is certainly known, or either of

[1] Op. cit., p. 295.

[2] And also the kinship term in some cases.

[3] Myth. Ritual, and Religion, pp. 328,329.

them, in the dark backward of mortal experience, may have preceded the other." The author has found certain Indian myths which abound in what to the civilized mind is the grossest obscenity, and that too without the slightest reference to the origin of any natural phenomena. Myths of this class appear to have been told from a love of the obscene. Nothing of a mysterious or religious character can be found in them. Perhaps such myths are of modern origin; but this must remain an enigma.

§ 11. The Omaha and Ponka are in a transition state, hence many of their old customs and beliefs are disappearing. Some have been lost within the past fifty years, others within the last decade, according to unimpeachable testimony. The Ponka are more conservative than the Omaha, and the Kansa and Osage are more so than the Ponka, in the estimation of the author.

§ 12. Though it has been said that the Indians feared to tell myths except on winter nights (and some Indians have told this to the author), the author has had no trouble in obtaining myths during the day at various seasons of the year.

§ 13. James Alexander, a full Winnebago of the Wolf gens and a non-Christian, told the author that the myths of the Winnebago, called wai-ka^{n}-na by them, have undergone material change in the course of transmission, and that it is very probable that many of them are entirely different from what they were several generations ago. Even in the same tribe at the present day, the author has found no less than three versions of the same myth, and there may be others.

The myth of the Big Turtle is a case in point.[1] The narrator acknowledged that he had made some additions to it himself.

§ 14. No fasting or prayer is required before one can tell a myth. Far different is it with those things which are "Wakanda$_{1}$a$_{2}$ca^{n}," or are connected with visions or the secret societies. This agrees in the main with what Mr. James Mooney, of the Bureau of Ethnology, has learned from the Cherokee of North Carolina. Mr. Frank H. Cushing has found that the Zuñi Indians distinguish between their folk-lore and their cult-lore, i. e., between their legends and mythic tales on the one hand, and their dramatized stories of creation and their religious observances on the other, a special name being given to each class of knowledge. To them the mythic tales and folk-lore in general are but the fringe of the garment, not the garment itself. When they enact the creation story, etc., they believe that they are repeating the circumstances represented, and that they are then surrounded by the very beings referred to in the sacred stories. Similar beliefs were found by Dr. Washington Matthews, as shown in his article entitled "The Prayer of a Navajo Shaman," published in the American Anthropologist of Washington, D. C., for April, 1888.

[1] See Contr. N. A. Ethn. Vol. VI, 271–277.

§ 15. At the same time there seems to be some connection between certain myths and the personal names called, "nikie names." This will be considered in detail in a future monograph on "Indian Personal Names," now in course of preparation. One example must suffice for the present. In the ɣaⁿze gens of the Omaha there is a nikie name, ɖasi duba, Four Peaks. The author did not understand its derivation until he studied the myth of Haxige and observed the prayers made in gathering the stones for the sweat-bath. Each stone was invoked as a venerable man (see § 9), the Four Peaks were mentioned several times, and the two superior deities or chief mysterious ones (Wakanda ꞯañga agɬañɣaⁿhaⁿ hnañkace) were invoked.[1]

This last refers to the Wakanda residing above and the one in the ground. It is therefore possible that in past ages the Siouan tribes did not differentiate between the myth and what is "Wakandaꞯaɬicaⁿ." But we have no means of proving this.

§ 16. Most of the Omaha governmental instrumentalities ("wewaspe") were "Wakandaꞯaɬicaⁿ," but there were things that were "Wakandaꞯaɬicaⁿ," which were not "wewaspe," such as the law of catamenial seclusion.

[1] Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VI, pp. 234, 242

CHAPTER III.

CULTS OF THE OMAHA, PONKA, KANSA, AND OSAGE.

BELIEFS AND PRACTICES NOT FOUND.

§ 17. There are certain beliefs and practices which have not been found among the four tribes whose cults are treated of in this chapter. Ancestors were not worshiped. They were addressed reverently when alive, and when they died it was not contrary to custom to refer to them by name, nor did their deaths involve the change of name for a single object or phenomenon. It was a very common occurrence for the name of the deceased to be assumed by a surviving kinsman. This is shown by genealogical tables of a few Siouan tribes, the material for which was collected by the author, and which will form part of his monograph on "Indian Personal Names," now in course of preparation for publication by the Bureau of Ethnology.

§ 18. They never heard of Satan or the devil until they learned of him from the white people. Now they have adopted the terms, "Wanáxe piäjĭ," "Iũgɸaⁿxe piäjĭ," and "Wakanda piäjĭ." The first is used by the Omaha and Ponka, the others were heard only among the Ponka. They have a certain saying, applicable to a young man who is a liar, or who is bad in some other way: "Wanáxe piä'jĭ égaⁿ ábaⁿ," i. e. "He is like the bad spirit!" This becomes, when addressed to the bad person, "Wanáxe piä'jĭ éɸikigaⁿ'-qti jaⁿ'," i. e. "You act just like the (or a) bad spirit."

§ 19. Though it has been said that hero worship was unknown among the Omaha and Ponka, it has been learned that Omaha mothers used to scare their unruly children by telling them that Icibajĭ (a hero of the ⊥e-sĭnde gens) or his friend ⊥exujaⁿ (a hero of the ⊻aⁿze gens) would catch them if they did not behave. There was no worship of demigods, as demigods were unknown. Two Crows and Joseph La Flèche said that phallic worship was unknown, and they were surprised to hear that it had been practiced by any tribe. (See § 132, 164.) As the Ponka obtained the sun-dance from their Dakota neighbors, it is probable that they practiced the phallic cult.

§ 20. Totems and shamans were not worshiped, though they are still reverenced. Altars or altar-stones were unknown. Incense was not used, unless by this name we refer to the odor of tobacco smoke as it ascended to the Thunder-being, or to the use of cedar fronds in the sweat lodge. There were no human sacrifices, and cannibalism was not practiced.

OMAHA, PONKA, AND KANSA BELIEF IN A WAKANDA.

§ 21. According to Two Crows and Joseph La Flèche, the ancestors of the Omaha and Ponka believed that there was a Supreme Being, whom they called Wakanda. "Wakanda t'aⁿi tĕ e¢egaⁿi, they believed that Wakanda existed." They did not know where He was, nor did they undertake to say how He existed. There was no public gathering at which some of the people told others that there was a Wakanda, nor was there any general assembly for the purpose of offering Him worship and prayer. Each person thought in his heart that Wakanda existed. Some addressed the sun as Wakanda, though many did not so regard him. Many addressed Wakanda, as it were, blindly or at random. Some worshiped the Thunder-being under this name. This was especially the case when men undertook to go on the war path.

[1]Mr. Say recorded of the Kansa: "They say that they have never seen Wakanda, so they cannot pretend to personify Him; but they have often heard Him speak in the thunder. They often wear a shell which is in honor or in representation of Him, but they do not pretend that it resembles Him, or has anything in common with his form, organization, or size."

SEVEN GREAT WAKAṄDAS.

§ 22. ⌐a¢iⁿ-naⁿ-pajĭ said that there were seven great Wakandas, as follows: "Ugahanadaze or Darkness, Maxe or the Upper World, ⌊ande or the Ground, Iñg¢aⁿ or the Thunder-being, Miⁿ or the Sun, Niaⁿba or the Moon, and the Morning Star. The principal Wakanda is in the upper world, above everything." (This was denied by Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows; see § 93.) The author thought at first that these were the powers worshiped by ⌐a¢iⁿ-naⁿpajĭ and the members of his gens or subgens; but subsequent inquiries and statements occurring in the course of texts furnish cumulative evidence favoring the view that some or all these powers had many believers among the Omaha and the cognate tribes.

INVOCATION OF WARMTH AND STREAMS.

§ 23. ⌐a¢iⁿ-naⁿpajĭ said that Macte or Warmth was a good Wakanda. Ni ¢iⁿ, the flowing Stream, according to him, was thus addressed by a man who wished to ford it: "You are a person and a Wakanda. I, too, am a person. I desire to pass through you and reach the other side." Two Crows denied this, saying that his people never prayed to a stream; but George Miller said that it was true, for his father, Little Soldier, prayed to a stream when he was on the war path, and that such invocations were made only in time of war.

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[1]See James, Account Exped. to Rocky Mountains, vol. I, p. 126.

PRAYER TO WAKANDA.

§ 24. Prayer to Wakanda, said La Flèche and Two Crows, was not made for small matters, such as going fishing, but only for great and important undertakings, such as going to war or starting on a journey. When a man wished to travel he first went alone to a bluff, where he prayed to Wakanda to help him and his family by protecting them during his absence and by granting him a successful journey. At a time when the Ponka were without food, Horse-with-yellow-hair, or Cañge-hi^{n}-zi, prayed to Wakanda on the hill beyond the Stony Butte. The latter is a prominent landmark in northern Nebraska (in what was Todd county, Dakota, in 1871-'73), about 7 miles from the Missouri River and the Ponka Agency (of 1870–'77)[1]. Several Omaha said that the places for prayer were rocks, high bluffs, and mountains. "All Omaha went to such places to pray, but they did not pray to the visible object, though they called it Grandfather."—(Frank La Flèche.) They smoked towards the invoked object and placed gifts of killickinnick, etc., upon it. Compare with this the Dakota custom of invoking a bowlder on the prairie, calling it Tũñka^{n}cida^{n} (Tuŋkaŋšidaŋ), or Grandfather, symbolizing the Earth-being.[2] Though it has been said that a high bluff was merely a place for praying to Wakanda, and that it was not itself addressed as Wakanda, the author has learned from members of the Omaha and Ponka tribes that when they went on the warpath for the first time, their names were then changed and one of the old men was sent to the bluffs to tell the news to the various Wakandas, including the bluffs, trees, birds, insects, reptiles, etc.[3]

ACCESSORIES OF PRAYER.

Among the accessories of prayer were the following: (*a*) The action called ɸistube by the Omaha and Ponka, riçtowe by the three Iowere tribes, and yuwi^{n}tapi (yuwiŋtapi) by the Dakota, consisting of the elevation of the suppliant's arms with the palms toward the object or the face of the being invoked, followed by a passage of the hand downward toward the ground, without touching the object or person (see §§ 28, 35, 36). (*b*) The presentation of the pipe with the mouthpiece toward the power invoked (see §§ 29, 35, 40). (*c*) The use of smoke from the pipe (See § § 27, 36), or of the odor of burning cedar needles, as in the sweat lodge. (*d*) The application of the kinship term, "grandfather," or its alternative, "venerable man," to a male power, and "grandmother" to a female power (see §§ 30, 31, 35, 39, 59, 60, etc.). (*e*) Ceremonial wailing or crying (Xage, to wail or cry—Dakota ćeya. See § 100).[4] (*f*) Sacrifice or offering of goods, animals, pieces of the

[1] See Jour. Amer. Folk-lore, vol. I, No. 1, p. 73.

[2] See §§ 132–136, and Tuŋkaŋšila, in Riggs's Dakota-English Dictionary, Contr. N. A. Ethnology, vol. VII.

[3] See Contr. N. A. Ethn., vol. VI, pp. 372, 373, 376, and Omaha Sociology, in 3d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnology, pp. 324, 325.

[4] Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VI, p. 394, lines 10–19; p. 395, lines 14–16.

suppliant's flesh, etc. In modern times the Kansa have substituted the lives of animals, as deer, grouse, etc., for those of human enemies (see §§ 28, 33, etc.).

OMAHA AND KANSA EXPRESSIONS ABOUT WAKANDA.

§ 25. Samuel Fremont said that before the advent of the white race the Omaha had certain expressions which they used in speaking of Wakanda. When an Indian met with unexpected good fortune of any sort the people used to say, "Wakanda has given him some assistance."[1] Or they might say, "Wakanda knows him."[2] Sometimes they said, "Wakanda has planned for his own (i. e., for his friend, relation, or subject)."[3] If a Kansa prospers, he says, "Wakan'da aká a^{n}ma^{n}'yüxü'dje aka' eyaú," i. e., "Wakanda has indeed been looking at me!" And in speaking of the success of another, he says, "Wakan'da aká níka yiñké uyü'xüdje aká eyaú," i. e., "Wakanda has indeed been looking at the man."

Samuel Fremont said that when an animal detected the approach of the hunter and consequently fled from him, the man prayed thus:

Hau', Wakan'da, wani'ta wi^{n} a^{n}¢á'i éi^{n}te cĭ i^{n}¢ég¢ize éga^{n}. Cĭ wi^{n}'
Ho, Wakanda, quadruped one you gave to me perhaps again you take yours back from me some-what again one

wa¢íonaa^{n}¢ákí¢e ka^{n}b¢éga^{n},
you cause to appear to me I hope

i. e., "Ho, Wakanda, you may have given me an animal, but now it seems that you have taken it from me. I hope that you will cause another to appear to me." But if the hunter shot at an animal and missed it, he said nothing.

PONKA BELIEF ABOUT MALEVOLENT SPIRITS.

§ 26. About eighteen years ago, the author was told by the Ponka, whose reservation was then in southern Dakota, that they believed death to be caused by certain malevolent spirits, whom they feared. In order to prevent future visits of such spirits, the survivors gave away all their property, hoping that as they were in such a wretched plight the spirits would not think it worth while to make them more unhappy. At the burial of Mazi-kide, an Omaha, the author observed that some one approached the corpse and addressed it. In referring to this in 1888, Samuel Fremont said that the speaker said, "Wakanda has caused your death." In telling this, Fremont used the singular, "Wakanda aka." On repeating this to George Miller, the latter said that it should have been "Wakanda ama," in the plural, "the Mysterious Powers," as the Omaha believed in more than one Wakanda before they learned about the one God of monotheism.

[1] Wakanda aka uiɣa^{n}i ega^{n}. [2] Wakanda aka ibaha^{n}i. [3] Wakanda aka igi¢ig¢a^{n}i.

This agrees with what was learned about the Dakota by the late missionaries, Messrs. S. R. Riggs and G. H. Pond, and by the late James W. Lynd, as stated in chapter v.

AN OLD OMAHA CUSTOM.

§ 27. "Abicude," said Samuel Fremont, "is a word which refers to an old Omaha and Ponka custom, i. e., that of blowing the smoke downward to the ground while praying. The Omaha and Ponka used to hold the pipe in six directions while smoking: toward the four winds, the ground, and the upper world. The exact order has been forgotten by Fremont, but Lewis and Clarke have recorded the corresponding Shoshoni custom. Capt. Lewis tells how the Shoshoni chief, after lighting his pipe of transparent greenstone (instead of catlinite), made a speech, after which he pointed the stem of the pipe toward the four points of the heavens, beginning with the east and concluding with the north. After extending the stem thrice toward Capt. Lewis, he pointed it first toward the heavens and then toward the center of the little circle of guests, probably toward the ground, symbolizing the subterranean power.[1]

In addressing the four winds, a peculiar expression is employed by the Omaha:

ⱡadé dúba hí¢a¢ĕ ¢á¢iⁿcé, iⁿ wiñ'ɋaⁿi-gă, Thou who causest the four
Wind four you cause it to reach there you (sing.) who move help ye me.

winds to reach a place, help ye me! Instead of the singular classifier, ¢a¢iⁿce, the regular plural, nañkáčĕ, ye who sit, stand, or move, might have been expected. (See § 33.)

In smoking toward the ground and upper world, the suppliant had to say, "I petition to you who are one of the two, you who are reclining on your back, and to you who are the other one, sitting directly above us. Both of you help me!" "Here," said Fremont, "the ground itself was addressed as a person." Two Crows said that some Omaha appealed to a subterranean Wakanda when their word was doubted, saying, "Iⁿc'áge hídeaɋa aká aⁿná'aⁿi," "The venerable man at the bottom hears me." The author is unable to say whether this was ⱡande or Wakandagi. (See § 37.)

The following was recorded of the Omaha, and refers to a custom relating to the buffalo hunt.[2]

On coming in sight of the herd, the hunters talk kindly to their horses, applying to them the endearing names of father, brother, uncle, etc. They petition them not to fear the bisons, but to run well and keep close to them, but at the same time to avoid being gored.

The party having approached as near to the herd as they suppose the animals will permit without taking alarm, they halt to give the pipe bearer an opportunity

[1] Lewis and Clarke, Expedition, ed. Allen, Dublin, vol. I, 1817, pp. 457, 458; also M'Vickar's abridgment of the same, Harpers, N. Y., vol. I, 1842, p. 303.

[2] James's Account of Long's Exped., Phila., vol, I, 1823, p. 208.

to perform the ceremony of smoking, which is considered necessary to their success. He lights his pipe, and remains a short time with his head inclined, and the stem of the pipe extended toward the herd. He then smokes, and puffs the smoke toward the bisons, and the earth, and finally to the cardinal points successively.

THE SUN A WAKANDA.

§28. In the Osage traditions the "mysterious one of day" is invoked as "grandfather."[1]

He replies that he is not the only Wakaŋa. That the Kansa worshiped the sun as a Wakanda appears from the following: "On one occasion, when the Kansa went against the Pawnees, the stick was set up for the mystic attack or 'waqpele gaxe.' The war captain addressed the rising sun thus:

"Páyi^{n} áqli kŭ^{n}'bla eyaú. Cŭñ'ge wábli^{n} alí kŭ^{n}'bla eyaú.
Pawnee I stun by hitting I wish indeed. Horse I have them I have come back I wish indeed.

Wayü'qpe cki kŭ^{n}'bla eyaú. Haléje uṁíblage. Haqi^{n}' uṁíblage.
Pulling down (a foe) too I wish indeed. Calico (shirt) I tell you about it. Robe I tell you about it.

Haská cki Páyi^{n} áqli-da^{n}' mík'ü tá miñke, Wákanda-é, é gü'a^{n}yakiyé-
Blanket too Pawnee I stun when by hitting I give to you will I who (sit) O Wakanda! that you cause me to be returning

da^{n}.
when.

"I wish to kill a Pawnee! I desire to bring horses when I return. I long to pull down an enemy! I promise you a calico shirt and a robe. I will give you a blanket also, O Wakanda, if you allow me to return in safety after killing a Pawnee!" When warriors performed the "waqpele gaxe" or the attack on the stick representing the foe, no member of the Lų or Thunder gens could participate. On such an occasion the warrior turned to the east and said: "A^{n}ma^{n}'pye kŭ^{n}'bla aú. Haská
To follow me (?) or We follow it (?) I wish . Blanket

uṁíblage aú, Wákanda-é," i. e., I wish my party to pass along the
I tell you of it - O Wakanda

road to the foe (?). I promise you a blanket, O Wakanda (if I succeed?)." On turning to the west he said: "Ų^{n}'hŭ^{n} uṁíblage aú, Wákanda-é,"
Boiling I tell you of it . O Wakanda

i. e., "I promise you a feast, O Wakanda (if I succeed?)."

When it was decided to perform the "waqpele gaxe," the duda^{n}hañga or war captain made one of the lieutenants carry the sacred bag, and two of the kettle tenders took bundles of sticks, which they laid down in the road. The four remaining kettle tenders remained at the camping place. The next morning all the warriors but those of the Lų gens went to the place where the sticks had been laid, drew a circle around the bundles, set up one of the sticks, and attacked it, as if it were a Pawnee. This ceremony often caused the death of real enemies.

Among the Osage and Kansa prayer was made toward the rising sun in the morning and towards the setting sun in the afternoon and evening.

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[1] Ha. witsiąue. 6th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 385, line 50; p. 389, line 50; p. 391, line 4, etc.

Among the Omaha and Kansa the head of a corpse is laid towards the east. For this reason no Omaha will consent to recline with his head towards that point. The Kansa lodges also are orientated, and so were those of the Omaha (see §59). The east appears to symbolize life or the source thereof, but[1] the west refers to death; so among the Osage the course of a war party was towards the mythic or symbolic west, towards which point the entrances of the lodges were turned[2] (see §§ 83 and 384).

Gahige, the late Omaha chief, said that when he was young all the Omaha prayed to the sun, holding up their hands with the palms towards the sun and saying, "Wakaúda, ɸá'ea^{n}'ɸa-gă," etc., i. e., "O Wakanda, pity me!" They abstained from eating, drinking, and (ordinary) smoking from sunrise to sunset; but after sunset the restrictions were removed.[3]

For four nights the men who thus prayed did not sleep at home. At the end of that period the task was finished. "Íwacka^{n} gáxai," i. e., they made or gained superhuman power. They could thus pray at any time from the appearance of grass in the spring until the ground became frozen.

THE OFFERING OF TOBACCO.

§ 29. In 1889 George Miller gave an account of what he called "Niní bahaí tĕ," i. e. the offering or presentation of tobacco. Whether this phrase was ever used except in a religious or superhuman connection is more than the author is able to say. Whenever the Indians traveled they used all the words which follow as they extended the pipe with the mouthpiece toward the sun: "Haú, niní gakĕ' Wakan'da,
Ho tobacco that lg. ob. Wakanda

Mi^{n}' ɸé niñkĕ'cĕ! Ujañ'ge ɸiɸíɳa kĕ égaⁿqti úaba té ă. Iñgáxa-gă!
Sun this you who sit Road your lg. ob. the just so its course I follow will ! Make it for me

Edáda^{n} ctécte úda^{n}qti ákipañkiɸa'-gă! Edáda^{n} júajĭ wi^{n}' ĕdedíte ɣĭ'
What soever very good cause me to meet it What inferior one it is there if

íbeta^{n}añkiɸá-gă! ɸi'-na^{n} ámusta waɸíɔna ɸagɸi^{n}', ní-uɸan'da ɸéɸa^{n}
cause me to pass around it Only thou directly above (us) in sight you sit island this place

ɸéɸa^{n}ska édega^{n}, edáda^{n} waníta ɋan'de ucka^{n}'cka^{n} ɸa^{n} bɸúgaqti níkaci^{n}ga
this large but what quadruped ground my. on it here and there the all person

ɸa^{n}' ctĕwa^{n}' wi^{n}' a^{n}'ba ata^{n}' íɸaɔni'gɸa^{n} ɣĭ, éga^{n}-na^{n}. Áda^{n} wi'ɣa-na^{n}-
the soever one day how long you decide for him when always so. There- fore I ask a favor of you

ma^{n}' hă, Wakan'da" This may be rendered freely thus: "Ho, Mysalone . . Wakanda
terious Power, you who are the Sun! Here is tobacco! I wish to follow your course. Grant that it may be so! Cause me to meet whatever is good (i. e., for my advantage) and to give a wide berth to

[1] Am. Naturalist, Feb. 1884, p. 126; *Ibid.*, July, 1885, p. 670.

[2] Ibid., Feb. 1884, pp. 115, 116, 117, 120, 123, 125.

[3] A similar rule about fasting obtained among the Kansa when mourning for the dead. See Amer Naturalist, July, 1885, pp. 670, 672, 679.

anything that may be to my injury or disadvantage. Throughout this island (the world) you regulate everything that moves, including human beings, when you decide for one that his last day on earth has come, it is so. It can not be delayed. Therefore, O Mysterious Power, I ask a favor of you."

THE PONKA SUN DANCE OF 1873.

In the summer of 1873, when the author was missionary to the Ponka in what was Todd County, Dakota, that tribe had a sun dance on the prairie near the mission house. The scarifications and subsequent tortures and dancing lasted but three hours instead of a longer period, owing to the remonstrances of Bishop Hare, the agent, and the missionary. The head chief, White Eagle, was tied to his pony, after he had been scarified and fastened to the sun pole. Some of his policemen, armed with whips, lashed the pony until it leaped aside, tearing out the lariat that fastened the chief to the sun pole, and terminating his participation in the ceremony. (See Pl. XLVI and § 187.) For obvious reasons the author did not view the sun dance, but he was told about it by some of the spectators. As the chief, Standing Buffalo, had said to Bishop Hare in the council previous to the sun dance, "You white people pray to Wakanda in your way, and we Indians pray to Wakanda in the sun dance. Should you chance to lose your way on the prairie you would perish, but if we got lost we would pray to Wakanda in the sun dance, and find our way again."

THE MOON A WAKANDA.

§ 30. No examples of invocations of the moon have yet been found among the Omaha and Ponka. But that the moon is "qube" appears from the decorations of robes and tents. (See §§ 45–47.)

The moon is addressed as a "grandfather" and is described as the "Wakaŋa of night" in "Osage Traditions," lines 55–59.[1]

BERDACHES.

The Omaha believe that the unfortunate beings, called "Miⁿ-qu-ga," are mysterious or sacred because they have been affected by the Moon Being. When a young Omaha fasted for the first time on reaching puberty, it was thought that the Moon Being appeared to him, holding in one hand a bow and arrows and in the other a pack strap, such as the Indian women use. When the youth tried to grasp the bow and arrows the Moon Being crossed his hands very quickly, and if the youth was not very careful he seized the pack strap instead of the bow and arrows, thereby fixing his lot in after life. In such a case he could not help acting the woman, speaking, dressing, and working just as Indian women used to do. Louis Sanssouci said that the miⁿ-quga took other men as their husbands. Frank La Flèche knew one such

[1] See 6th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 385, 389.

man, who had had several men as his husbands. A Ponka child once said to the author, "Miⁿjiñga-ma nuǰiñga ama ꞇi-gaxe-nandi, miⁿquga, ai," i. e., "If boys make a practice of playing with the girls they become (or are called) miⁿquga." This term may be rendered "hermaphrodite" when it refers to animals, as "ꞇe miⁿquga," a hermaphrodite buffalo. It must have been of this class of persons, called "Miⁿ-quge" by the Kansa that Say wrote when he said:

> Many of the subjects of it (i. e., sodomy among the Kansa) are publicly known, and do not appear to be despised or to excite disgust. One was pointed out to us. He had submitted himself to it in consequence of a vow he had made to his mystic medicine, which obliged him to change his dress for that of a woman, to do their work, and to permit his hair to grow.[1]

After giving an account of the Miⁿquga which agrees with what has been written above, Miss Fletcher[2] tells of "a man who had the misfortune to be forced to this life and tried to resist. His father gave him a bow and some arrows, but the penalty of his vision so wrought upon his mind that, unable to endure the abnormal life, he committed suicide." (See §§ 212, 353.)

STARS AS WAKANDAS.

§ 31. That the Omaha and Ponka regarded the stars as Wakandas seems probable from the existence of nikie names and the personal mystery decorations. (See §§ 45, 47, and 52.) There are star names in the Night gens of the Kansa, and they point to the mythical origin of the gens. The Kansa made offerings to the morning star. Among the Osage the traditions of the Tsiǫu Wactaꞇe and Bald Eagle people mention several Wakanꞇas among the stars. These are as follows: Watse ꞇuꞇa, a "grandfather;" Watse miⁿꞇa, a "grandmother;" Miⁿkak'e peɸĭⁿda, the Seven Stars (Pleiades?), a "grandfather;" the constellation Ta ɸadɸiⁿ or the Three Deer, a "grandfather;" the morning star, Miⁿkak'e tañꞇa (literally, large star), a "grandfather;" the small star, a "grandfather;" the bowl of the Dipper, called "Wadaha ɸiñkce; the Funeral Bier," a "grandfather," and the Female Red Bird, a "grandmother," the eponym of the Tsiǫu Wactaꞇe or "Red Eagle" gens. She, too, was probably a star.[3]

§ 32 Gaⁿ edádaⁿ ɸiⁿ′ ctĕwaⁿ ɸahaⁿ′-naⁿi ni′aciⁿ′ga ama′, dahe′ ꞇañga′ ɸiⁿ,
And what the col. ob. soever usually prayed (to) Indian the pl. sub. hill large the col. ob.

ctĕwaⁿ′. "Wakan′da bɸu′gaqti wi′ꞇai ă," e′-naⁿi. "Hau, ꞇan′de niñkĕ′
soever Wakanda all I ask a favor of you (pl.) ! they said usually Ho Ground you who

cĕ, ꞇa′ci jiñ′ga e′gaⁿ a′witaⁿ te′ ă," ai′ ni′kaciⁿ′ga ama′. ꞇade′ ni′ɸĕ
sit some time little so I tread on you will ! say Indians the pl. sub. Whence the wind is sent hither (?)

[1] James' Account Long's Exped., Phil., vol. I, 1823, p. 129.

[2] Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 281, note.

[3] See "Osage Traditions," pp. 384–395, in 6th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

du′baha	tĕ′	ctĭ	ɸaha^{n}′-na^{n}i.	“Ɪade′	ui′ɸĕ	du′baha	naũka′cĕ,
in four places	the	too	they usually pray (to)	Whence the wind is sent hither (?)		in four places	ye who are

i^{n}wiñ′ɣa^{n}i-gă.”	Ga^{n}′	gage′giɸa^{n}′i	ni′aci^{n}′ga	uke′ɸi^{n}	ama′,	Wakan′da
help ye me	and	they speak in that manner to (one)	Indian	ordinary	the pl. sub.	Wakanda

wa′ɸaha^{n}i tĕ′di. “The Indians used to invoke various objects, including the mountains, saying, ‘O, all ye mysterious powers, I ask a favor of you!’ They prayed to the ground, saying, ‘O, you who are the ground! May I tread you a little while longer!’ i. e., ‘May my life on earth be prolonged!’ When one prayed to the four winds, he would say, ‘Ho, ye four winds, help me!’ Thus did speak when they prayed to the Wakandas.”—(George Miller.)

they pray to them	when

THE WINDS AS WAKANDAS.

§ 33. The Omaka and Ponka invoked the winds, as has been stated in part of the preceding section. See also the statement of Samuel Fremont (§ 27).[1]

In preparing for the pipe dance the tobacco pouch, two gourd rattles, and the ear of corn have a figure drawn on each of them with green paint; it is the cross, indicating the four quarters of the heavens or the four winds.[2]

KANSA SACRIFICE TO THE WINDS.

“In former days the Kansa used to remove the hearts of slain foes and put them in the fire as a sacrifice to the four winds. Even now (1882) offerings are made to every Wakanda by the Kansa, to the power or powers above, to those under the hills, to the winds, the thunder-being, the morning star, etc. As Ali^{n}kawahu and Paha^{n}legaqli are Yata men (i. e., members of gentes camping on the left side of the tribal circle), they elevate their left hands and begin at the left with the east wind, then they turn to the south wind, then to the west wind, and finally to the north wind, saying to each, ‘Gá-tcĕ, Wakan′da, mik′ü′ eyau′,’ i. e., ‘O Wakanda, I really give that to you.’ In former days they used to pierce themselves with knives and splinters of wood, and offer small pieces of their flesh to the Wakandas.”[3]

OSAGE CONSECRATION OF MYSTIC FIREPLACES.

The author considers that the following statement of the Osage chief, ɣahiɣe-waɟayiñɣa (of the Tsiou Wactaɣe gens), refers to the invocation of the four winds. It appears to have been associated with fire or hearth worship. Whenever a permanent village of earth lodges was

[1] For an account of the offering of meat to the four winds, see Om. Soc., 3d Ann. Rept., Bur. Ethn., p. 284.

[2] See Miss A. C. Fletcher on the “Wawan or Pipe Dance of the Omahas,” Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 311, note 11, and the author’s paper, Om. Soc., pp. 278, 279.

[3] Paha^{n}le-gaqli and Waqube-k’i^{n} gave this information in the winter of 1882–’83. Compare the self-inflicted tortures of the Dakota and Ponka in the sun dance (§§ 29, 181–3, 185, 187).

established among the Osage and Kansa, there was a consecration of a certain number of fireplaces before the ordinary fireplaces could be made by the common people. The consecrated fireplaces were made in two parallel rows, beginning at the west and ending at the east. Among the Kansa there were seven on one side and six on the other, but among the Osage there seem to have been seven on each side. Among the Osage, the Tsiȯu Wactaɣe and Paⁿɳka gentes were the 'road-makers,' i. e., those who consecrated the two rows of fireplaces. ɣahiɣe-waɬayiñɣa said, "When the old Tsiȯu man made his speech, he went into details about every part of a lodge, the fireplace, building materials, implements, etc. Four sticks were placed in the fireplace, the first one pointing to the west (see §§ 40, 84). When the first stick was laid down, the Tsiȯu leader spoke about the west wind, and also about a young buffalo bull (Tseɬu-ȯiñɣa), repeating the name, Wanie-skă (meaning not gained). When the stick pointing to the north was laid down he spoke of Tsehe-quɬse (gray buffalo horns), or a buffalo bull. When the stick at the east was laid down, he spoke of Tse-ɬuɣa-tañɣa (a large buffalo bull). On laying down the fourth stick, pointing to the south, he spoke of Tse miⁿɣa (a buffalo cow). At the same time a similar ceremony was performed by the aged Paⁿɳka man for the gentes on the right side of the tribal circle. In placing the stick to the east, he mentioned Taɬse ɣaqpa tsĕ (the east wind) and Tahe cade (dark horned deer). In placing that to the north, Taɬse ɖasaⁿ tsĕ (the north wind, literally, 'the pine wind') and Tahe quɬse (the deer with gray horns) were mentioned. In placing that pointing to the west, Taɬse Maⁿha tsĕ (the west wind) and an animal which makes a lodge and is with the Tahe pasiɣe (probably a deer name) were mentioned. In placing the stick pointing to the south, he spoke of Taɬse Ak'a tsĕ (the south wind) and Ta wañka he aɣɸaȯi skutañɣa (probable meaning, a large white female deer without any horns).

§ 34. In time of war, prayers were made about the fire (§287), when a warrior painted his face red, using the "fire paint," a custom of the left or Tsiȯu side of the tribe. Those on the right or Haũɣa side used "the young buffalo bull decoration," and probably offered prayer in connection therewith, in order to be filled with the spirit of their "little grandfather" (the young buffalo bull), as they rushed on the enemy. This will be seen from the words employed by the warrior: "My little grandfather is always dangerous as he makes an attempt. Very close do I stand, ready to go to the attack!"[1]

THE THUNDER-BEING A WAKANDA.

Omaha and Ponka invocation of the thunder-being.

§ 35. Among the Omaha and Ponka, when the first thunder was heard in the spring of the year, the Black bear people went to the sacred

[1] Account of the war customs of the Osages: in Amer. Naturalist, Vol. XVIII, No. 2, February, 1884, p. 133.

tent of the Elk gens, and there they assisted the Elk people in the invocation of the Thunder-being. At a similar gathering of the Ponka, the Ponka Black bear people said, "Hau,iⁿcᶜáge, ɸiɳúcpa ɸéɸu añᶠgataⁿ ganáxiwaɸáɸai. Maⁿciáɳahá maⁿɸiñᶠgă," i. e., "Ho, venerable mar! by your striking (with your club) you are frightening us, your grandchildren, who are here. Depart on high."[1]

THUNDER-BEING INVOKED BY WARRIORS.

The Thunder-being is invoked by all present during the feast preparatory to starting on the warpath, when there is a small party of warriors. Each one addresses the Thunder-being as "Nudaⁿhañga," leader in war, or war captain.[2]

When a large war party is desired, the Thunder-being is invoked (See history of Wabaskaha, in Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VI, p. 394). Wabaskaha himself prayed, saying, "Oh, Wakanda, though foreigners have injured me, I hope that you may help me." All who heard him knew that he desired to lead a large war party. When the four captains were chosen, they had to cry incessantly at night as well as by day, saying, "Oh, Wakanda! pity me! help me in that about which I am in a bad humor." During the day they abstained from food and drink; but they could satisfy their thirst and hunger when night came.

At the feast preparatory to starting off as a large war party, the keepers of the sacred bags sing thunder songs as well as other sacred songs. One of the thunder songs used on such an occasion begins thus:

"Wi-ɳí-gaⁿ naⁿᶠ-pe-wá-ɸĕ é-gaⁿ,
Wi-ɳí-gaⁿ naⁿᶠ-pe-wá-ɸĕ é-gaⁿ,
Wé-tiⁿ kĕ gɸi-haⁿᶠ-haⁿ ɔɳĭ,
Naⁿᶠ-pe-wá-ɸĕ ——."

"As my grandfather is dangerous,
As my grandfather is dangerous,
Dangerous when he brandishes his club,
Dangerous ——."

When he had proceeded thus far, ɖaɸiⁿ-naⁿpajĭ stopped and refused to tell the rest, as it was very "waqube." He said that the principal captains of a large war party tied pieces of twisted grass around their wrists and ankles, and wore similar pieces around their heads. But Two Crows, who has been a captain, says that he never did this. (See, however, the Iowa custom in § 75.)

[1] See Omaha Sociology, §24, 3d. Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 227.
[2] Omaha Sociology, in 3d. Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 316.

ICTASANDA CUSTOM.

The following "nikie" or ancient custom of the Ictasanda gens was related by George Miller:

Naji^{n}/ da^{n}/ctĕa^{n}/ xi̯ĭ, na^{n}/pai xi̯ĭ, ga^{n}/ Wakan/da-ma nini/ uji/ wa‘i/i
Rain perhaps if they fear seen danger if so the Wakandas (pl. ob.) to-bacco put in they gave to them

tĕ. Ga^{n}/ nini/ uji/ wa‘i/i tĕ/di e/gi¢a^{n}/i tĕ: ¢‘é¢u waqpa/¢i^{n}-
the (past act) and tobacco put in they gave to them when they said to (one) the (past act) Here very

qti a/¢i^{n}he/, a^{n}wa^{n}/waɻa/¢ica^{n} cte/ctewa^{n} ¢iúde ti/g¢e gáxai-gă,
poor I who move in what direction soever to become abandoned (suddenly) make ye

ɻiga^{n}/ha. E/dedi/ ¢a/¢i^{n}cé (é) ja^{n}mi^{n}/. ¢‘ig¢íze-ma^{n}/¢i^{n}, ĕ/dedí
O grandfather. You are my. there I suspect. Walking Forked-lightning, you are

¢á¢i^{n}cé (é) ja^{n}mi^{n}/. ¢‘ia^{n}/ba-ti/g¢e, ĕ/dedí ¢a/¢i^{n}cé (é) ja^{n}mi^{n}/.
my. there I suspect. Sheet-lightning flashes suddenly you are my. there I suspect.

¢‘ia^{n}/ba-gí-na^{n}, ĕ/dedi/ ¢á¢i^{n}cé (é) ja^{n}mi^{n}/. Gáagig¢éda^{n}
Sheet-lightning is often returning hither, you are my. there I suspect (a name referring to passing thunder)

ĕ/dedí ¢á¢i^{n}cé (é) ja^{n}mi^{n}/. Ga^{n}/ gatéga^{n} gáxa-bájĭ xi̯ĭ/ctĕ níaci^{n}/ga
you are my. there I suspect. And in that manner he does not if man

ci^{n}¢iqáde ¢éga^{n} naji^{n}/i, maqpi/ kĕɻá¢ica^{n} xagé naji^{n}/i. Ga^{n}/
(See Note.) thus stands, cloud toward the lg. ob. crying stands. And

Wakan/da amá wégidaha^{n}/-bi, aí. Níkaci^{n}/ga ta^{n}/wa^{n}g¢a^{n}
Wakanda the pl. sub. that they know about them. their own they say. Person gens

wédajĭ amá a¢i^{n}/ na^{n}/pai, i̯jáje gĕ/ ctĕwa^{n}.
elsewhere the pl. sub. to have it they fear seen danger, name the pl. in. ob. even.

Águdi/ctĕ níkaci^{n}/ga amá í¢a‘e/¢ĕ amá Icta/sanda
In some places (not specified.) person the pl. sub. those who have vistons, etc. Ictasanda

úcka^{n} eɻai/ tĕ e/ga^{n} ga/xai. Waa^{n}/ ĕ/qti ga/xai da^{n}/ctĕ
custom their the ob. so they do. song they themselves they make perhaps

gia^{n}/ naji^{n}/i. Nini/ba kĕ uji/ a¢i^{n}/i e/ga^{n} maqpi/
singing their own they stand. Pipe the lg. ob. filled they have as cloud

kĕɻá¢ica^{n} úgaq¢e baha/ naji^{n}/i. Ni/kaci^{n}/ga ama/ a/ji ctĭ
towards the lg. ob. facing holding out to they stand. Person the pl. sub. different too

ga/xe-na^{n}/i. Ata^{n}/ctĕ nini/ba a¢i^{n}/-bajĭ ga^{n}/ waa^{n}/ si/a^{n}¢e/ da^{n}/ctĕ
they often do. Sometimes pipe they do not have so singing alone perhaps

naji^{n}/-na^{n}i. Kĭ ni/kaci^{n}/ga ama/ ¢e/ i/¢a‘e/¢ĕ ama/ úcka^{n} eda/da^{n}
they stand often. And person the pl. sub. this those who have visions, etc. deed what

úda^{n} uha/ ‘i/¢ĕ tai/ xi̯ĭ/ctĕ i/baha^{n}/i, cĭ úcka^{n} júajĭ
good to follow the course promise will even they know, again deed unsuitable

a/kipa tai/ xi̯ĭ/ctĕ i/baha^{n}/i. Ga^{n} ni/kaci^{n}/ga ¢i^{n} a^{n}wa^{n}/waɻa
they will meet even they know. And person the my. one in what direction

gaq¢a^{n}/ ma^{n}¢i^{n}/ ctĕwa^{n}/ nini/ uji/ ‘i/i e/ga^{n} wa¢i/g¢añki¢ai/.
large hunting expedition walks soever tobacco puts in gives to him as causes him to prophesy.

E‘a^{n}/ ujañ/ge uha/ tai xi̯ĭ/ctĕ i/baha^{n} gi/ga^{n}¢ai/ e/ga^{n} waañ/ki¢ai/.
How road he will follow its course even to know wishes for him as causes him to sing.

Kĭ ata^{n}/ctĕ ni/kaci^{n}/ga ama/ e/ga^{n}i, a/¢ade-na^{n}/i, wani/ta da^{n}/ctĕ
And sometimes person the pl. sub. just so, they often pronounce, quadruped perhaps

ube/sni^{n} xi̯ĭ, wani/ta d‘u/ba a^{n}‘i/i hă, e/ da^{n}/ctĕa^{n}/i.
they find out if quadruped some they have given to me he says perhaps.

Notes.

383,1,et passim. ₵a¢iⁿce ejaⁿmiⁿ, contracted in rapid pronunciation to, ¢a¢iⁿcejaⁿmiⁿ.

383,4–6. ₵ig¢ize-maⁿ¢iⁿ, ₵iaⁿba-tig¢e, ₵iaⁿba-ginaⁿ, and Gaagig¢edaⁿ are "nikie names" of the Ictasanda or Thunder gens of the Omaha. They may refer to four Thunder beings, one at each point of the compass, or one dwelling in the direction of each of the four winds.

383,8. Ciⁿ¢iqade, with the arms elevated and the hands stretched out, palms down, towards the clouds.

383, 9–10. Nikaciⁿga wedajĭ ama, etc. Other gentes of Omaha fear to mention these Ictasanda names, or to bestow them on members of their gentes.

383,11. Agudictĕ . . i¢a'ecĕ ama, etc. Refers to the Iĩg¢aⁿ i¢a'e¢ĕ ama, or the Thunder shamans, of the other Omaha gentes.

Translation.

When the Ictasanda people become fearful during a shower, they fill a pipe with tobacco and offer it to the Thunder-beings. And when they offer the tobacco, they speak thus: "O grandfather! I am very poor here. In some direction or other cause a place to be abandoned by those (who would injure me?). I think that you are there. O ₵ig¢ize-maⁿ¢iⁿ! I think that you are there. O ₵iaⁿba-tig¢e! I think that you are there. O ₵iaⁿba-gi naⁿ! I think that you are there. O Gaagig¢edaⁿ! I think that you are there."

And when they do not offer the tobacco, they stand with the arms elevated and the hands stretched out, palms down, as they cry towards the clouds. And they say that the Thunder-beings know about them, their worshippers.

The Omaha of the other gentes fear to mention these Ictasanda nikie names, or to bestow them on members of their gentes, as well as to invoke the Thunder-being or beings, unless they belong to the order of Thunder shamans. In that case, they can do as the Ictasanda people do. They make songs about the Thunder-beings, and stand singing their own songs. They fill the pipe with tobacco, and stand, holding it with the mouth-piece toward the clouds, as they gaze towards them.

These shamans often act otherwise. Sometimes they do not fill the pipe, and then they stand singing the Thunder songs, without offering anything to the Thunder-beings.

And these shamans know when anything promises to result in good or evil to the person undertaking it. So when a person wishes to join a large hunting party, he fills a pipe with tobacco, and offers it to a shaman, thus causing him to prophesy. As he wishes him to know the result of following a certain course, (i. e., of traveling in a certain direction), he induces the shaman to sing (sacred songs). And sometimes the shaman predicts the very occurrence which comes to pass; if, for instance, he foretells that the inquiring man will kill game, he may say, 'The Thunder-beings (?) have given me some quadrupeds.'"

KANSA WORSHIP OF THE THUNDER-BEING.

§ 36. The following was a custom of the Lų or Thunder-being gens. At the time of the first thunder-storm in the spring of the year, the Lų people put a quantity of green cedar on a fire, making a great smoke. The storm ceased after the members of the other gentes offered prayers. The Buffalo or Tcedŭñga gens aided the Lų gens in the worship of the Thunder-being, by sending one of their men to open the sacred bag of gray hawk skin and remove the mystery pipe. These objects were kept by a Lų man, Kinuyiñge, who was not allowed to open the bag.

Paha^{n}le-gaqli, of the Large Hañga gens, and Ali^{n}kawahu, of the Small Hañga, are the leaders in everything pertaining to war. Paha^{n}le-gaqli furnished the author with a copy of his war chart, on which are represented symbols of the mystery songs. In the middle of the chart there should be a representation of fire, but Paha^{n}le-gaqli said that he was afraid to draw it there, unless he fasted and took other necessary precautions. The songs used in connection with the chart are very "wakandagi," or mysterious. They are never sung on common occasions, or in a profane manner, lest the offender should be killed by the Thunder-being. One of the three songs about the sacred pipe, sung when the wrappings are taken from the pipe (See §85) by Ali^{n}kawahu is as follows:

"Ha-há! tcé-ga-nú ha-há!
Ha-há! tcé-ga-nú ha-há!
Ha-há! tcé-ga-nú ha-ha!
Hü-hü'!"

(Unintelligible to the author. Said when Ali^{n}kawahu presses down on the covers or wrappings of the pipe.)

"Yu! yu! yú! Hü-hü'! Hü-hü'!"

(Chorus sung by all the Large and Small Hañga men.)

This last line is an invocation of the Thunder-being. The arms, which are kept apart and parallel, are held up toward the sky, with the palms of the hands out. Each arm is then rubbed from the wrist to the shoulder by the other hand.[1]

After the singing of these three songs, Paha^{n}le-gaqli carries the sacred clam shell on his back.

The second figure on the chart is that of the venerable man or Wakanda, who was the first singer of all the Hañga songs. When Ali^{n}kawahu and Paha^{n}le-gaqli are singing them, they think that this Wakanda walks behind them, holding up his hands toward the Thunder-being, to whom he prays for them.

[1] This song and the invocation of the Thunder-being are used by the Ponka as well as by the Kansa. According to Miss Fletcher, the "sign of giving thanks" among the Hunkpapa Dakota is made by moving the hands in the opposite direction, i. e., "from the shoulder to the wrist." See "The White Buffalo Festival of the Uncpapas," in Peabody Museum Rept., vol. III, p. 268.

When the war pipe is smoked by any Hañga man, he holds the pipe in his right hand, and blows the smoke into the sacred clam shell, in his left. The smoke ascends from the clam shell to the Thunder-being, to whom it is pleasant.

The Kansa used to "cry to" the Thunder-being before going on the warpath. When the captain (the head of the Large Hañga gens) smoked his pipe, he used to say, Haú, Wákanda-é, Páyiⁿ-mábaⁿ miⁿ/ts'é kŭⁿ/bla eyau," i. e. "Ho, Wakanda! I really wish a Skidi" (or, Pawnee Loup) "to die!"

Ho? O Wakanda! Skidi one
to die I wish indeed

The men of the two Hañga gentes unite in singing songs to stop rain, when fair weather is needed, and songs to cause rain when there has been a drought. (See § 43.)

SUBTERRANEAN AND SUBAQUATIC WAKANDAS.

§ 37. The Omaha and Ponka believe in the Wakandagi, monsters that dwell beneath the bluffs and in the Missouri river. These monsters have very long bodies, with horns on their heads. One myth relates how an orphan killed a Wakandagi with seven heads.[1]

The Omaha have a tradition that a Wakandagi was seen in the lake into which Blackbird creek empties, near the Omaha agency. It is impossible to say whether the Wakandagi and the Ḷande or Ground were differentiated (See § 27). The Kansa Mi-á-lu-cka were somewhat like the Wakandagi, though in one respect they resembled the mythical ḍá-snu-ta of the Omaha, i. e., in having enormous heads. The Kansa speak of the Mialucka as a race of dreadful beings with large heads and long hair.[2] They dwelt in remote places, to which they were supposed to entice any unwary Indian who traveled alone. The victim became crazy and subsequently lived as a miⁿquga or catamite. Some of the Mialucka dwelt underground or in the water, sitting close to the bank of the stream. The ancient Mialucka was a benefactor to the Indians, for he took some wet clay and made first a buffalo calf and then three buffalo bulls, which he ordered the Indians to shoot, after teaching them how to make bows and arrows and to use them.

THE INDAȼIÑGA.

§ 38. The Ponka, in 1871, told the author of a being whom they called the Indáȼiñga. This being was a superhuman character, who dwelt in the forests. He hooted like an owl, and he was so powerful that he could uproot a tree or overturn a lodge. The Ponka had a song about him, and mothers used to scare their children by saying, "Behave, else the Ĭndaȼiñga will catch you!" Joseph La Flèche had heard it spoken of as a monster in human shape, covered with thick hair. As

[1] Contr. N. A. Ethn., vol. VI, pp. 108–131.

[2] Compare the hair of the Thunder-men, in Contr. N. A. Ethn., vol. VI, pp. 187, 188.

the Ponka for wearing a mask is "Índáɸiñga gáxe," or "to act the Índáɸiñga," it may be that this character was an aboriginal bogy. Compare the Dakota Ćaŋotidaŋ, Holiuoǧića, Uŋgnaǧićala, etc. (§ 232.) Omaha mothers used to scare their children by telling them that if they did not behave, Icibajĭ (a hero of the ⅃e-sĭnde gens) or ⅃exuja^{n} (a hero of the ꓘa^{n}ze gens) would catch them.[1] Another fearful being was Ĭnde-na^{n}ba, or Two Faces, the very sight of whom killed a woman who was enceinte.[2] This being resembled, in some respects, Ictinike, the deceiver,[3] though Ictinike was usually the counterpart of the Dakota Ikto, Iktomi, or Uŋktomi. (See §§ 228–231.) As a worker of evil Ictinike may be compared with the Dakota Anŭŋg-ite or Two Faces, and the latter in turn resembled the Índáɸiñga of the Ponka. (See §§ 233, 234.)

OTHER KANSA WAKANDAS.

§ 39. The third figure on the Kansa war chart is[4] that of the Wakanda or aged man who gives success to the hunter. He is thus addressed by Ali^{n}kawahu and Paha^{n}le-gaqli: Ts'áge-jiñ'ga haú! Dáble ma^{n}'yi^{n}-

Venerable man Ho! To hunt large quadrupeds walk

aú! Dáda^{n} wádjü'ta níkaci^{n}ga ckéda^{n} wáyakípa-báda^{n} ts'éya-bánathou What quadruped person soever you meet them and (pl.) kill ye

hau! i. e., "Venerable man, go hunting! Kill whatever persons or quadrupeds meet you!" They think that this being drives the game towards the hunter.

In the war chart there are seven songs of the Wakanda who makes night songs. Fig. 16 of that chart refers to a song of another Wakanda who is not described. Fig. 18 refers to two shade songs. Shade is made by a Wakanda. Fig. 19 is a dream song. There is a Wakanda who makes people sleepy, an Indian Somnus.

§ 40. OMAHA INVOCATIONS OF THE TRAP, ETC.

Jábe da^{n}'ctĕ úji ɤĭ, maka^{n}' ígaxe ma^{n}ɸi^{n}'i ɤĭ, é niní bahá
Beaver for instance he traps it if, medicine making for that purpose he walks if, that tobacco showing

eɻá tĕ é. (The invisible being who first made the medicine was
his the it.

thus addressed:) Níkaci^{n}ga pahañ'ga maka^{n}' ícpaha^{u} niñkĕ'cĕ,
Person first medicine you knew you who (sit).

ɖéjehíde cka^{n}zé niñkĕ'cĕ, niní gakĕ'! ɸéɸu edáda^{n} cka^{n}zé gĕ
medicine you taught you who (sit), tobacco that lg. ob. Here what you taught the pl. in. ob.

[1] Contr. N. A. Ethn, vol. VI, p. 390. See also § 19. [2] Ibid., p. 207. [3] Ibid., pp. 40, 134, etc.
[4] Am. Naturalist, July, 1885, vol. 19, Pl. XX, p. 676.

iɕápaha^{n}-majĭ$'$-qti wi^{n}$'$ áiɕágaɕaɕi^{n}hé ɕa^{n}$'$ja, ca^{n}$'$ edáda^{n} ctécte
I do not know at all one I am carrying on my arm and in my hand as I move though, yet what soever

íwamakáaɕĕ té ă. Niní gakĕ$'$, aí níaci^{n}ga amá. (He then
I get it easily by means of will ! Tobacco that, lg. ob., says person the mv. sub.

prays to the beaver:) Haú, Jábe! Niní gakĕ$'$! Úbahi e$'$a^{n}$'$ ckáxai
Ho, Beaver! Tobacco that! lg. ob. Feeding place how you made them

gĕ bɕúgaqti ugígɕaca^{n}$'$i-gă! Niní gakĕ$'$! (Next, to the medicine:)
the pl. in ob. all travel ye in your own! Tobacco that! lg. ob.

Haú, ɖéjehíde, niní gakĕ$'$! $'$A^{n}$'$qti ctécte waníta wi^{n} uhé ea^{n}$'$ɕĕ
Ho, Medicine, tobacco that! lg. ob. No matter how it is (*or* At any rate) quadruped one pass me on the road (to the trap)

taté, eɕéga^{n} najiñ$'$-gă. $'$A^{n}$'$qti ctécte ɖáqɕuge a^{n}$'$ɕa^{n}ská taté,
shall, thinking it stand thou. At any rate nostrils large enough for me (*i. e.*, to smell me.) shall,

eɕéga^{n} najiñ$'$-gă. Niní gakĕ$'$! (Invocation of the trap:) Haú,
thinking it stand thou. Tobacco that! lg. ob. Ho,

Ma^{n}$'$zĕ nañkácĕ! niní gakĕ$'$! $'$A^{n}$'$qti ctécte wi^{n}$'$ wat$'$éaɕĕ tá
Iron ye who (sit)! tobacco that! lg. ob. At any rate one I kill it will

miñke, ęɕéga^{n} gɕi^{n}$'$i-gă. (Invocation of the pack-strap:) Haú,
I who, thinking it sit ye. Ho,

Wé$'$i^{n} niñkĕ$'$cĕ! niní gakĕ$'$! $'$A^{n}$'$qti ctécte wí waníta áhigi
Pack-strap you who (sit)! tobacco that! lg. ob. At any rate I quadruped many

weát$'$ĕ, eɕégañ-gă. Haú, ʟijébe íɔnugaɻá ɕáta^{n}cé! niní gakĕ$'$!
I touch them, think thou. Ho, Entrance at the right side you who stand! tobacco that! lg. ob.

$'$A^{n}$'$qti ctécte wí waníta a^{n}ɕa^{n}$'$bakín$'$de anáji^{n} tá miñke, eɕégañ-gă.
At any rate I quadruped brushing by me I stand will I who (sit), think thou.

Haú, ʟe-sĭn$'$de ugácke ɕáta^{n}cé! niní gakĕ$'$! $'$A^{n}$'$qti ctécte wí
Ho, Buffalo-tail tied to it you who stand! tobacco that! lg. ob. At any rate I

waníta a^{n}ɻáp$'$ĕ anáji^{n} tá miñke, eɕégañ-gă. Haú, Unéɕĕ niñkĕ$'$cĕ!
quadruped near to me I stand will I who (sit), think thou. Ho, Fireplace you who (sit)!

niní gakĕ$'$! $'$A^{n}$'$qti ctécte wi waníta a^{n}$'$naaí agɕi^{n}$'$ tá miñke,
tobacco that! lg. ob. At any rate I quadruped drops over on me (from the kettle) I sit will I who (sit),

eɕégañ-gă.
think thou.

Notes.

Told by George Miller. In the last invocation, he began to dictate thus: "Haú, Náwi^{n}xe dúba ákipasan$'$de nañkácĕ!" i. e., "Ho, ye
Ho, Firebrand four meet at a common point ye who

four firebrands that meet at a common point (i. e., in the middle of the

fireplace)!" He subsequently changed it to an invocation of the fireplace itself. But it is very probable that there was an invocation of the four firebrands, resembling the ceremonies of the Kansa and Osage (see § 33). George has given all that he remembers of the invocations, but he does not recollect the exact order.

387,3. đeje-hide, "lower part," or "roots of grass," an archaic name for "maka^n", medicine. Nini gakĕ—the classifier kĕ shows that a long object, the pipe, is referred to, the tobacco being in the pipe when it is offered to the powers.

388,1. aiϕagaϕaϕi^{n}he, contr. from áiϕágagaϕa áϕi^{n}hé, used here in the sense of "abϕi^n," I have.

388,12. a$^n\phi$a^{n}bakĭnde, eq. to a$^n\phi$a^{n}bista ϕówaϕĕ, to send them (through) when they are so close that they touch me.

Translation.

The invisible being who first made the beaver medicine and taught its use to mankind, was thus addressed: "Oh, Thou who didst teach how to make the medicine, here is tobacco! Though I have your medicine, the nature of which I do not understand at all, grant that I may easily acquire something or other by means of it! Here is tobacco!"

When he addressed the beavers, he said, Ho, ye Beavers! Here is tobacco! Let all of you travel in your feeding places which you have made. Here is tobacco!" To the beaver medicine itself, he said, "Ho, Medicine! Here is tobacco! Stand thinking thus, 'At any rate an animal shall surely pass me and be caught in the trap, and its nostrils shall be large enough to smell me.'" The trap itself was thus addressed: "Ho, ye pieces of iron! Here is tobacco! Sit ye and think thus: 'At any rate I will kill one!'" To the pack-strap was said, "Ho, pack-strap! Here is tobacco! Think thou, 'At any rate I shall press against many quadrupeds.'" The right side of the entrance to the tent (?) was thus addressed: "Ho, Thou who standest at the right side of the entrance to the tent! (§ 232) Here is tobacco! Think thou, 'At any rate I shall continue to have some one bring dead animals on his back and send through me suddenly, rubbing against me as they pass through.'" To the principal tent pole these words were said, "Ho, Thou who standest with the buffalo tail tied to thee! Here is tobacco! Think thou, 'At any rate, I shall have a quadruped to come near me.'" When the man invoked the fireplace, he said, "Ho, Fireplace! Here is tobacco! Think thou, 'At any rate I shall sit and have the water fall on me in drops as it boils over from the kettle containing the quadruped.'"

These invocations may be compared with what the prophet Habakkuk tells us about the Chaldeans, in the first chapter of his prophecy. In his prayer to God, he says, "These plunderers pull out all men with the hook, draw them in with their casting net, and gather them with their draw net, and rejoice and are glad in it. Therefore they make offerings to their casting net, and burn incense to their draw net, for through them their catch is rich and their food dainty."[1]

[1] Geikie's paraphrase, in "Hours with the Bible," vol. v, p. 357.

FASTING.

§ 41. This topic naturally precedes that of visions or dreams about mystery, animals, and objects. Two Crows and Joseph La Flèche heard the following spoken of as an ancient custom. It was told them in their youth by some of the old men of that day, who had received it from their elders as having been practiced by the tribe for unnumbered generations. When old men had sons, sisters' sons, or grandsons, who approached manhood, they used to direct those youths to abstain from food and drink, and to put clay on their faces, saying: "Qaⁿxa'ga xage'
Far away crying
maⁿ¢iⁿ'i-gă. Aⁿ'ba ¢a'b¢iⁿ du'ba jaⁿ' ɣĭ, wa¢áta-bajíi-gă, kĭ ní
walk ye. Day three four sleep if, do not eat (pl.), and water
¢ataⁿ'-bajíi-gă. ₵iqu'bajĭ cte'ctĕwaⁿ, caⁿ' Wakan'da aká u¢i'ɣaⁿ
do not drink (pl.) You are not "qube" even if, still Wakanda the sub. he will
tá aka. Wa'¢awaqpáni maⁿoniⁿ'i ɣĭ, waoⁿáhaⁿ-de ¢axáxage ɣĭ,
aid you. You act as if poor you walk if, you pray when you cry if
u¢i'ɣaⁿ ta' aka," i. e., "Walk ye in remote places, crying to Wakanda.
he will aid you.
Neither eat nor drink for three or four days. Even though you do not acquire personal myterious power, Wakanda will aid you. If you act as poor men, and pray as you cry, he will help you."

When their throats became dry, their voices gave out. When they had completed their fasts, they went home, being exceedingly emaciated. At that time they could not swallow solid food, so they were obliged to subsist on mush mixed with much water, till by degrees they became able to eat what they pleased. Many thought that this fasting enabled them to have superhuman communications with Wakanda.

Fasting was practiced at other times, but always in order to obtain superhuman assistance or to acquire a transfer of superhuman power. A Ponka war captain exhorted each of his followers thus: "Ahaú! Wackaⁿ' egañ'-gă! Qu'bekiqa'-bi ¢iⁿhe'!" i. e., "Oho! Do exert yourself! Be sure to make yourself the possessor of superhuman power by the aid of the animal that you have seen in your vision after fasting!"[1] Members of a small war party had to fast four days, counting from the time that they started on the warpath.[2] Before the large war party was formed to avenge the wrongs of Wabaskaha, the four prospective captains fasted.[3] When the Kansa captain fasted, he could not visit his family, but a small fasting lodge was erected for him at some distance from his own house.[4]

MYSTIC TREES AND PLANTS.

§ 42. The Omaha have two sacred trees, the ash and the cedar. The ash is connected with the beneficent natural powers. Part of the sacred pole of the Omaha and Ponka is made of ash, the other part being of cottonwood. The stems of the niniba weawaⁿ, or "sacred pipes of

[1] Contr. N. A. Ethn., vol. VI, pp. 370, 371.
[2] Om. Sociology, in 3d. Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 317.
[3] Ibid, p. 319.
[4] "Kansas Mourning and War Customs," in Am. Naturalist, July 1885, p. 672.

friendship," are made of ash. But the cedar is linked with the destructive agencies, thunder, lightning, wars.[1]

When the seven old men took the pipes around the Omaha tribal circle, the bad Ma^{n}¢iñka-gaxe people wore plumes in their hair and wrapped branches of cedar around their heads, being awful to behold. So the old man passed them by and gave the pipe to the other Ma^{n}¢iñka-gaxe, who were good. In the Osage traditions, cedar symbolizes the tree of life. When a woman is initiated into the secret society of the Osage, the officiating man of her gens gives her four sips of water, symbolizing, so they say, the river flowing by the tree of life, and then he rubs her from head to foot with cedar needles three times in front, three times at her back, and three times on each side, twelve times in all, pronouncing a sacred name of Wakaŋa as he makes each pass. Part of the Pa^{n}ɥka gens of the Osage tribe[2] are Red Cedar people. The Pañka gens of the Kansa tribe is called "Qŭndjala^{n}," i. e., "wearers of cedar (branches) on the head." Cedar is used by the Santee Dakota in their ceremony of the four winds. (See § 128.) The Teton Dakota believe in the efficacy of the smell of cedar wood or of the smoke from cedar in scaring away ghosts. (See § 272.) In the Athapascan creation myth of Oregon,[3] obtained by the author in 1884, the smoke of cedar took the place of food for the two gods who made the world, and the red cedar is held sacred as well as the ash, because these two trees were the first to be discovered by the gods.[3]

That the Hidatsa have a similar notion about the red cedar is shown by their name for it, "midahopa," mysterious or sacred tree. Compare what Matthews tell about the Hidatsa reverence for the cottonwood with what is recorded above about the Omaha sacred pole.[4] (§ 344.)

The cottonwood tree also seems to have been regarded as a mystic tree by the Omaha and Ponka, just as it is by the Hidatsa. The sacred pole of the two tribes was made from a tall cottonwood.[5] When the lower part of the sacred pole became worn away, about 8 feet remained, and to this was fastened a piece of ash wood about 18 inches long. In preparing for the dance called the Hede watci, the Iñke-sabĕ people sought a cottonwood tree, which they rushed on, felled, and bore to the center of the tribal circle, where they planted it in the "ujeɟi." Mystic names taken from the cottonwood are found in the ₵ixida and Nikaɗaɔna, the two war gentes of the Ponka tribe, and in the ₵atada and ꓘa^{ɔ}ze gentes of the Omaha.[6]

That there were other mystic trees and plants, appears from an examination of the personal names of the Omaha, Ponka, and cognate tribes. For instance, ⅃ackahig¢a^{n}, a nikie name of the ⅃aɗa, or Deer

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Miss Fletcher, in Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., Proc., vol. XXXIII, pt. 2, 1885, pp. 616, 617. Francis La Flèche, ibid., p. 614.

[1] Osage Traditions, in 6th Ann. Rept. of the Director Bur. Ethn., 1888, p. 377.

[2] Am. Anthropologist, vol. II., No. 1, 1888, p. 59. ("January, 1889.")

[3] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Survey, Hayden; Miscel. Publ., No. 7, 1877; Matthews' Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa, 1877, p. 48.

[4] Om. Soc., p. 234. Contr. N. A. Ethn., vol. VI, 468, line 3.

[5] Om. Soc., p. 297. Contr. N. A. Ethn., vol. VI, 471, lines 3–5.

gens of the Omaha, conveys some reference to a white oak tree, ꞑackahi; and in the Nuqe, a Buffalo gens of the Ponka tribe, we find the name Ʇabeĥi, from a plant, bush, or tree found in Nebraska, the leaves of which, resembling those of red cherry trees, are used by the Omaha for making a tea. Further study may show that the Winnebago, who have the name Waziꞑa, Pine Person, reverence a pine tree. (Query: May not this name be Cedar Person, rather than Pine Person?)

Among the Iowa, Oto, and Missouri, we find several cedar, corn, and pumpkin names. Several corn and pumpkin names occur in the name list of the Kansa tribe. Corn, elm, and black hawthorn names are found in the Osage name list, as well as cedar names; and their traditions tell of the cedar, red oak, and sycamore, as well as of the corn and pumpkin.[1] (See § 49.)

IɸA'EɸĔ.

§ 43. This term has been defined in Chapter II (§ 8). It is very probable that fasting for several days tended to produce the condition of mind and body requisite for the supposed superhuman communications. According to Ʇaɸiⁿ-naⁿpaji and other Omaha, some persons thought that they saw or heard ghosts or various animals. Sometimes men were roused from sleep, imagining that they heard mysterious voices. They claimed to have interviews with U-ga-ha-na-ɖa-ze, or the Ancient of Darkness; Ma-qpi, or the Ancient of Clouds; Ʇande, or the Ground Being; Iñgɸaⁿ, or the Thunder-being; the Sun, the Moon, the Morning Star, the Ancient of Rattlesnakes, the Ancient of Grizzly Bears, the Ancient of Black Bears, the Ancient of Buffaloes, the Ancient of Big Wolves, and the Ancient of Prairie Wolves. Each being or animal thus seen in a dream or vision seems to have been regarded as the special guardian spirit of the person claiming to have had interviews with him. The Iñgɸaⁿ iɸa'eɸĕ-ma, or Those who had interviews with the Thunder-being, never danced at the meetings of their society. They invited one another to feast, and they sang as they remained seated. The songs referred to the Thunder-being. When they finished eating and singing the ceremonies ended. This order of Thunder shamans claimed the power to make rain (see § 36).

According to Ʇaɸiⁿ-naⁿpaji and Little Village Maker, these shamans could also make circles of seven colors around the sun and moon, and the two men just named said that they had seen this done. Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows gave the following explanation: "When there are clouds that obscure the moon, a circle is seen around the moon, and it sometimes resembles a rainbow." Though Two Crows belongs to the Buffalo society (Ʇe iɸa'eɸĕ-ma, or Order of Buffalo shamans—see § 89), he said that he had never had an interview with a mysterious buffalo, but that his work in the order was confined to the practice of surgery, he being the keeper of the "makaⁿ skiɸĕ," or sweet

[1] Osage Traditions, in 6th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 377, 379, 390.

medicine. Notwithstanding this, there are certain buffalo songs, the property of the order, and which they claim to be powerful charms capable of working cures, when used by the surgeons of their order. Said Two Crows to the author, "If they had sent for the doctors of our order we could have cured President Garfield." The author obtained two of these Buffalo songs from an Omaha, but they are recorded only in singing notation.[1]

Among the Omaha societies are the Cañge iɸa'eɸĕ-ma, the Horse shamans,[2] the Ca^{n}ɻañga iɸa'eɸĕ-ma, the Big Wolf shamans,[3] and the Ma^{n}tcu iɸa'eɸĕ-ma, the Grizzly Bear shamans.[4]

According to Francis La Flèche.[5]

"There are three degrees of powers which come to men through visions: First, when the vision takes the form of an animal which addresses the man, he will then have acquired a power which will stead him in danger, and give him success in life. Second, if the vision assumes the appearance of a cloud, or a human shape having wings like an eagle, and a voice addresses the man, he will have the additional power of being able to foretell events. Third, when the vision comes without any semblance and only a voice is heard, the man is given not only the power to achieve success and foretell events, but he can foresee the coming of death. Should a man endowed with the third degree so elect, he can in due form join the Ghost Society; or, if he prefers, he can practice his powers individually."

His father, the late Joseph La Flèche, told the author in 1882 that the Ghost Dance formerly belonged to the Ponka tribe, from whom the Omaha took it; though it has not been used by the Omaha since about A. D. 1850.[6] The only inference which the author can draw from this statement of the father is that if the Omaha obtained the Ghost Dance from the Ponka, the Ghost Society or order of Ghost shamans is not an original Omaha society. That the two are closely connected is proved by the names, Wanaxe iɸa'eɸĕ-ma, the (order of) Ghost shamans (or, The Ghost Society), and Wanaxe iɸa'eɸĕ watcigaxe, The dance of those who have visions of ghosts, or, The Ghost Dance.

The Kansa have the Tce wactce, or Buffalo shaman, and an order of such shamans. When a Kansa had a vision or dream (i-ya-k'e-ye) of an animal, etc., he painted the mystery object on his shield. An old woman used to "iyak'eye" of a flying serpent, the ɻyets'a táji lícka. The remains of such enormous serpents are found in the Black Hills, "and if one finds such a reptile, he must die." For an account of the Kansa "wakandagi" see § 66.

The Kwapa or Ukaqpa Indians speak a dialect more closely allied to that of the Omaha and Ponka than to those of the Kansa and Osage. With them, to have superhuman communications is called dɸa-q'é-dɸĕ; shamans and doctors are níka qúwĕ, mysterious men, and among their

[1] See Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. I, No. 3, p. 209; and Om. Sociology, in 3d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 347–8.

[2] Om. Sociology, p. 348.

[3] Ibid, pp. 348, 349.

[4] Ibid, p. 349.

[5] "Death and Funeral Customs among the Omahas," in Jour. Amer. Folk-lore, vol. II, No. 4, p. 3.

[6] Om. Soc., p. 353.

societies of such men are the following: Te dɸáqʻedɸĕ, Those having superhuman communications with the Buffalo; the Maⁿtú dɸaqʻédɸĕ, Those having interviews with the Grizzly Bear; the Iⁿtaⁿ/dɸaⁿ tañ/ɣa dɸaqʻédɸĕ, Those having interviews with the Panther; and the Jawé dɸaqʻédɸĕ, Those having interviews with the Beaver. There were doubtless other orders, but they are unknown to the author's Kwapa informant, Alphonsus Valliere, of the Wajiñɣa or Bird gens.[1]

PERSONAL MYSTERY DECORATIONS.

§ 44. The Omaha and Ponka have certain personal mystery decorations, some of which are worn on garments, and others appear on the tents of their owners. The makers and wearers of such decorations must be members of one of the orders of shamans. George Miller's father, Little Soldier, used to wear a buffalo robe decorated in the style shown in Figs. 156 and 157. It was his personal mystery decoration, which no one else could use. Even members of his gens (the Ictasanda, a Thunder and Reptile gens) feared to imitate it. The father promised to paint this decoration on four white blankets for his son George, but he died before he could paint the fourth one.

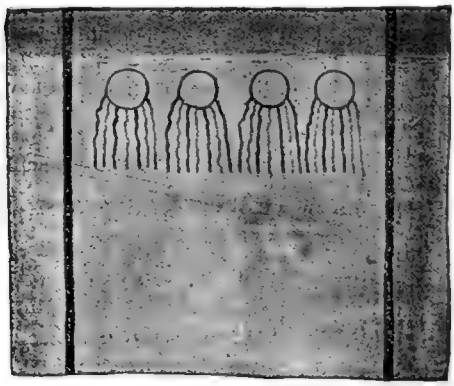


FIG. 156.—George Miller's personal mystery decoration.

George received the first one when he was about seventeen years of age. Before he married he had worn out three. He still has the right to decorate and wear the fourth blanket, according to his father's intention. He could decorate other white blankets in this style, and wear them, if he wished, but he could not transmit to any one of his children (the grandchildren of Little Soldier) the right to make and wear such a decoration, unless George himself should hereafter see the objects in a dream or vision.

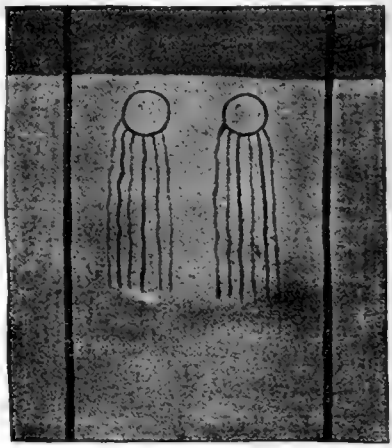


FIG. 157.—A variant of Fig. 156.

The right to use such designs on a buffalo robe, blanket, tent, etc., must originate with one who has had

[1] This Kwapa information was obtained in January, 1891, some time after the preparation of the greater part of this paper. In such a combination as dɸ the ɸ is scarcely heard.

a vision or dream in which the mystery objects are manifested. Those who could use the class of designs represented in the accompanying illustrations (Figs. 156–161) were members of the order of Thunder shamans (Iñg¢a^{n} i¢a'e¢ĕ-ma).

ORDER OF THUNDER SHAMANS.

§ 45. This order is composed of those who have had dreams or visions, in which they have seen the Thunder-being, the Sun, the Moon, or some other superterrestrial objects or phenomena.

When a person saw the Thunder-being or some other mystery object, he kept the matter a secret for some time. He took care to join the first war party that went from his camp or village. When the party reached the land of the enemy or got into some trouble the man told of his dream or vision. Should the dreamer or seer kill or grasp a foe while a member of the expedition he made a Thunder song. He who brought back one of the enemy's horses also had the right to make a Thunder song. Some time having elapsed after the return of the warriors, the seer painted the mystery objects on a robe or blanket, and prepared a feast, to which he invited all the members of the order

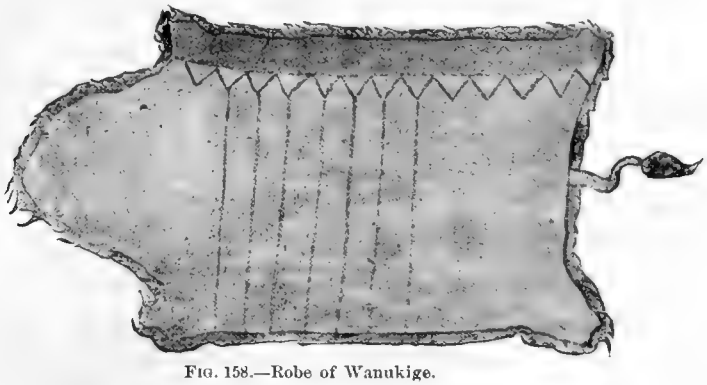


FIG. 158.—Robe of Wanukige.

of Thunder shamans. When the guests had assembled the robe was hung up and shown to them. Then all who were present rejoiced. From that time onward the host was a member of the order, and he could wear the robe with safety.

He could give his son the right to wear such a robe, but unless that son had a similar vision he could not transmit the right to one of the next generation. Little Soldier painted a buffalo robe with his personal mystery decoration, and gave it to Two Crows, whose father had been one of the leaders of the order of Thunder shamans. So Two Crows wore the robe, and he can make another like it; but he can not transmit the right to his son, Ga'i^{n}-bajĭ. Two Crows would have been afraid to wear the robe or to copy the decoration on it had he not been a member of the order by direct inheritance from his father. A father can clothe his son in such a robe when that son is large enough

to go courting. The man can not give such a robe to his daughter, but he can give one to his son's son, or to his daughter's son, should that grandson be a large youth, who has neared or reached the age of puberty.



FIG. 159.—Tent of Wanukige.

If a man who became eligible by his vision to membership in the order of Thunder shamans ventured to wear the decorated robe without inviting the members of the order to a feast, he incurred the anger of the members and misfortune was sure to follow. Should a man wear such a decorated robe without having had a vision of the mystery object, he was in danger (if the object was connected with the Thunder-being, etc.) of being killed by lightning. Every Omaha feared to decorate his robe, tent, or blanket with an object seen by another person in a dream or vision. For instance, George Miller would not dare to have bears' claws, horses' hoofs, etc., on his robe, because neither he nor his father ever saw a bear or horse mysteriously. There are penalties attached to violations of the prohibitions of the other orders, but George Miller did not know about them.

Besides the personal mystery decoration of the robe or blanket, is that of the tent. Pl. XLIV, E is a sketch of a tent, furnished to the author by Dried Buffalo Skull, an old man of the ϕatada gens of the Omaha. The decoration of this tent was the personal mystery or "qube" of Hupeϕa, Sr., father of Hupeϕa, Jr (now known as ʟenuga ɻañga), of the Wasabe-hitᶜajĭ or Black Bear sub-gens of the ϕatada. After the death of Hupeϕa, Sr., the decoration became the property of his kinsman, Agaha-wacuce, of the same sub-gens, and father of ɗaϕiⁿnaⁿpajĭ. The circle at the top, representing a bear's cave, is sometimes painted blue, though Agaha-wacuce had it reddened. Below the four zigzag lines (representing the lightnings of different colors) are the

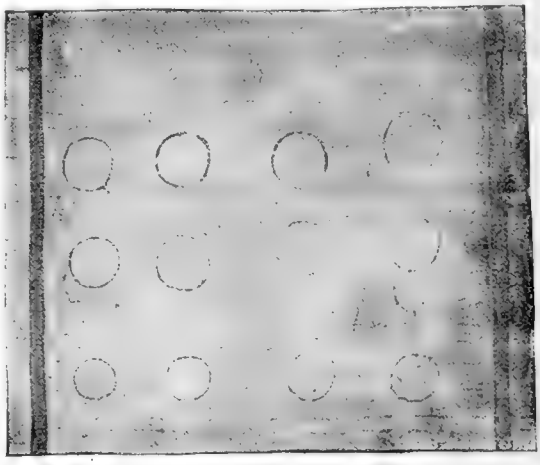


FIG. 160.—Robe of ϕaqube.

prints of bears' paws. The lower part of the tent was blackened with ashes or charcoal. Among the four zigzag lines, red, according to Mr. Francis La Flèche, symbolizes the east.

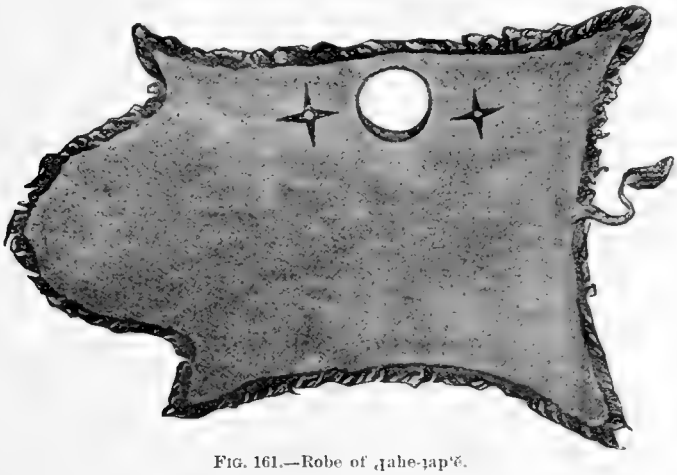


FIG. 161.—Robe of ɻahe-ɻap'ĕ.

Wanukige, a chief of the Ictasanda gens, had a vision of the aurora borealis, so he depicted this on his robes and tent, as shown in Figs. 158 and 159. On the tent were seven stripes, three on each side of the entrance and one in the rear. Each robe that he wore had seven stripes.

Fig. 160 represents the personal mystery decoration of ₵aqube of the ϗa^{n}ze gens. George Miller's father could wear this decoration, but the right to it could not be transmitted by him to any one else. ɻahe-ɻap'ĕ, of the ϗe-'i^{n} subgens of the ₵atada gens, once had a vision of two stars and the new moon. Consequently he decorated his buffalo robe, as shown in Fig. 161, and joined the order of Thunder shamans. He died when the author was at the Omaha agency (between 1878 and 1880).

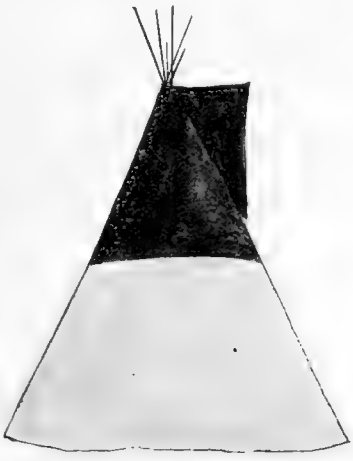


FIG. 162.—Generic decoration referring to night, etc.

GENERIC FORMS OF DECORATION.

§ 46. There are examples of generic forms of decoration, as well as those of specific forms. For instance, when a person had a vision of the night, or of the Thunder-being, or one of some other superterrestrial object, he blackened the upper part of his tent and a small portion on each side of the entrance, as shown in Fig. 162.

It was given thus by George Miller:

Níaci^{n}ga amá águdi ctĕ ha$^{n'}$ da$^{n'}$ctĕ íɸa'eɸé amá ɻí ugɸi$^{n'}$i ɻĭ,
People the pl. sub. where ever night for example they have visions of it. the pl. sub. tent they dwell in if

wi^{n}déta^{n} sábeɸaí, kĭ ci águdi ctĕ níkaci^{n}ga amá iñgɸa$^{n'}$ íɸa'eɸé amá
one-half length the they blacken and again where ever people the pl. sub. thunder being they have visions of it. the pl. sub.

cĭ égа^{n} ugɸi$^{n'}$-biamá.
again so they dwell in, they say.

SPECIFIC FORMS OF DECORATION.

A specific form related to the generic one just described is shown in Fig. 163. The blackened part of the tent represents the night, and the star denotes the morning star. There was a star on the left hand at the back of the tent, and another star on the right side. Black and blue are occasionally interchangeable in Omaha symbolism; hence we find that the night is represented by a blue band on a coyote skin worn by the elder A^{n}pa^{n}-skă, and subsequently by his son and namesake, when the latter was a small boy. The blue band was worn next the shoulders of the owner (Fig. 164).



FIG. 163.—Tent of A^{n}pa^{n}-skă, Sr.

The decoration refers to his "qube" or "sacred vision." Little Cedar, of the Ma^{n}ɸiñka-gaxe (Omaha) gens, belonged, we are told, to the Mi^{n} iɸa'eɸĕ-ma, or order of Sun and Moon shamans, probably identical with the order of Thunder shamans. Fig. 165 represents a vision which Little Cedar once had, described thus by George Miller:

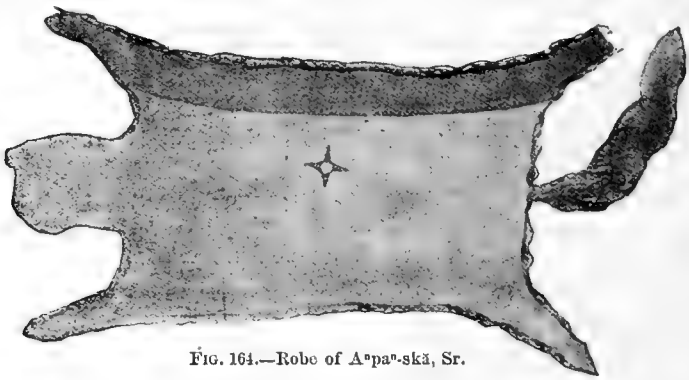


FIG. 164.—Robe of A^{n}pa^{n}-skă, Sr.

Ga$^{n'}$ níaci^{n}ga aká iɸa'eɸá-bi ega$^{n'}$ ɸetéga^{n} ɻi ugá tĕ ugɸi$^{n'}$-biamá.
And man the sub. having had a vision, they say like this std. ob. tent painted the he dwelt in, they say,

Mázi-jiñ'ga ijáje a¢i^{n}'-biamá. Sábe tĕ ha^{n}' kĕ é gáxai; nia^{n}'ba ¢a^{n}
Cedar Little his name had, they say Black the night the that lg. ob. made moon the cv. ob.

é¢a^{n}be tĕ gáxai. Nia^{n}'ba u¢an'da ¢an'di níkaci^{n}ga ug¢i^{n}' gáxai, gañ'ɣĭ
emerging the made. Moon in the midst of in the part person sitting in made and

íe¢aí ¢iñké é tĕ. Nia^{n}'ba é¢a^{n}be atí-nandi náq¢i^{n} 'ga^{n}-na^{n}'i.
one seen in a vision the one who that the Moon emerging comes regularly, when blazes (sends up light) some- what usually.

The black band refers to the night; the circle, to the moon; the circumscribed figure is a ghost that he saw in the moon; and the dots above the moon refer to the "white which stands above the rising sun or moon." Pl. XLIV B shows another tent decoration of the same man. The red circle represents the sun, in which stands a man holding the ɋa-cá-ge, or deer rattles, made of the hard or callous knobs found near the hoofs of the deer. These knobs are split, hollowed out, and strung on sticks. The tent being very large, the figure of the man was al-

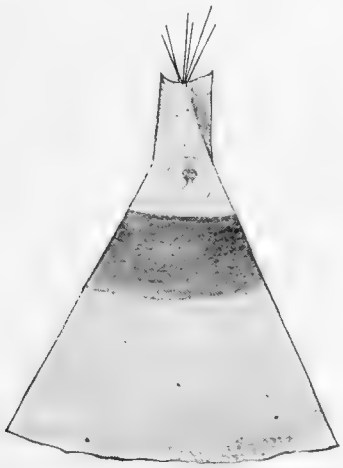


FIG. 165.—Tent of Mazi-jiñga—ghost vision.

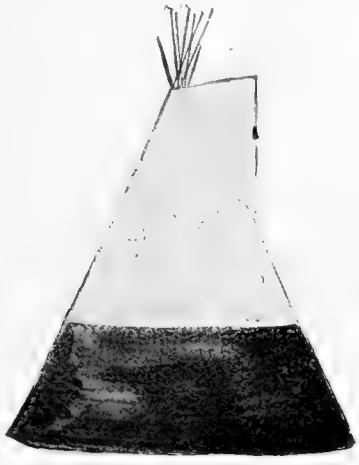


FIG. 166.—A tent of Niku¢ib¢a^{n}.

most life size, and a real feather was tied to his head. The blue band at the bottom may represent night, but there is no certainty about it.

§ 47. Fig. 166 is the decoration of one of the tents of Ni-ku-¢i-b¢a^{n}, father of the present Wacka^{n}-ma^{n}¢i^{n} (Hard Walker), an ex-chief of the Omaha. Niku¢ib¢a^{n} was one of the two leaders of the order of Thunder shamans, and was regarded as being very "qube" or mysterious. The black band at the bottom refers to the night, and above it are seen the moon and a star. The old man named one of his grandchildren Ha^{n} akipa (Meets the Night), after the vision to which the tent decoration refers.

George Miller furnished the description of Niku¢ib¢a^{n}'s tent, obtained from an old woman, who is his widow:

"Ga^{n} wíqti ɋa^{n}'ba-máji ¢a^{n}'ja, u¢aí éga^{n} ana'a^{n} hă. Ga^{n}' iñg¢a^{n}'
And I myself I did not see him though they have told about him as I have heard it. And Thunder Being

íɬaʿeɬá-biamá, áda^{n} ɻuɔniñ′ge gáxai tĕ gátĕ. Líhuɻa^{n} ɬa^{n}ɻá bagɬéjai
he had a vision of him, they say — therefore — rainbow — made it — the (past act) — that ob. — Smoke-hole — at the part — painted in spots

tĕ, é uɬaí hă waʿújiñga igáqɬa^{n} aká. Ma^{n}′ciaɻá aɬi^{n}′ akíi, á-biamá.
the (past act) — that told it — . — old woman — his wife — the sub. — On high — having him — had reached there again — he said, they say.

Eɻá ctĭ maja^{n}′ ɬé éga^{n}, á-biamá. Qubĕ′qti gáxai níaci^{n}ga, áda^{n}
There — too — land — this — like — he said, they say. — Very mysterious — they made him — man — therefore

ɻí ugá tĕ áwatéga^{n} gáxe ga^{n}′ɬai ɻĭ, ga^{n}′ éga^{n} gáxai. Bagɬéjai
tent painted the — how — to make it — he wished — when — at any rate — so — he made it. — Made spotted by painting

tĕ másí é wakaí tĕ."
he — hail — that it meant — the (past act).

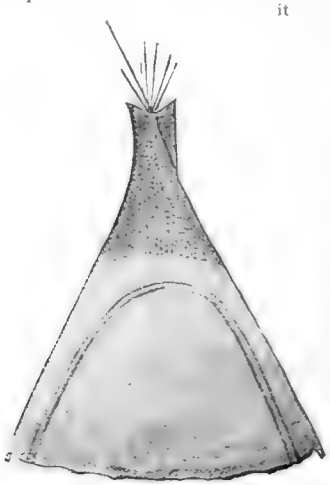


Fig. 167.—Another tent of Nikuɬibɬa^{n}.

That is, "I myself did not see him, but I have heard what was told. They say that he had a vision of the Thunder-being, so he made that rainbow which appears in the figure (Fig. 167). The old woman, his widow, has told that he painted the top of the tent, near the smoke-hole, in spots. They say that he said that the Thunder-being had carried him up on high, and that the place there resembled this world. The man was regarded as very mysterious; therefore he decorated his tent according to the pattern that he wished to make. The painted spots represent hail." Many years ago, Nikuɬibɬa^{n} said that



Fig. 168.—Blanket of Cuɻa-ma^{n}ɬi^{n}.

he had been carried up into the world above this one, and that he found

it resembled the world in which we live. The rainbow and hail depicted on the tent formed part of the vision, but their exact significance has not been explained.

Cu-ɣa ma^{n}-ɸi^{n}, an Omaha, had a vision which gave him the right to use the decoration given in Fig. 168. The meanings of the different marks have not been learned. Cuɣa ma^{n}ɸi^{n} bequeathed the blanket to his son, ɣaxe-gìa^{n} (Flying Crow), now known as Gilbert Morris.

§ 48. The old chief ɻe-sa^{n} (Ta sone of Maj. Long), Distant-white Buffalo, father of the chiefs Standing Hawk and Fire Chief, had a vision of a cedar tree, which he painted on each side of his tent, as seen in Fig. 169. The next sketch (Fig. 170) shows the back part of another tent of ɻe-sa^{n}. The blue band near the top is called "sabe" (black); below this is the sun and a blue rainbow; near the bottom are two horsetails. The only decorations on the front of the tent are two horsetails, one on each side of the entrance. This tent was used by



FIG. 169.—Tent of ɻe-sa^{n}; vision of a cedar.



FIG. 170.—Tent of ɻe-sa^{n}; sun and rainbow vision.

Standing Hawk after the death of his father. This decoration may have been made after a vision of horses, as Standing Hawk was a member of the order of Horse Shamans (Cañge iɸa'eɸĕ-ma). George Miller speaks thus about it:

Ga$^{n/}$ níaci^{n}ga akᴀ́ níkagahí átai ega$^{n/}$ íɸa'éɸĕ da$^{n/}$ctĕa$^{n/}$i tĕ,
And man the sub. chief he was beyond as he had a vision perhaps the (past act)

mi$^{n/}$ ɸa^{n} ugaí, íɻi. Cí cañ'ge sĭn'de ctĭ gáxai, hidé
sun the cv.ob. he painted he painted the tent with it. Again horse tail too he made bottom

kĕ'di. ɻíhuɣa^{n} dasí ɸa^{n} sábĕɸai. That is, "As the man was a
at the Smoke hole tip end the part he blackened

head chief, he may have had a vision, for he occupied a tent on which he painted the sun, and he also decorated it with horse-tails at the lower part. He painted the border of the smoke-hole a dark blue (ɻu sabĕ,

which is some-times called, sabĕ)." "Iɸádi amá daⁿ′ctĕ égaⁿ
His father the pl. sub. perhaps so

gáxai tĕ′di, ijiñ′ge amá íɸa′éɸa-bájĭ ctĕwaⁿ′ égaⁿ gáxe-
did when his son the pl. sub. they did not have visions of it even so they

naⁿ′-biamá, áđaⁿ égaⁿ gáxai." That is, "When the fathers
usually did, they say therefore so he did

decorate their tents in consequence of their respective visions, their sons (who succeed them) usually imitate them (or dwell in the decorated tents), even when they themselves have not had visions of the objects. Therefore he (i. e., Standing Hawk) did so."

George Miller told the following about ⌟ede-gahi or Fire Chief, another son of ⌞e-saⁿ:

Cĭ égaⁿ ⌟éde-gáhi aká ugɸiⁿ′i waɻaⁿ′be. Wataⁿ′zihi íɻi waɻaⁿ′be
Again so Fire Chief the sub. he sat in it I saw Corn-stalk painted on the tent I saw

ɸaⁿ′ja, áwatégaⁿ iɸápahaⁿ-májĭ ɸaⁿ′ja, níkagáhi égaⁿ égaⁿ ugɸiⁿ′i tĕ.
though of what sort I knew not though chief like so he sat in the (past act)

Wataⁿzi ɸiⁿ′ ctĭ waqu′be gáxai. Kĭ cĭ′ ⌟éde-gáhi aká taⁿ′waⁿgɸaⁿ
Corn the col. ob. too mysterious he made it and again Fire Chief the sub. gens

eɻá amá Wajiñ′ga-ɸatájĭ amá wahába pahañ′ga ju′t‘aⁿ tĕ′di ɸatá-bajĭ
his the pl. sub. Bird eat not the pl. sub. ear of corn first matures when they do not eat

wahába ɸiⁿ′, níkaciⁿga amá naⁿ′waɸe ɸaté tai tĕ′. ɸataí ɻĭ, wahába
ear of corn the col. ob. people the pl. sub. fear them they will eat the (act) They eat if ear of corn

ɸiⁿ′, wajiñ′ga ɸasniⁿ′ weɻuhai. Iñké-sabĕ ákadí ctĭ égaⁿ gáxe-naⁿ-
the col. ob. bird devour they fear them Shoulder black among the too so make usually

biamá ɻí ugá. Hañ′ga ákadí ctĭ égaⁿ gáxe-naⁿ′-biamá ɻí ugá.
they say tent painting Foremost among the too so make usually they say tent painting.

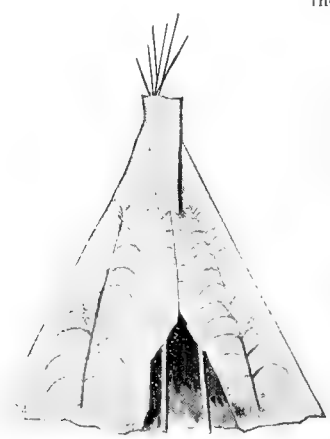


Fig. 171.—Cornstalk decoration of the tents of Fire Chief and Waqaga.

This refers to Fig. 171, and may be thus rendered: "And I have likewise seen the tent of Fire Chief. It was decorated with cornstalks, but I do not know the reason for it. He dwelt in such a tent because he was a chief. Corn was regarded as "waqube," mysterious. In the sub-gens of Fire Chief, the Wajiñga-ɸatajĭ, or, those who eat no small birds, the people feared to eat the first ears of corn that matured, lest the small birds (particularly blackbirds) should come and devour the rest of the crop. There was a similar tent decoration in the Iñke-sabe and Hañga gentes." In the former, it was used by Waqaga (see § 53). The cornstalks and ears were green, the tips of the ears were black. There were two similar cornstalks on the back of the tent.

CORN AND THE BUFFALO.

§ 49. Corn is regarded as a "mother" and the buffalo as a "grandfather" among the Omaha and other tribes.[1] In the Osage tradition,

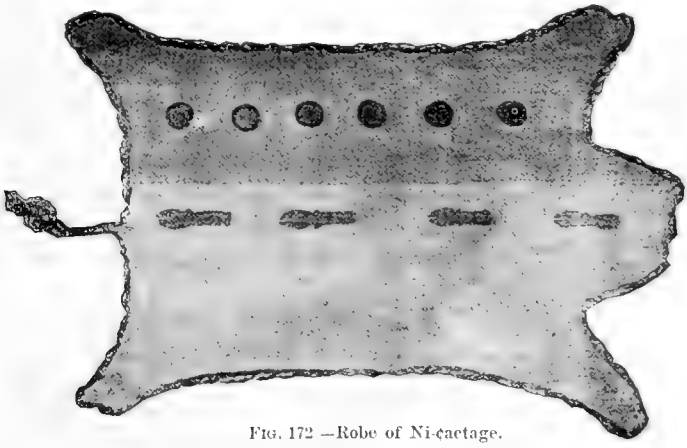


FIG. 172.—Robe of Ni-¢actage.

corn was bestowed upon the people by four buffalo bulls or "grandfathers."[2] Dr. Washington Matthews tells of a similar Arikara belief about an ear of corn.[3] (See § 42.)



FIG. 173.—Duba-ma^{n}¢i^{n}'s father's tent.

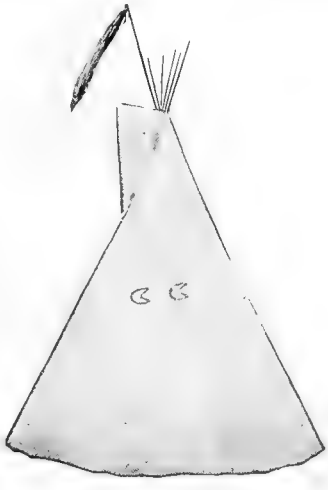


FIG. 174.—Ma^{n}teu-na^{n}ba's tent.

OTHER OMAHA MYSTERY DECORATIONS.

§ 50. Among the members of the order of Buffalo (ⱡe i¢a'e¢ĕ-ma) was Ni¢actage, whose robe is shown in Fig. 172. The red band is at the top.

[1] See Om. Soc., in 3d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn. §§123, 163, and several myths in Contr. to N. A. Ethnology, vol. VI.

[2] See Osage Traditions, in 6th Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 379.

[3] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877; Ethnography and Philology of Hidatsa Indians, p. 12.

The black spots represent the places where the buffaloes play "buffalo wallows." Buffalo hoofs are in blue.

Duba-ma^{n}ɸi^{n}'s father had a vision of horses, hence he wished to depict horse-tails and tracks on his tent, as found in Fig. 173; but he died before he finished it.

The father of Ma^{n}tcu-na^{n}ba had a vision of horses, and bequeathed to his son Ma^{n}tcu-na^{n}ba the right to decorate his tent in the style shown in Fig. 174. The yellow was connected with the vision. When the owner dwelt in an earth-lodge, the horse-tail was tied to a long pole, which was thrust through the opening at the top of the lodge. So when he used his skin tent, the horse-tail hung from the top of a long pole above the smoke-hole.

When the Omaha dwelt near the present town of Homer, Nebr., and Wacka^{n}hi was a young child, he went out to play, and fell asleep. He said that he was aroused by the sounds made by many chickens crow-



Fig. 175.—Wacka^{n}hi's tent.



Fig. 176.—Tent of unknown Omaha.

ing and cackling. In those days (*fide* George Miller) there were no white people in that neighborhood; but now in that very place where Wacka^{n}hi had the vision, there is a wealthy family living, and besides large herds they have a great many chickens. In remembrance of that occurrence, Wacka^{n}hi painted his tent with his personal decoration as given in Fig. 175.

An unknown Omaha had a vision of deer, so he decorated his tent accordingly. (See Fig. 176.) George Miller could not furnish the man's name.

§ 51. Among the members of the order of Grizzly Bear shamans was an Omaha named ⱡebi'a (Frog). The top of his tent was painted yellow, as shown in Fig. 177. There was no other decoration; but this yellow evidently was connected with a grizzly bear vision, as it appears in the decoration adopted by the father of Two Crows, who was not only one

of the two leaders of the order of Thunder shamans (Iñg¢aⁿ i¢a'e¢ĕ-ma) but also a member of the orders of Buffalo and Grizzly Bear shamans (ꞱE i¢a'e¢ĕ-ma and Maⁿtcu i¢a'e¢ĕ-ma). (See Pl. XLIV, D, in which a grizzly bear is depicted as emerging from his den. The blue part represents the ground.)

This decoration (of the tent of Two Crows' father) is thus described by George Miller: Maⁿtcú íɬa'eɬai egaⁿ′ ɻí tĕ égaⁿ gáxai. Maⁿtcú

Grizzly bear they have visions of it as tent std. ob. the so they make it Grizzly bear

wadaⁿ′bai tĕ′di ɻan′de kĕ maⁿ′taɻa éɬaⁿbe tí wadaⁿ′bai, gaⁿ′ égaⁿ

they see them when ground lg. ob. the within emerging come they see them and so

gáxai ɻí tĕ. Ʇan′de kĕ ɻúɬĕ-naⁿ′i, ɻí hébe kĕ zíɬĕ-naⁿ′i." That is,

they make it tent std. ob. the Ground lg. ob. the they usually paint blue tent part lg. ob. the they usually paint yellow.

"When they have had visions of grizzly bears, they decorate their tents accordingly. When they see grizzly bears, they behold them



FIG. 177.—Tent of Ʇebi'a.

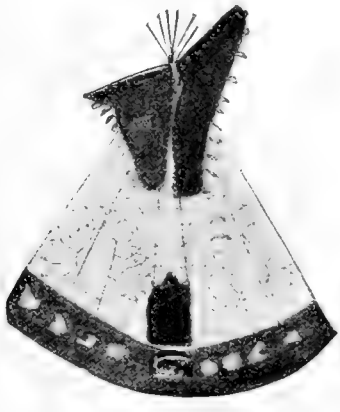


FIG. 178.—Tent of a Kansa who had an eagle vision.

coming out of the ground, and so they paint the tents. They always (or usually) paint the ground blue, and part of the tent they paint in a yellow band." This shows the conventional use of colors. See Pl. XLIV, E, for the sketch of another tent representing the vision of a grizzly bear.

KANSA MYSTERY DECORATIONS.

§ 52. Three Kansa decorations follow. They are taken from an original sketch made by a Kansa man, known to the white people as Stephen Stubbs. The first tent (Fig. 178) is that of a man who had fasted and held mysterious communication with an eagle which gave him some feathers. He had danced the pipe dance once for some one. At the base of this tent are seen two peace pipes on each side of the entrance. At the back are a black bear and a large turtle. The second tent (Fig. 179) is that of a man who had danced the pipe dance three times. Buffalo tails are fastened to the tops of the triangular

pieces forming the shelter of the smoke-hole, feathers hang from the two shields, and the stars are above and on the base of the tent skins. Feathers, shields, and stars are also on the back of this tent.

Flg. 180 is the tent of a man who has danced the pipe dance four times. It is very probable, judging from the stars on the tents, that



FIG. 179.—Kansa decorated tent.



FIG. 180.—Kansa decorated tent.

the owners of the second and third Kansa tents had had visions. The Kansa say that when a man has danced the pipe dance twice, his tent can be decorated with two cornstalks at the front (one on each side of the entrance), and two more at the back. The pipes used in the calumet or pipe dance are regarded as "Wakandaꞇaɸicaⁿ" by the Omaha

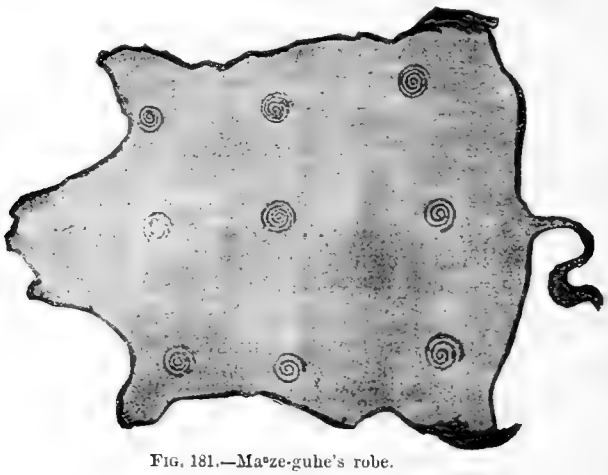


FIG. 181.—Maᵊze-guhe's robe.

and Ponka, and the inference is that the Kansa and Osage had a similar belief about these pipes and the accompanying dance. Perhaps there was a time when no man could undertake the pipe dance unless he had a vision of some kind.

OMAHA NIKIE DECORATIONS.

§ 53. As the gentes of the Omaha and Ponka are regarded as being "Wakandaɹaɸica^{n}," the "nikie" and "nikie names" have a religious significance. George Miller has furnished the author with a few nikie decorations, which are now given.

Ma^{n}ze-guhe, an Omaha, belonged to the Waɸigije sub-gens of the Iñke-sabĕ gens. The decoration of his robe (Fig. 181) marks the nikie of the sub-gens, as it consisted of spiral forms known as "waɸigije." That of the tent (Fig. 182) refers to the nikie of the entire gens. In the latter case, the buffalo head was painted on the back of the tent.

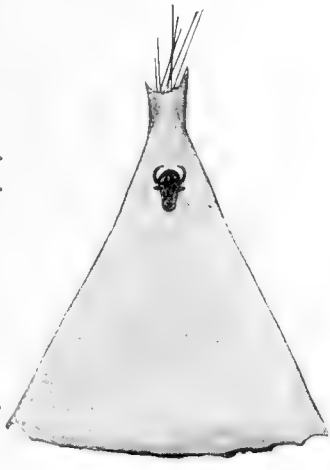


Fig. 182.—Ma^{n}ze-guhe's tent.

Duba-ma^{n}ɸi^{n}, who has a nikie name referring to the buffalo, belongs to the Waɸigije sub-gens. His father wore a black blanket embroidered with beadwork in two rows of spirals, between which was a star. All these figures were made of white beads. (See Fig. 183.)

In the Pipe sub-gens of the Iñke-sabĕ there were several tent decorations. Of the first, George Miller speaks thus:

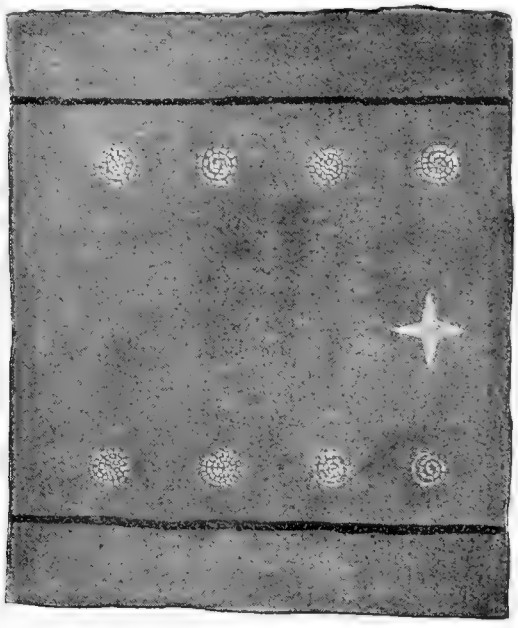


Fig. 183.—Duba-ma^{n}ɸi^{n}'s father's blanket.

Níkaci^{n}/ga-ma	ta^{n}/wa^{n}gɸa^{n}/-ma	niníba	t'a^{n}/	amá	Iñké-sabĕ	akádi	
The people	those in the gentes	pipe	have	the pl. sub.	Black shoulder	among	the

ɋí ugaí, niníba íɋi. Kĭ wédajĭ-ma wéđaha^{n}-májĭ, añ′ka-bájĭ
tent they paint pipe painted the tent with And those elsewhere I do not know them they are not so

eb¢éga^{n}. Iñké-sabĕ akádi níkagáhi aká éga^{n} gáxai eb¢éga^{n}, a^{n}′ctĕwa^{n}′
I think. Black shoulder among the chief the sub. so made I think of any pattern

gáxa-bájĭ eb¢éga^{n}. Niníba waqúbe gáxai ɋĭ, niníba ja^{n}′ kĕ b¢áska
he did not make I think. Pipe mysterious thing made when pipe wood the lg. ob. flat

gáxai, u¢ískai, wajiñ′gadá ájii tĕ, ɋáhi^{n} jíde íka^{n}ta^{n}′i.”
made put porcupine work around it bird heads put many on it the past act “deer fur” red tied to it.

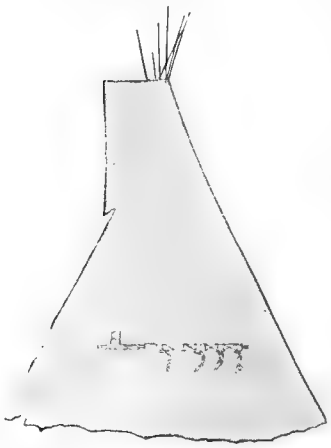


Fig. 184.—Iñke-sabĕ tent decoration.

That is, “Those persons who belong to the Iñke-sabĕ sub-gens known as Keepers of the Pipes, paint their tent(s) with the pipe decoration. I do not know of any other persons, members of other gentes, using this decoration; I think that no others use it. I think that the Iñkesabĕ chief decorates his tent in this manner, and that he did not decorate it in any way he pleased. When the sacred pipes were made (on the tent) the pipestem was made flat, porcupine work was put around it, several heads of birds were fastened on it, and tufts of reddened horses’ hair were tied to it at intervals.” (See Fig. 184 and Pl. XLIV, c.) This Iñke-sabĕ tent had only two pipes on it—one on each side of the entrance.

The second Iñke-sabĕ tent decoration is thus described by the same authority:

A^{n}jiñ′ga tĕ′di ɋi′-ug¢i^{n}′ waɋa^{n}′be ɋĭ, ¢ekéga^{n} ug¢i^{n}′i. Niníba máca^{n}
The small when tent dwelt in I saw them when like this lg. ob. they dwelt in Pipe quill feather

ug¢é iɋi waɋa^{n}′be Niníba t‘a^{n}′ akádi, Waqága éga^{n} íɋi waɋa^{n}′be.
attached to at right angles painted the tent with I saw Pipe had among the Burrs so painted the tent with I saw them

Niníba waqúbe kĕ ékiga^{n}′qti ¢a^{n}′ja, e máca^{n} ug¢é gáxai, niníba
Pipe sacred the lg. ob. just like it though that quill feather attached to at right angles made pipe

wéawa^{n} akéĕ hă. ₵a^{n}′ja niníba kĕ é ínikagáhi ɋiɋáxai, níaci^{n}′ga
calumet that is it . Though pipe the lg. ob. that aforesaid chief by means of it they make themselves people

amá átaqti gáxai niníba waqúbe. Níaci^{n}′ga amá píäjĭ′qti ctéctĕwa^{n}′,
the pl. sub. exceedingly make it pipe sacred People the pl. sub. very bad notwithstanding

ukít‘ĕ ákiki¢áqti ma^{n}¢i^{n}′i ctéctĕwa^{n}′, kikídĕqti ma^{n}¢i^{n}′i ctéctĕwa^{n}′,
foreign nation contending fiercely together they walk notwithstanding shooting often and fiercely they walk notwithstanding

niníba kĕ é¢a^{n}be a¢i^{n}′ ahíi ɋĭ, u¢úci kĕ uhá a¢i^{n}′ a¢ai′ ɋĭ,
pipe the lg. ob. coming forth they take it thither when in the middle the lg. line following its course they take it when

múkicta^{n} tai′. Téqi gáxai níaci^{n}′ga amá.
they stop shooting at one another will Precious they make it people the pl. sub.

That is, "When, in my childhood, I saw the tents in which the people dwelt, they were of this sort. (See Fig. 185.) I saw the tent decorated with the pipes having feathers attached to each pipe at right angles. I saw a tent of this sort when it was occupied by Waqaga of the Pipe sub-gens. (See another tent decoration of this man, § 48.) Though these pipes closely resemble the peace pipes (niniba waqube), they are made with the feathers attached to the stems at right angles. These are the pipes used in the pipe dance. By means of the pipes the people made for themselves that which was equivalent to (or, lead to) the chieftainship. So they regarded the sacred pipes as of the greatest importance. Even when the people were very bad, even when different tribes continued to struggle with one another; even when they shot often at one another, when some persons came forth with the peace pipes, and bore them to a place between the opposing forces, carrying them all along the lines, they stopped shooting at one another. The Indians regarded the pipes as precious."

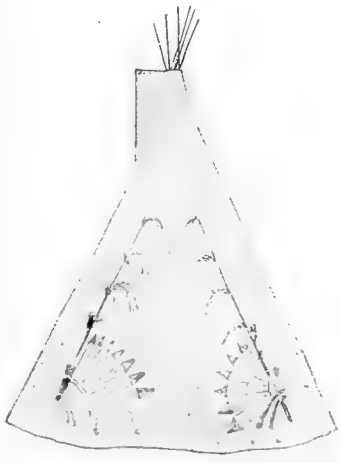


FIG. 185.—Iñke-sabĕ tent decoration.

A ⅃aḍa nikie tent decoration is shown in the tent of Heqaga. (Pl. XLIV, c.) This tent had two pipes on each side of the tent, double the number on the Iñke-sabĕ tent (Fig. 184).

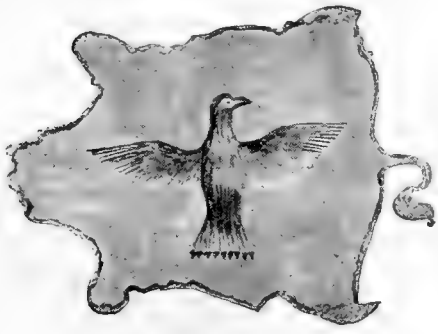


FIG. 186.—Waqaga's robe.

Fig. 186 is given as the nikie decoration of a robe belonging to Waqaga. The bird on the robe is an eagle. Members of the Pipe sub-gens of the Iñke-sabĕ have eagle birth names. And we know that Waqaga belonged to that sub-gens.

The author understood Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows to say, in 1882, that while nikie names possessed a sacredness, it was only the sacredness of antiquity, and that they were not "Wakandaɹaɸica[n]."

But the author now thinks that such a statement needs modification; for, besides what appears at the beginning of this section, we know that among the Osage and Kansa the nikie names are associated with the traditions preserved in the secret society of seven degrees, and that this applies not only to names of gentes and sub-gentes, but also to personal nikie names. The author frightened an Osage in January, 1883, by mentioning in public some of this class of names.

OMAHA NIKIE CUSTOMS.

§ 54. Among the nikie of the Omaha, the following may be mentioned: The Wajiñga-ɸatajĭ, or "Blackbird people," had a curious custom during the harvest season. At that time the birds used to devour the corn, so the men of this sub-gens undertook to prevent them, by chewing some grains of corn which they spit around over the field.[1] During a fog, the ɣe-ʻiⁿ men would draw the figure of a turtle on the ground, with its head to the south. On the head, tail, middle of the back, and each leg, were placed small pieces of a (red) breech-cloth with some tobacco. They imagined that this would make the fog disappear very soon.[2] The ɣaⁿze gens, being Wind people, flap their blankets to start a breeze when mosquitoes abound.[3] The ɻa-da gens have a form for the naming of a child on the fifth morning after its birth, according to Lion, one of the chiefs of that gens.[4] In the feast on the hearts and tongues,[5] the Hañga men who belong to the sub-gens keeping the sacred pole, eat the buffalo tongues, though the buffalo is their "grandfather" and the eponym of their gens; but they can not eat the "ɻa" or buffalo sides. However, the other Hañga men, who can not eat the tongues, are allowed to eat the consecrated buffalo sides, after the ceremonies connected with the thanksgiving and anointing of the sacred pole.[6] No Omaha child had its hair cut until it had been taken to an old man of the Ictasanda gens, to have the first locks cut, the first moccasins put on the child's feet, and prayers to be said over it. Sometimes the old man said "ɻucpáha,
O grandchild,
Wakan′da ɸa‘éɸiɸé-de ɣáci maⁿɸiñ′ka sí áɸagɸé tate," i. e., "O
Wakanda pity you when a long time soil foot you set it erect on shall.
grandchild, may Wakanda pity you, and may your feet rest a long time on the ground!" Another form was sometimes used—"Wakanda ɸa‘eɸiɸe tate. Maⁿɸiñka si aɸagɸe tate. Gudihegaⁿ ne tate," i. e., "May Wakanda pity you! May your feet tread the ground! May you go ahead (or, live hereafter)!"[7]

§55. When there is a "blizzard," the other Kansa beg the members of the Tcihaciⁿ or Kaⁿze gens to interpose, as they are Wind people. "ɣi′tcigu-e′, haⁿ′ba ya′li kŭⁿ′bla eyau′. Ciñ′gajiñ′ga yi′ta
O grandfather, day good I desire indeed. Child your
kik’ŭⁿ′yakiye′ tce au′[5], a′be au′." i. e., "They say, 'O grandfather (said
you cause him to be decorated (*or* painted) will . they say .
to one of the Kaⁿze gens), I wish good weather. Please cause one of your children to be decorated!'" Then the youngest son of one of the

[1] Om. Soc., in 3d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 238.
[2] Ibid., p. 240.
[3] Ibid., p. 241.
[4] Ibid., pp. 245, 246.
[5] Ibid., pp. 290, 291.
[6] Ibid., p. 295.
[7] For detailed accounts, see "Glimpses of Child-life among the Omaha Indians," by Miss A. C. Fletcher, in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, vol. I, No. 2, pp. 115–118; and Omaha Sociology, in 3d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 249, 250.

Ka^{n}ze men, say one over 4 feet high, is chosen for the purpose, and painted with red paint (I'gama^{n} jii'dje i'kik'ŭ^{n}'kiya'be au). The youth rolls over and over in the snow and reddens it for some distance all around him. This is supposed to stop the storm.

GOVERNMENTAL INSTRUMENTALITIES.

§ 56. Among the Omaha governmental instrumentalities which are "Wakandaɻaɸica^{n}" are the chiefs, the keepers of the three sacred tents, the keepers of the sacred pipes, the gentes, sub-gentes, and taboos, none of which can be regarded as fetiches, and the following which appear to be fetiches: The sacred pipes (including the war pipes of the Elk gens, the two peace pipes kept by the Iŭke-sabĕ gens, the mysterious objects kept by the "keepers of the pipes" in the ɸatada, ɣa^{n}ze, Ma^{n}-ɸiŭka-gaxe, ɻe-sĭnde, ɻa-ɖa, and Ictasanda gentes, and the weawa^{n} or pipes used in the calumet dance), the sacred pole, the sacred hide of a white buffalo, the sacred arrows of divination, and the sacred clam shell of the Elk gens.[1]

§ 57. OMAHA AND PONKA TABOOS.

Buffalo skull not touched by—

1. ɻe-ɖa it'ajĭ sub-gens of ɸatada (Omaha).
2. Waɸigije sub-gens of Iŭke-sabĕ (Om.).
3. ɻe-sĭnde gens (Om.).
4. Part of the Wacabe gens (Ponka).
5. Part of Necta gens (P.).

Buffalo tongue not eaten by—

1. Waɸigije sub-gens of Iŭke-sabĕ (Om.).
2. Hañgaqti or Wacabe sub-gens of Hañga (Om.).
3. Part of Nikaɖaɔna gens (P.).
4. Part of Wacabe gens (P.).
5. Part of Necta gens (P.).

Buffalo (black) horns not touched by part of Iŭke-sabĕ gens (Om.).

Buffalo sides (when consecrated), not eaten by ɻa waqube ɸatajĭ sub-gens of Hañga gens (Om.).

Buffalo rib (lowest one, ɻeɸiɻ-ucagɸe), not eaten by ɻe-sĭnde gens (Om.).

Buffalo and domestic calf not eaten when the hair is red, but can be eaten when the hair turns black, by ɻe-sĭnde gens (Om.).

Buffalo calf can not be touched, when its hair is "zi" (yellow or red), by a sub-gens of the Necta gens (P.).

Buffalo calf can not be eaten at any time by—

1. Iŭgɸe-jide gens (Om.).
2. Part of Wacabe gens (P.).
3. Part of Necta gens (P.).

[1] See pp. 221–251 and Chap. XI of Omaha Sociology, in 3d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethn.

Buffalo tail can not be touched by part of Nikaɗaɔna gens (P.).
Deer not eaten by—

1. Part of Hisada gens (P.).
2. Part of Nikaɗaɔna gens (P.).

Male deer not eaten by Elk gens (Om.); but Deer gens can eat venison.
Skin of any animal of the deer family can not be touched by ⱡaɗa gens (Om.).
Flesh of male elk not eaten by Elk gens (Om.).
Bladder and sinew of male elk not touched by Elk gens (Om.).
Elk not eaten by part of Nikaɗaɔna gens (P.).
Turtles not eaten by Turtle sub-gens (Om.).
Black bear skin not touched by—

1. Black bear sub-gens (Om.).
2. Black bear sub-gens (P.).

Wild-cat skin, not touched by pipe sub-gens of Deer gens (Om.).
Cranes and swans not eaten by part of Haĩga gens (Om.).
Swans not touched (formerly?) by Miⁿxasaⁿ wetʻajĭ sub-gens of Maⁿ-ɸiñka-gaxe gens (Om.).
Small birds not eaten by Wajiñga-ɸatajĭ (Blackbird or Small bird) sub-gens of the ɸatada gens (Om.). They can eat wild turkeys, ducks, geese, swans, cranes. When members of this sub-gens, are sick they can eat grouse.
(Small birds) blackbirds, (*black* ones), swallows, and grouse not eaten by part of Hisada gens (P.).
Reptiles neither touched nor eaten by—

1. Ictasanda gens (Om.).
2. Wajaje gens (P.).

Blood not touched by part of the ɸixida gens (P.), hence their name, Wami itʻajĭ.
Red corn not eaten by a sub-gens of the Iũke-sabĕ gens (Om.).
Charcoal not touched by—

1. A sub-gens of the Iũkĕ-sabĕ gens (Om.).
2. The Pipe sub-gens of the Deer gens (Om.).
3. A sub-gens of the ɸixida gens (P.).
4. The Pipe sub-gens of the Wajaje gens (P.).

Verdigris not touched by—

1. ⵅaⁿze gens (Om.).
2. Pipe sub-gens of Deer gens (Om.).
3. Part of the ɸixida gens (P.).
4. Pipe sub-gens of the Wajaje gens (P.).

FETICHISM.

§ 58. According to Dr. Tylor, "Fetichism is the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects.[1]

[1] Prim. Culture, vol. II. p. 132.

Fetiches may be regarded as of two kinds—those pertaining to the tribe or gens, and those belonging to individual members of the social organization. Some fetiches are amulets, others are charms.

FETICHES OF THE TRIBE AND GENS.

§ 59. *Omaha tribal fetiches.*—The sacred pole and white buffalo hide, in the keeping of the Hañga gens until a few years ago, but now in the Peabody Museum of Archæology and Ethnology at Cambridge, Mass., were regarded by the Omaha as "wakanda ega^{n}," i. e., "like Wakandas," or "partaking of the nature of deities." During the public thanksgiving after the buffalo hunt, prayer was made towards the sacred pole.[1]

The sacred tent in which the sacred pole of the two tribes was kept was never painted. When the people remained in their permanent villages of earth lodges, the entrance of the sacred tent faced the sunrise; but when the tribe migrated, the entrance of the tent faced the direction in which they traveled. The pole was never exposed to dew, rain, or snow, but was kept within the lodge, during any kind of bad weather. It was never laid down, but was tied to a tent pole. In good weather it was exposed to view. Sometimes it was tied to one of the tent poles near the entrance, as shown in Fig. 187. When not tied thus, it rested on a forked post set in the ground, either in the rear of the tent or in front of it. The top of the pole, to which the scalp was fastened, projected beyond the forked post. When this post was in the rear of the tent, the top of the pole pointed towards the tent; but when the post was set up in front, the pole pointed in the direction to be traveled. The place for the pole in good weather was determined by its keeper.



FIG. 187.—Sacred tent in which the pole was kept.

The people feared the pole, and they would not dare to tread on the tent or its tent-poles. Should a horse tread on a tent-pole of this tent, its legs were sure to be broken subsequently. George Miller knew of two horses that did this, and their legs were broken when the people were surrounding a herd of buffalo.

Frank La Flèche has told the author about some sacred stone arrows which were used for purposes of divination. Hence, the nikie name, Ma^{n} pĕjĭ, Bad Arrow, i. e. *Good* Arrow, a personal name of the Hañga gens. Other objects, which may have been fetiches, have been named in § 56. In addition to all which have been mentioned must be named the waɸixabe or mysterious bags. While these are not governmental instrumentalities, they are "waqube" mysterious things,

[1] See Om. Soc., in 3d. An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 295.

and on certain occasions they are addressed as "grandfathers." There used to be five of these bags among the Omaha, but only three are now in existence. Those which could be carried in time of war were made of the skins and feathers of the g¢eda^{n} or pigeon hawk, the i^{n}be-jañka or fork-tailed hawk, and the nickucku or swallow.[1]

Lade u¢e¢ĕ, according to Big Elk (but denied by Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows) is the mystic rite performed by the principal captain when near the camp of the enemy. It is thus described by Big Elk (See § 62):

"Four times he untied the bag which he had made sacred. He caused the wind to waft the odor of the medicine toward the lodges. When the medicine arrived there, it made the Pawnees forget their warlike temper; it made them forget their weapons."[2]

That there was some foundation for this statement, compare what is said in Omaha Sociology, p. 321:

"When the principal captains wish to open their sacred bags, they assemble their followers in a circle, making them sit down. Any of the followers or servants may be ordered to make an "ujeɨi" in the center of the circle by pulling up the grass, then making a hole in the ground (the "U-ma-ne of Miss Fletcher[3]). Then the sacred bags are laid at the feet of the principal captains, each one of whom opens his own bag (i. e. the one borrowed by him from its keeper), holding the mouth of the bird toward the foe, even when some of the warriors are going to steal horses."

During the ordeal of the "wastegistu," as the Omaha call it, the successful warriors were called up, one by one, and as each man stood over one of the sacred bags, he addressed the bag itself thus:

"Hau′, i^{n}c'a′ge-ha, eda′da^{n} uwi′b¢a tá miñke ¢a^{n}′ja, i¢áusi′cta^{n}-ma′jĭ
Ho! old man ! what I will tell you though I tell a lie I not

uwi′b¢a ta′ miñke," i. e., "Ho, venerable man! though I will tell you
I will tell you

something, I will not lie when I tell it to you." As he spoke he let a small stick drop on the bag. It was supposed that if the stick rested on the bag instead of rolling off, the man had told the truth (Om. Soc., p. 328).

§ 60. *Osage tribal fetiches.*—The corresponding Osage custom has been described by the author:[4] The old men assembled at the war tent. The sacred bags were brought into the tent to test the warriors, who were watched very closely by the old men. All the old men who had been distinguished in war were painted with the decorations of their respective gentes. * * * Each warrior had four sticks about 6 inches long, and he was required to lay them in succession on the sacred bag. The warriors were taken in the following order: First, the captain, next the lieutenants, then the heralds, after whom came the man who had struck the first blow, then he who gave the second blow, and so on. As each captain laid his first stick on the bag he said, "Ho, O grandfather! I lay this down on you because I am the one

[1] See Om. Soc., p. 320.
[2] Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VI, p. 404.
[3] Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 263, note 8.
[4] In the Am. Naturalist, Feb., 1884, pp. 128, 129.

who has killed a man." On laying down the second stick, he said, "Ho, O grandfather! I wish to be fortunate in stealing horses! I wish our children, too, to be as fortunate as we have been!" When he put down the third, he said, "Ho, O grandfather! I wish to raise a domestic animal. I wish to succeed in bringing it to maturity." By this he meant *a son*. The prayer made when the last stick was laid down was as follows: "Ho, O grandfather! May we continue a people without sustaining any injuries!" Similar petitions were made by the lieutenants and heralds. He who gave the first blow said, as he laid down the first stick, "Ho, O grandfather! I lay this down on you as one who has caused another to stun a foe!" The rest of his petitions were those made by the captains. He who struck the second blow said as follows, on laying down the first stick: "Ho, O grandfather! I place this on you because I was the next one to strike and stun a man!" The other petitions follow, as given above. The first petition of each of the remaining warriors is as follows: "Ho, O grandfather! I lay this on you as a token that I have aided in overcoming the enemy."

§ 61. *Kansa tribal fetiches.*—Among the Kansa, the following fetiches belong to the two Hañga gentes: The war pipe and the war clam shell. The war pipe was kept in 1882 by Paha^{n}le-wak'ü, the son of Ali^{n}kawahu, for the two Hañga gentes. This pipe has an eye on each side, so that it may see the enemy! There is no pipestem, but there is one hole to which the mouth is applied, and in the bowl is another hole in which the tobacco is placed. The pipe, which is all in one piece, is of catlinite, about as thick as two hands. It is never taken from the wrappings, except when all the men of the two Hañga gentes assemble at the lodge of the chief Ali^{n}kawahu. The sacred clam shell was kept in 1882 by Paha^{n}le-gaqli, the chief of the other Hañga gens. It is wrapped in five coverings, similar to those around the war pipe. They are as follows: (1.) The innermost covering, the bladder of a buffalo bull; (2) next covering, made of the spotted fur of a fawn; (3) made of braided rushes or "sa;" (4) a very broad piece of deerskin; (5) the outermost covering, made of braided hair from the head of a buffalo bull.

PERSONAL FETICHES.

§ 62. ₫a¢i^{n}-na^{n}pajĭ said that there were some Omaha who considered as "waqube" the skins of animals and the skins and feathers of birds used in making their "wa¢ixabe" or mystery bags. Among these birds and animals he named the eagle, sparrow hawk, yellow-backed hawk, green-necked duck, great owl, swallow, otter, flying squirrel, mink, mi‰a skă ("white raccoon" sic), and maza^{n}he. The last is an animal resembling an otter. It is covered with thick black and reddish-yellow hair, and its tail is bushy. Samuel Fremont said (in 1889) that this animal was not found in that part of Nebraska where the Omaha dwelt, but that he had heard of its being found among the Dakota. Two Crows and Joseph La Flèche never heard of the mi‰a skă and maza^{n}he

among their own people; but they said that when the Omaha traveled, some used to take with them their respective "maka^{n}" or medicines, evidently their personal fetiches, for they used to say, "Our medicines are wise; they can talk like men, and they tell us how many horses we are to receive from the people to whom we are going."

When the Omaha went against the Pawnee during the boyhood of the present Big Elk, one of the captains, named Gi'a^{n}habi, had a war club of the kind called "weaq¢ade." He made this club "waqube," in order to use it mysteriously. When near the camp of the enemy he brandished the club four times toward the Pawnees. This was followed by the use of the sacred bag, as related in § 59.

It is probable that the medicines of the Watci Wa¢upi, Wase-jide a¢i^{n}-ma, and the ⌟a¢i^{n}-wasabĕ watcigaxe ikageki¢ĕ, of the Omaha,[1] the Red Medicine of the Kansa, and the Red Medicine of the Osage Maka^{n} ɔüɻse watsi^{n} or Red Medicine Dance, were used as fetiches, as they conferred wonderful powers on those who used them. When the author was at the Omaha Agency, in 1878, he obtained the following: Rocky Mountain beans, which are scarlet, and are called "Maka^{n} jide" or Red Medicine, confer good luck on their owners. If the beans like their owners, they will never be lost; even if dropped accidentally, they will return to the possession of their owners. Ni-k'ú-mi, an aged Oto woman, told one of her granddaughters (then Susette La Flèche, known as Bright Eyes after 1879, and now the wife of T. H. Tibbles) of her own experience with one of these beans. She had dropped it in the grass, but she found it on retracing her steps. It is impossible to say whether this scarlet bean was identical with the Red Medicine of the Iowa (§ 87), Kansa, and Osage; but it certainly differed from that of the Wase-jide a¢i^{n} ma of the Omaha.

There are sacred or mystery rites practiced by the dancing societies, including those to which the waze¢ĕ or doctors belong. Two Crows said that he did not know those of his society, the ⌞e i¢a'e¢ĕ-ma. As initiation into one of these societies is very expensive, it is unreasonable to suppose that Two Crows would communicate the secrets of his order for a small sum, such as $1 a day.

SORCERY.

§ 63. There have been sorcerers, i. e., such as prepared love potions for those who bought them, and who were thought to cause the death of those persons who had incurred their displeasure. The author has been told that the sorcerers give a high price for a small quantity of the catamenial discharge of a virgin. It is mixed with a love potion, and when the compound is administered to a man he can not help courting the woman, even when he knows that he does not love her.

[1] See Om. Soc., pp. 349–351.

JUGGLERY.

§ 64. Ickade or sleight of hand exists not only in the secret societies but also along with the practice of medicine, government, and religion. Some of the Omaha and Ponka doctors of the first class (the waze¢ĕ, not the maka^{n} a¢i^{n}-ma or root doctors) pretend to draw sticks from the bodies of their patients, or worms from aching teeth, saying that those things are the causes of the diseases. Every disease is a "nie" or "pain," and there must be a cause for that pain.

§ 65. In 1872 Big Grizzly Bear, a subordinate Ponka chief, told the following to the author: "One day Whip, a head chief, said, 'I am going to make the sun blue.' And he did so. Then he said, 'I am going to pull out some of the hair of the man in the moon.' He held up his hands to show that they had no hair in them. Then he began to sing. Suddenly he had some bloody hair in each hand. Ga-ꞑi-de ma^{n}-¢i^{n} and a great many others were witnesses. Once, when the Ponka were destitute of food, Buffalo Bull, the father of Grizzly Bear's Ear, said, 'I will use magic.' His wife replied, 'Please do so.' So he made a pile of earth about 2 feet high and shot four arrows into it. A large deer was slain, furnishing them with plenty to eat."

In 1871 the author saw an exhibition of the skill of Cramped Hand and Bent Horn, two Ponka shamans. One afternoon, near sunset, about two hundred persons, mostly Indians, stood in a large circle around a tent in which sat the shamans and their assistants. Presently the shamans and the aged chief, Antoine Primeau, came out of the tent and stood within the circle. One of the shamans, Cramped Hand, danced along the inner side of the circle, exhibiting a revolver (Allen's patent), one chamber of which he seemed to load as the people looked on. After he had put on the cap, he handed the weapon to the chief, who fired at the shaman. Cramped Hand fell immediately, as if badly wounded. Bent Horn rushed to his relief and began to manipulate him. It was not long before Cramped Hand was able to crawl around on his hands and knees, though the bullet had apparently hit him in the mouth. He groaned and coughed incessantly, and after a tin basin was put down before him he coughed up a bullet which fell in the basin, and was shown in triumph to the crowd. This is told merely to show how the Indian juggler has adopted some of the tricks of his white brother. In a few moments Bent Horn danced around, showing to each of us an object which appeared to be a stone as large as a man's fist, and too large to be forced into the mouth of the average man. Cramped Hand stood about 10 or 15 feet away and threw this stone toward Bent Horn, hitting the latter in the mouth and disappearing. Bent Horn fell and appeared in great pain, groaning and foaming at the mouth. When the basin was put down before him, there fell into it, not one large stone, but at least four small ones. We were told that the chief, Antoine, had to give a horse for the privilege of shooting at the shaman.

It is probable that some of the Omaha shamans performed similar tricks, though the author has been unable to obtain any accounts of them.

§ 66. He was fortunate, however, in making the acquaintance of the chief "wakandagi," or shaman of the Kansa, when at Kaw Agency, in the winter of 1882. This man, Nixüdje-yiñge, was very communicative. He said that there used to be ten shamans in the tribe, and all had round pebbles which they blew from their mouths against the persons whom they "ɢilŭⁿxe" or "shot in a mysterious manner." The arrow of the shamans was called "Mi-pa-ha," which is a name of the Buffalo gens. This missile was made of part of the red-breasted turtle.

A woman named Saⁿ-si-le had two "makaⁿ" (medicines, fetiches?) which she used for "ickade" or "wakandagi wagaxe" (magic, shamanistic legerdemain). She could swallow a knife; and when she swallowed a certain kind of grass she drew a green snake from her mouth. John Kickapoo's father had a red medicine, which was used for women who desired to become enciente, for horses, and for causing good dreams. Nixüdje-yiñge's mother, who was a shaman, has a small pebble and a clam shell, which she used in her mystery acts.

Pagani had a "sika-hyuka" or "needle" (so represented by Nixüdje-yiñge, but it may not have been a steel needle), which he swallowed and voided through the urethra. Gahige-wadayiñga used to stab himself with a "mahiⁿsü" or arrow-point, about 6 inches long, causing the blood to spurt from his left shoulder as he danced. The other shamans used to spurt water on his back from their mouths, while he held his arms horizontally from his body, with the forearms pointing upward. When they finished no wound could be found. One shaman had a fish called "hu blaska" or flat fish, to which he talked He made a necklace of the skin, and he used it for "ɢilŭⁿxe."

Wakanda-zi had the skin of a small black bear as his sacred bag. As he danced he held it by the tail and shook the skin. After shooting the round pebble from his mouth at a person he thrust the bear. skin at the wounded man, drawing it back very quickly. The round pebble was drawn into the mouth of the bear and dropped on the ground when the skin bag was held with the tail up.

He who wished to be shot at handed a gun to some one, who shot him in the side, much blood escaping. He seemed to be dead; but the shamans assembled and manipulated him. One put the mouth of the otter (of the otterskin sacred bag) to the mouth of the patient in order to perform the act called "lüpayiⁿ" (to raise up or resuscitate his own). Then, "Zü'be aká eyaú tuhnañ'ge aká," i. e., when the bag was drawn away rapidly, the otter made the sound "zübe," as when one draws in the breath, and the bullet was in its mouth. On the patient's recovery he gave a horse to the man who shot at him.

Mañge-zi had a clam shell and a snake that he used in his sleight-of-

hand acts. He also swallowed "mahi^{n}-tu," a kind of green grass about a foot long and as thick as a pencil. Before swallowing this, he warmed it at a fire. He rubbed himself on his chest after swallowing it, saying, "Let all look at me!" Then he called to him a man to act as his assistant. He coughed and in the assistant's hand there was a snake, which he took around the circle of spectators, showing it to every one, though no one handled it. On his returning the snake to Mañge-zi, the latter swallowed it and coughed up the long grass.

Nixüdje-yiñge said that there were eight objects used by the shamans for "shooting," the needle; flint (?) arrow head; beaver teeth; the half of a knife blade, i. e., that part next to the point; the fish-fan, made of "huqtci" or "real fish;" the red medicine; the hiyádadáxe or medicine bag that was caused to fly; and the tuhnañge, or otter skin bag. (See §§ 292–295, 307.)

OMAHA AND PONKA BELIEF AS TO A FUTURE LIFE.

§ 67. They have a very crude belief. Each person is taught to have a wanaxe or spirit, which does not perish at death. According to Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows, the old men used to say to the people, "ɸiuda^{n} ɣĭ, wanaxe uda^{n}-maɬa ci tate. ɸipiäjĭ ɣĭ, wanaxe piäjĭ-maɬa ci tate," i. e., "If you are good, you will go to the good ghosts. If you are bad, you will go to the bad ghosts. Nothing was ever said of going to dwell with Wakanda, or with demons.[1]

Rev. William Hamilton found a belief that retribution is in this life, and he says, "Their notions are exceedingly crude."

§ 68. Frank La Flèche told the author before 1882 that he had heard some old men relate a tradition that years ago a man came back to life and told about the spirit land. He said that for four nights after death the ghost had to travel a very dark road, but that after he reached the Milky Way there was plenty of light. For this reason, said he, the people ought to aid their deceased friends by lighting fires at the graves, and by keeping them burning for four nights in each case. After going along the Milky Way, the ghost came at last to a place where the road forked; and there sat an aged man, clothed in a buffalo robe with the hair outside. (See § 359½.) He said nothing, but pointed to each inquirer the road for which he asked. One road was a very short one, and he who followed it soon came to the place where the good ghosts dwelt. The other road was an endless one, along which the ghosts went crying. The spirits of suicides could not travel either road; but they hovered over their graves. But Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows (in 1882) said that the road of the ghosts was not the Milky Way, and they regarded the account of the endless road as a modern addition, which is very probable. The latest statements

[1] Compare the Oregon story: No Indians go after death to the upper world to dwell with Qawaneca. Am. Anthropologist, Jan., 1889, p. 60.

of Frank La Flèche are given in the Jour. Amer. Folk-Lore, vol. II, No. 4, pp. 10,11:

There are a variety of beliefs concerning the immediate action of the spirit upon its withdrawal from the body. Some think that the soul at once starts upon its journey to the spirit land; others, that it hovers about the grave as if reluctant to depart. Because of this latter belief, food and water are placed at the head of the grave for several days after the burial. The spirit is supposed to partake of this food. No Indian would touch any article of food thus exposed; if he did, the ghost would snatch away the food and paralyze the mouth of the thief, and twist his face out of shape for the rest of his life; or else he would be pursued by the ghost, and food would lose its taste, and hunger ever after haunt the offender. There is a belief in the tribe that before the spirits finally depart from men who died of wounds or their results, they float toward a cliff overhanging the Missouri, not far from the present Santee Agency, in Nebraska, and cut upon the rocks a picture showing forth their manner of death. A line in the picture indicates the spot where the disease or wound was located which caused the death. After this record is complete, the spirit flies off to the land of the hereafter. It is said that these pictures are easily recognized by the relatives and friends of the deceased. This place is known as Iñ-g¢aⁿ′-xe ꞑi-ꞑá-xai ¢aⁿ,[1] or, Where the spirits make pictures of themselves. A suicide ceases to exist; for him there is no hereafter. A man struck by lightning is buried where he fell, and in the position in which he died. His grave is filled with earth, and no mound is raised over one who is thus taken from life.

In 1873 some of the Ponka said they had the following beliefs concerning a murderer: (1) The ghosts surround him and keep up a constant whistling; (2) he can never satisfy his hunger, though he eat much food; (3) he must not be allowed to roam at large lest high winds arise.

It is important to compare this whole section with the Dakota beliefs found in §§ 266–278.

The author was told by the Omaha that when a man was killed by lightning, he ought to be buried face downwards, and the soles of his feet had to be slit. When this was done, the spirit went at once to the spirit land, without giving further trouble to the living. In one case (that of a Wejiⁿcte man, Jadegi, according to George Miller and Frank Le Flèche)[2] this was not done, so it was said that the ghost *walked*, and he did not rest in peace till another person (his brother) was slain by lightning and laid beside him.

When Joseph La Flèche and Two Crows heard what Frank had told about the Milky Way, etc., they remarked, "We have never been to the spirit land, so we can not tell what is done there. No one has ever come back and told us." All that they had ever heard was the old story about the forked road.

§ 69. Gahige, the late chief of the Iñke-sabĕ (a buffalo gens), told the author about the address made to a member of his gens, when dying. According to him, the person was addressed thus: "You are going to the animals (the buffalos). You are going to your ancestors. Ánita dúbaha hné (which may be rendered, You are going to the four living ones,

[1] This name is given in the notation of the Bureau of Ethnology, not as published by Mr. La Flèche.
[2] See Jour. Am. Folklore, Vol. II, No. 6, p. 190.

if not, the four winds). Wackañ′-gă (Be strong)." Gahige was understood to speak of four spirits or souls to each person, but Joseph La Fléche and Two Crows said that the Omaha did not believe that a person had more than one spirit. Two Crows gave the following as the address to a dying member of his gens, the Hañga, another buffalo gens:

"Wanį́ą etáąa^{u} ɸati. Ga^{n} ĕąa ɸagɸé taté hă. Ga^{n} dúduɸágaqɸájĭ te
Quadruped from you have come And thither- you go shall . And you do not face this way will (please)

hă′. Hné tĕ′ąa ca^{n}′ca^{n} ma^{u}ɸiñ′-gă há," i. e., "You came hither from the
. you go to the always walk thou !

animals. And you are going back thither. Do not face this way again. When you go, continue walking." The last sentence is a petition to the departing spirit not to return to this earth to worry or injure the survivors. That the dead are referred to as still existing, and as having some knowledge of what is happening here, may be seen from the address to a Ponka chief at his installation: "ɸiádi gáhi, ɸijĭ^{n}′ɸĕ gáhi, ɸiąga^{n} gáhi, ámustáqti ɸida^{n}′be ma^{n}′ɸi^{n} tai;" i. e., "Your father was a chief, your elder brother (i. e., his potential elder brother, Ubiskă, a former head chief of the Ponka) was a chief, and your grandfather was a chief; may they continue to look directly down on you!"[1]

§ 70. Those who boil sacred food, as for the warpath, pour some of the soup outside the lodge, as an offering to the ghosts. (Omaha custom.)

There has been no belief in the resurrection of the body, but simply one in the continued existence of the ghost or spirit. While some of the Iowas expressed to Mr. Hamilton a belief in the transmigration of spirits, that doctrine has not been found among the Omaha and Ponka, nor has the author heard of it among other Siouan tribes.

Not all ghosts are visible to the living. They may be heard without being seen. One Omaha woman, the mother of Two Crows, told how she had been in a lodge with many persons, who were invisible from the knees upward.[2]

KANSA BELIEFS RESPECTING DEATH AND A FUTURE LIFE.

§ 71. When the author was at Kaw Agency, Indian Territory, in the winter of 1882–'83, a man named Ho-sa-sa-ge died. After the representatives of all the gentes had assembled at the house, Wakanda (named after the Thunder-being), the father-in-law of the deceased, removed the lock of hair called the "ghost," and took it to his own house, weeping as he departed.

When Mr. Say was among the Kansa[3] he obtained the following information about their beliefs concerning death and the future life:

When a man is killed in battle the thunder is supposed to take him up, they do

[1] Om. Soc., p. 360.

[2] See "Death and Funeral Customs of the Omahas," by Francis La Flesche, in Jour. Am. Folk-lore, Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 4, 5.

[3] See James's Account Exped. to Rocky Mountains, Vol. I., p. 125.

not know whither. In going to battle each warrior traces an imaginary figure of the thunder on the soil; he who represents it incorrectly is killed by the thunder. A person saw this thunder one day on the ground, with a beautiful moccasin on each side of it. Having need of a pair, he took them and went his way; but on his return to the same spot the thunder took him off, and he has not since been heard of.

They seem to have vague notions about the future state. They think that a brave man or a good hunter will walk in a good path; but a bad man and a coward will find a bad path. Thinking that the deceased has far to travel, they bury with his body moccasins, some articles of food, etc., to support him on the journey. Many persons, they believe, who have revived have been, during their apparent death, to strange villages, where they were not treated well by the people, so they returned to life.

The author, when among the Kansa, in the winter of 1882–'83, learned the following, which differs from anything he has ever obtained elsewhere: "The Kansa believe that when there is a death the ghost returns to the spirit village nearest the present habitat of the living. That is to say, all Indians do not go to one spirit village or 'happy hunting ground,' but to different ones, as there is a series of spirit villages for the Kansa, beginning with the one at Council Grove, where the tribe dwelt before they removed to their present reservation in Indian Territory, and extending along both sides of the Kansas River to its mouth, thence up the Missouri River, as far as the tribe wandered before meeting the Cheyennes (near the State line), thence down the river to the mouth of Osage River, and so on, down to the mouths of the Missouri and Ohio rivers," etc.

CHAPTER IV.

ꞱOIWERE AND WINNEBAGO CULTS.

§ 72. The Rev. William Hamilton, who was a missionary to the Iowa and Sac Indians of Nebraska, from 1837 to 1853, is the authority for most of the Iowa material in this chapter. About the year 1848, he published a series of letters about the Iowa Indians in a Presbyterian weekly newspaper, and with his permission the present writer transcribed these letters in 1879, for his own future use.

Other information about the three ꞱOiwere tribes (Iowa, Oto and Missouri) was obtained by the author from Ke-ɣreɔe, an Oto; Ckaɸoinye, a Missouri; and the delegation of Iowa chiefs that visited Washington in 1882.

The principal Winnebago authority was James Alexander, a full-blood and a member of the Wolf gens.

TERM "GREAT SPIRIT" NEVER HEARD AMONG THE IOWA.

Mr. Hamilton wrote thus in one of his letters:

> It is often said that the Indians are not idolaters, and that they believe in one Supreme Being, whom they call the Great Spirit. I do not now recollect that I ever heard the Iowas use the term Great Spirit since I have been among them. They speak of God (Wakanta), and sometimes of the Great God or Bad God. But of the true character of God they are entirely ignorant. Many of them speak of God as the creator of all things, and use a term that signifies "Creator of the earth." Sometimes they call him "Grandfather" (hiᵘtuka). But they imagine him to be possessed of like passions with themselves, and pleased with their war parties, scalp dances, thefts, and such like sin * * * They sometimes speak of the sun as a god, because it gives light and heat. The moon they sometimes speak of as a god, because it seems to be to the night what the sun is to the day. I asked an Indian the other day how many gods the Iowas had, and he promptly replied, 'Seven.'

THE SUN A WAKANTA.

§ 73. An Iowa told Mr. Hamilton that he had once killed a bear, which he offered to the sun, allowing the animal to lie where he had killed it.

THE WINDS AS WAKANTAS.

§ 74. An Iowa told Mr. Hamilton that Tatce, or Wind, was one of the seven great gods of his tribe. Another told him that he had made offerings to the South Wind, who was considered a beneficent Wakanta. But the North-east Wind was a maleficent one.

Judging from some of the Winnebago personal names, it is probable that the winds were regarded as powers by that people.

THE THUNDER-BEING A WAKANTA.

§ 75. Among the Iowa and Oto, the Tcexita is the eagle and thunder-bird gens, and Mr. Hamilton was told by the Iowa that the Thunder-being was called, Tcexita, and Wakanta, the latter being its peculiar title. "They supposed the Thunder-being to be a large bird. When they first hear the thunder in the spring of the year, they have a sacred feast in honor of this god."

The Winnebago called the Thunder-being "Waka^{n}tca-ra," and one division of the Bird gens is the Waka^{n}tca ikikaratca-da, or Thunder-being sub-gens. The Thunder-beings are the enemies of the Waktceqi or Submarine Wakantas. One person in the Thunder-being sub-gens is named Five-horned Male, probably referring to a Thunder-being with five horns! Other personal names are as follows: Green Thunder-being, Black Thunder-being, White Thunder-being, and Yellow Thunder-being; but James Alexander, a full-blood Winnebago of the Wolf gens, says that these colors have no connection with the four winds or quarters of the earth (See § 381).

The Iowa told Mr. Hamilton of a Winnebago who saw a Thunder-being fighting a subaquatic power. Sometimes the former bore the latter up into the air, and at other times the subaquatic power took his adversary beneath the water. The Winnebago watched them all day, and each Power asked his assistance in overcoming the other, promising him a great reward. The man did not know which one to help; but at last he shot an arrow at the subaquatic power, who was carried up into the air by the Thunder-being, but the wounded one said to the man, "You may become a great man yourself, but your relations must die." And so they say it happened. He became very great, but his relatives died.

When the warriors returned home from an expedition against their enemies, they plaited grass and tied the pieces around their arms, necks, and ankles. Sometimes to each ankle there was a trailing piece of plaited grass a yard long. This was probably associated, as were all war customs, with the worship of the Thunder-being (See Chap. III, § 35).

SUBTERRANEAN POWERS.

§ 76. An Indian became deranged from the use of whisky, and ran wild for several days. The Iowa supposed that his madness was caused by a subterranean power, whom he had seen, and whose picture he had drawn on the ground, representing it with large horns.

SUBAQUATIC POWERS.

§ 77. Some Iowa claim to have seen them. No Heart (Natce-niñe) told Mr. Hamilton that he had seen a "water god in the Missouri river, when a man was drowned. When a person is drowned they some-

times say that the god who lives in the water has taken him for a servant. Not a year since, some Iowa went over the river for meat. A young girl sat down in the canoe with her load on her back. When near the shore the canoe was upset accidentally, and the girl was drowned. The men thought that they heard a god halloo in the water, and that he had taken her. One told me that the gods of the air (i. e. the Thunder-beings) fought the gods of the water, and when the latter came out of the water, the former stole upon them and killed them."

The subterranean and subaquatic powers are called "waktceqi" by the Winnebago, and this tribe has a gens called Waktceqi ikikaratcada. The Winnebago say that the waktceqi dwell under the ground and the high bluffs, and in subterranean water, that they are caused to uphold the earth, trees, rivers, etc., and that they are the enemies of the Thunder-beings (§ 386). In the Winnebago Waktceqi gens are the following personal names: Black Waktceqi, White Waktceqi, Green Waktceqi, "Waktceqi that is sa^{n}" (which may be gray or brown), Four Horned Male, Two Horned Male, and Lives in the Hill.

ANIMALS AS WAKANTAS.

§ 78. Mr. Hamilton wrote that the Iowa often spoke about the buffaloes, whom they regarded as gods, addressing them as "Grandfathers." He also told of a doctor whom he met one day; the doctor seized a joint-snake that was handed him by another doctor, calling it his "god," spoke of it as being good medicine, and after putting its head into his mouth, he bit it twice.

APOTHEOSES.

§ 79. "They also seem to think that human beings may become gods, and in this respect they are like the Mormons."

DWELLINGS OF GODS.

§ 80. "High rocks are supposed by the Iowa to be the dwellings of gods." "There is a Winnebago tradition that a woman carrying her child was running from her enemies, so she jumped down a steep place and was turned into a rock. And now when they pass that place they make offerings to her."

WORSHIP.

§ 81. "One of their most common acts of worship, and apparently one of daily occurrence, is observed when a person is about to smoke his pipe. He looks to the sky and says, 'Wakanta, here is tobacco!' (See §§ 29, 40, 'Nini bahai tĕ.') Then he puffs a mouthful of smoke up towards the sky, after which he smokes as he pleases." "They also make offerings of tobacco by throwing a small quantity into the fire."

"They frequently offer a small portion of food at their feasts, before they begin eating."

Mr. Hamilton saw dogs hung by their necks to trees or to sticks planted in the ground, and he was told that these dogs were offerings. "No Heart told me that when the smallpox raged among them about fifty years ago" (i. e. about 1798), "and swept off so many, that they made a great many offerings." Said he, "We threw away a great many garments, blankets, etc., and offered many dogs to God. My father threw away a flag which the British had given him. When we had thrown away these things, the smallpox left us." These offerings to God (literally, to Wakanta) were the means of checking it. "To throw away," in Iowa, is the same as "to offer in sacrifice."

TABOOS.

§ 82. Mr. Hamilton was told by the Iowa that no member of any gens could eat the flesh of the eponymic animal.

The author gained the following taboos from a Missouri, Ckaꞇoe-yiñe or Ckaꞇoinye, who visited the Omaha in 1879: The members of the Tuna^{n}p'i^{n}, a Black Bear gens in the Oto and Nyut'atci (or Missouri) tribes can not touch a clam shell. The Momi people, now a subgens of the Missouri Bird gens, abstain from small birds which have been killed by large birds, and they can not touch the feathers of such small birds.

PUBLIC OR TRIBAL FETICHES.[1]

§ 83. Among these are the sacred pipes, the sacred bags, or waruxawe, and the sacred stone or iron. The sacred pipes are used only on solemn occasions, and they are kept enveloped in the skin wrappers. The sacred bags, or waruxawe, are made from the skins of animals. They are esteemed as mysterious, and they are reverenced as much as Wakanta. Among the Winnebago (and presumably among the Ɪoiwere tribes) no woman is allowed to touch the waruxawe. There used to be seven waruxawe among the Iowa, "related to one another as brothers and sisters," and used by war parties. On the return from war the seven bags were opened and used in the scalp dance. They contained the skins of animals and birds with medicine in them, also wild tobacco and other war medicine, also the war club. There used to be seven war clubs, one for each waruxawe, but during the last expedition of the Iowa, prior to the date of Mr. Hamilton's letters, the war club and pipes or whistles were lost from the principal bag. The next kind of sacred bags, the Waci waruxawe, numbered seven. They were the bad-medicine bags, by means of which they professed to deprive their enemies of power, when they had discouraged them by blowing the whistles. Owing to this enchantment, they said, their enemies could neither shoot nor run, and were soon killed. The next

[1] See § 58.

kind were the Tce waruxawe, or buffalo medicine bags. They were not used in war, but in healing the wounded. These bags contain medicine and the sticks with the deer hoofs attached which they shake while treating the sick; also a piece of buffalo tail, and perhaps a piece from the skin covering the throat of an elk.

The Ta waruxawe, or deer medicine bags, contain the sacred otter skins used in the Otter dance. (See § 86.)

In some of the sacred bags are round stones, which the warriors rub over themselves before going to war, to prevent their being killed or wounded.

The waruxawe is always carried with the same end foremost, the heads of the animals or birds being placed in the same direction, and care is taken to keep them so. (See § 28.) On one occasion a leader broke up a war party by turning the bag around.

The Iowa claim to have a mysterious object by which they try men, or make them swear to speak the truth. This mysterious iron or stone had not been gazed upon within the recollection of any of the Iowa living in 1848. It was wrapped in seven skins. No woman was allowed to see even the outer covering, and Mr. Hamilton was told that he would die if he looked at it.

Ckaꞯoinye, the Missouri, told the author that there were four Tuna^{n}p'i^{n} men who kept sacred pipes (raqnowe waqonyita^{n}), their names being Weqa-nayi^{n}, Cŭ^{n}-ƙiqowe, Na^{n}ɔraɔraꞯoe, and Na^{n}ꞯoe-yiñe. It is probable that two of these men belong to the Tuna^{n}p'i^{n} gens of the Oto tribe and two to the Tuna^{n}p'i^{n} gens of the Nyut'atci tribe, as these two tribes have been consolidated for years. In the Aruqwa or Buffalo gens of the Oto, ⌊oe-ꞯo-nayi^{n} and ⌊oe-wañeƙihi are the keepers of the sacred pipes of that gens.

SYMBOLIC EARTH FORMATIONS OF THE WINNEBAGO.[1]

§ 84. The Winnebago tent used for sacred dances is long and narrow; not more than 20 feet wide and varying from 50 to 100 feet long.

In the Buffalo dance, which is given four times in the month of May and early June, the dancers are four men and a large number of women. As the dancers enter each woman brings in a handful of fine earth and in this way two mounds are raised in the center at the east—that is, between the eastern entrance and the fire, which is about 15 feet from the eastern entrance. The mounds thus formed are truncated cones. An old man said to me, "That is the way all mounds were built; that is why we build so for the buffalo."

The mounds were about 4 inches high and not far from 18 inches in diameter. On top of the mounds were placed the head-gear worn by the men, the claws, tails, and other articles used by the four leaders or male dancers.

The men imitate the buffalo in his wild tramping and roaring, and dance with great vigor. They are followed by a long line of gaily decked women in single file. Each woman as she dances keeps her feet nearly straight and heels close together, and the body is propelled forward by a series of jerks which jars the whole frame, but the general effect on the long, closely packed line is that of the undulating appearance of a vast herd moving.

[1] Miss Fletcher in Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., Proc. Minneapolis meeting, 1883. Salem, 1884. pp. 396, 397.

The women dance with their eyes turned toward the ground and with their hands hanging closely in front, palms next to the person. The track left by their feet is very pretty, being like a close-leaved vine. It is astonishing to notice how each woman can leap into her predecessor's track. Water is partaken of and the entire dance is clearly indicative of the prayer for increase and plenty of buffalo. The two mounds remind one of larger structures and suggest many speculations, particularly when taken in connection with the manner of their building.

In the great mystery lodge, whence so many of the sacred societies among other tribes professedly take their rise and inspiration, the fire is at the east, and is made by placing four sticks meeting in the center and the other ends pointing to the four points of the compass.[1] Just at that part of the initiation of the candidate when he is to fall dead to the old life, he covered as with a pall, and then be raised to the new life, the remains of the four sticks are taken away and the ashes raised in a sharp conical mound, again suggesting hints of a peculiar past.

Upon the bluffs of the Missouri, on a promontory * * * is a little depression cut in the ground, circular in form, with an elongated end at the east. The depression is 1 foot in diameter and about 6 inches deep. Placing my compass in the center, the long end or entrance was found to be exactly to the east. To the south of this sacred spot, for it is cleared and cleaned * * * every year, stood a large cedar tree, now partly blown down. This was the sacred tree on which miraculous impersonation of visions lit; and here the spirits tarried as they passed from one resting place to another going over the country. About every 50 miles there is one of these strange, supernatural resting places.

PERSONAL FETICHES.

§ 85. All medicines were regarded as mysterious or sacred. The heart of a slain enemy was sometimes dried and put in the medicine bag to be pulverized and mixed with the other medicines. "One or two days before a war party started from the village of the Iowa, the man who was to carry the sacred bag hid it while the others busied themselves with preparing sacred articles" (probably their personal fetiches). "The hunters often brought in deer, after eating which, the warriors painted themselves as they would do if they expected to see an enemy. Next, one of their number measured a certain number of steps in front, when each man took his place, and knelt down. As soon as the word was given, each one pulled away the grass and sticks, moving backwards till he came to the poles, when he arose. Then each placed his own sacred objects (personal fetiches?) before him, and began his own song. While singing, they opened their sacred objects, asking for good luck. They sang one song on opening them (as among the Kansa, see § 36), and another while putting them back into their places, a song being supposed necessary for every ceremony in which they engaged. In the conversations which ensued, they were at liberty to jest, provided they avoided common or vulgar terms."

DANCING SOCIETIES.

There is very probably some connection between these societies and the cults of the tribes now under consideration. (See §§ 43, 62, 111, 113, 120, et passim.)

[1] See §§ 33 and 40.

THE OTTER DANCING SOCIETY.

§ 86. The members of this order shot at one another with their otter-skin bags, as has been the custom in the Wacicka dancing society of the Omaha (Om. Soc., pp. 345, 346). Some have said that they waved their otter-skin bags around in order to infuse the spirit of the otter into a bead in its mouth, and that it was by the spirit of the otter that they knocked one another down. Each one who practiced this dance professed to keep some small round object in his breast to cough it up before or during the dance, and to use it for shooting one of his companions in the neck. He who was thus shot did in turn cough up the mysterious object, and at the end of the dance each member swallowed his own shell or pebble.

THE RED MEDICINE DANCING SOCIETY.

§ 87. The Indians used to obtain in the prairies, towards the Rocky Mountains, an object about the size of a bean or small hazelnut and of a red color. Mr. Hamilton was told that it grew on bushes, and that it was considered to be alive, and they looked on it as a mysterious animal. In the red medicine dance the person who makes the medicine kills the animals by crushing the beans and boiling them in a large kettle filled with water. This drink is designed for or appropriated by a few members, and they drink the liquid when it is quite hot. The more that they drink the more they desire, and they seem able to drink almost any quantity. It produces a kind of intoxication, making them full of life, as they say, and enabling them to dance a long time. (See § 62.)

GREEN CORN DANCE.

§ 88. This dance did not originate with the Iowa. It is said that the Sac tribe obtained it from the Shawnee. It is held after night. Men and women dance together, and if any women or men wish to leave their consorts they do it at this dance and mate anew, nothing being urged against it.

BUFFALO DANCING SOCIETY.

§ 89. The Iowa have the buffalo dance, and by a comparison of Mr. Hamilton's description of it, and his account of the buffalo doctors, and of the medicine or mystery bag of buffalo hide, with what has been learned about the Omaha order of buffalo shamans (see § 43), it seems probable that among the Iowa this dance was not participated in by any but those who had had visions of the buffalo, and that there was also some connection between all three—the dancing society, the buffalo doctors, and the mysterious bag of buffalo hide. As among the Omaha, the buffalo doctors of the Iowa are the only surgeons.

ꞱOIWERE TRADITIONS.

§ 90. The ꞱOiwere tribes have traditions of their origin similar to those found among the Osage, Kansa, and Ponka, and these traditions are considered as "waqonyitaⁿ," or mysterious things, not to be spoken of lightly or told on ordinary occasions.

As among the Osage and Kansa, the traditions tell of a period when the ancestors of the present gentes dwelt, some in the upper world, and others in the ground (or in the world beneath this one).

Mr. Hamilton's informant said, "These are sacred things, and I do not like to speak about them, as it is not our custom to do so except when we make a feast and collect the people and use the sacred pipe." These traditions were preserved in the secret societies of the tribes. They explain the origin of the gentes and subgentes, of fire, corn, the pipes, bows and arrows, etc.

It is probable that similar secret societies exist among the Winnebago. James Alexander, a Winnebago of the Wolf gens, told a part of the secret tradition of his gens, in which appear some resemblances to the ꞱOiwere traditions, such as the creation of four kinds of wolves, and their dwelling underground, or in the world beneath this one. (See §§ 381, 383.)

BELIEF IN FUTURE LIFE.

That the ꞱOiwere believed in the existence of the ghost or spirit after death is evident from what Mr. Hamilton observed:

> They often put provisions, a pitcher of water, and some cooking utensils on the grave for the use of the spirit for some time after burial. * * * At the time of burial, they often put new clothing and ornaments on the corpse, if they are able, and place by its side such things as they think necessary. I once saw a little child with some of its playthings which its mother had placed by it, in her ignorance, thinking that they would be pleasing to it. * * * They are generally careful for a year or so, to keep down all the weeds and grass about the grave, perhaps for 10 feet around.

CHAPTER V.

DAKOTA AND ASSINIBOIN CULTS.

ALLEGED DAKOTA BELIEF IN A GREAT SPIRIT.

§ 92. That the Dakota tribes, before the advent of the white race, believed in one Great Spirit, has been asserted by several writers; but it can not be proved. On the contrary, even those writers who are quoted in this study as stating the Dakota belief in a Great Spirit, also tell us of beliefs in many spirits of evil. Among the earlier writers of this class is Say, who observes:

> Their Wahconda seems to be a protean god; he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. All who are favored with his presence become medicine men and magicians in consequence of their having seen and conversed with Wahconda, and of having received from him some particular medicine of wondrous efficacy.

The same writer records that "Wahconda" appeared sometimes as a grizzly bear, sometimes as a bison, at others as a beaver, or an owl, or some other bird or animal.[1] It is plain that Say mistook the generic term, "Wahconda," for a specific one. (See §§ 6, 21–24.)

Shea says:

> Although polytheism did not exist, although they all recognized one Supreme Being, the creator of all, * * * they nowhere adored the God whom they knew. * * * The demons with which they peopled nature, these alone, in their fear they sought to appease. * * * Pure unmixed devil-worship prevailed throughout the length and breadth of the land.[2]

§ 93. Lynd made some very pertinent remarks:

> A stranger coming among the Dakotas for the first time, and observing the endless variety of objects upon which they bestow their devotion, and the manifold forms which that worship assumes, at once pronounces them pantheists. A further acquaintance with them convinces him that they are pantheists of no ordinary kind—that their pantheism is negative as well as positive, and that the engraftments of religion are even more numerous than the true branches. Upon a superficial glance he sees naught but an inextricable maze of gods, demons, spirits, beliefs and counter-beliefs, earnest devotion and reckless skepticism, prayers, sacrifices, and sneers, winding and intermingling with one another, until a labyrinth of pantheism and skepticism results, and the Dakota, with all his infinity of deities appears a creature of irreligion. One speaks of the medicine dance with respect, while another smiles at the name—one makes a religion of the raw fish feast, while another stands by and laughs at his performance—and others, listening to the supposed revelations of the

[1] Say, in James's Account of Long's Exped. Rocky Mts., Vol. I, 268.
[2] Shea, Amer. Cath. missions, p 25.

circle dance, with reverent attention, are sneered at by a class who deny *in toto* the *wakan* nature of that ceremony.[1]

In common with all nations of the earth the Dakotas believe in a Wakantanka or Great Spirit. But this Being is not alone in the universe. Numbers of minor deities are scattered throughout space, some of whom are placed high in the scale of power. Their ideas of the Great Spirit appear to be that He is the creator of the world and has existed from all time; but after creating the world and all that is in it He sank into silence and since then has failed to take any interest in the affairs of this planet. They never pray to Him, for they deem Him too far away to hear them, or as not being concerned in their affairs. No sacrifices are made to Him, nor dances in His honor. Of all the spirits He is the Great Spirit; but His power is only latent or negative. They swear by Him at all times, but more commonly by other divinities.[2]

Yet Lynd is not always consistent, for he says on another page (71) of the same work: "No one deity is held by them all as a superior object of worship."

§ 94. Pond writes:

Evidence is also wanting to show that the Dakotas embraced in their religious tenents the idea of one supreme existence, whose existence is expressed by the term Great Spirit. If some clans at the present time entertain this idea it seems highly probable that it has been imparted to them by individuals of European extraction. No reference to such a being is found in their feasts, fasts, or sacrifices. Or if there is such a reference at the present time it is clear that it is of recent origin and does not belong to their system. It is indeed true that the Dakotas do sometimes appeal to the Great Spirit when in council with white men, but it is because they themselves have embraced the Christian doctrines. Still, it is generally the interpreter who makes the appeal to the Great Spirit, when the Indian speaker really appealed to the Taku Wakan, and not to the Wakantanka. It is true that * * * all the Dakota gods * * * are mortal. They are not thought of as being eternal, except it may be by succession.[3]

The author agrees with Pond in what he says about the average Indian interpreter of early days, who seldom gave a correct rendering of what was spoken in council. But at the present time great improvement has doubtless been observed.

It should be remembered that Messrs. Riggs and Pond were missionaries to the Dakotas, while Messrs. Say, Shea, and Lynd must be classed among the laity. Yet the missionaries, not the laymen, are the ones who make the positive statements about the absence of a belief in one Great Spirit.

RIGGS ON THE TAKU WAKAN.

§ 95. Riggs remarks:

The religious faith of the Dakota is not in his gods as such. It is an intangible, mysterious something of which they are only the embodiment, and that in such a measure and degree as may accord with the individual fancy of the worshiper. Each one will worship some of these divinities and neglect and despise others; but the great object of all their worship, whatever its chosen medium, is the TA-KOO

[1] Lynd, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 63. Compare these seeming contradictions with those observed among the Omaha and Ponka, especially §§ 21–24.

[2] Ibid, pp. 64–65.

[3] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 34.

WAH-KON, which is the supernatural and mysterious. No one term can express the full meaning of the Dakota's Wakan. It comprehends all mystery, secret power, and divinity. * * * All life is Wakan. So also is everything which exhibits power, whether in action, as the winds and drifting clouds, or in passive endurance, as the bowlder by the wayside.[1]

MEANING OF "WAKAN."

In the mind of a Dakota * * * this word Wah-kon (we write, wa-kan) covers the whole field of their fear and worship. Many things also that are neither feared nor worshiped, but are simply wonderful, come under this designation. It is related of Hennepin that when he and his two companions were taken captive by a Sioux war party, as they ascended the upper Mississippi one of the men took up his gun and shot a deer on the bank. The Indians said, "Wah-kon chi?"—Is not this mysterious? And from that day * * * the gun has been called Mah-za wah-kon, mysterious iron. This is shortened into Mah-za-kon. The same thing we may believe is true when, probably less than two centuries ago, they first saw a horse. They said "Shoon-ka wah-kon," wonderful dog. And from that day the horse has been called by the Sioux wonderful dog, except when it has been called big dog, Shoon-ka tonka. These historical facts have satisfied us that the idea of the Great Spirit ascribed to the Indians of North America does not belong to the original theogony of the Sioux, but has come from without, like that (sic) of the horse and gun, and probably dates back only to their first hearing of the white man's God.[2]

Taku Wakan.—This is a general term, including all that is wonderful, incomprehensible, supernatural—what is wakan; but especially covering the objects of their worship. Until used in reference to our God, it is believed that the phrase was not applied to any individual object of worship, but was equivalent to "the gods."[3] As tuwe, *who*, refers to persons, and taku, *what*, to things, the correctness of Riggs's conclusion can hardly be questioned, provided we add that the Dakota term, Taku Wakan, could not have conveyed to the Dakota mind the idea of a *personal* God, using the term *person* as it is commonly employed by civilized peoples.

DAIMONISM.

§ 96. Lynd says:

The divinities of evil among the Dakotas may be called legion. Their special delight is to make man miserable or to destroy him. Demons wander through the earth, causing sickness and death. Spirits of evil are ever ready to pounce upon and destroy the unwary. Spirits of earth, air, fire, and water (see § 36) surround him upon every side, and with but one great governing object in view—the misery and destruction of the human race.[4]

ANIMISM.

§ 97. Their religious system gives to everything a soul or spirit. Even the commonest sticks and clays have a spiritual essence attached

[1] Riggs, Tah-koo Wah-kon, pp. 56, 57.

[2] Riggs in Am. Antiq., Vol. II, No. 4, p. 265; and in Am. Philolog. Assoc. Proc., 1872, pp. 5, 6.

[3] Riggs, in Am. Antiq., vol. II, No. 4, p. 266. Pond, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 3, p. 33. Smet, op. cit., 120, note.

[4] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2.

to them which must needs be reverenced; for these spirits, too, vent their wrath upon mankind. Indeed, there is no object, however trivial, but has its spirit.[1]

In his article on the Mythology of the Dakotas,[2] Riggs says of the Dakota:

> They pray to the sun, earth, moon, lakes, rivers, trees, plants, snakes, and all kinds of animals and vegetables—many of them say, to everything, for they pray to their guns and arrows—to any object, artificial as well as natural, for they suppose that every object, artificial as well as natural, has a spirit which may hurt or help, and so is a proper object of worship.

Lynd says:

> The essentially physical cast of the Indian mind (if I may be allowed the expression) requires some outward and tangible representation of things spiritual before he can comprehend them. The god must be present, by image or in person, ere he can offer up his devotions. * * * Similar to this "belief in a spiritual essence" is the general Dakota belief that each class of animals or objects of a like kind possesses a peculiar guardian divinity, which is the mother archetype. * * * Sexuality is a prominent feature in the religion of the Dakotas. Of every species of divinity, with the exception of the Wakantanka, there is a plurality, part male and part female. Even the spirits, which are supposed to dwell in the earth, twigs, and other inanimate substances, are invested with distinctions of sex.[3]

§ 98. Pond asserts that "evidence is wanting to show that these people divide their Taku-wakan into classes of good and evil. They are all simply wakan."[4]

PRINCIPAL DAKOTA GODS.

The gods of the Dakotas are of course innumerable; but of the superior gods these are the chief: The Unktelii, or god of the water; the Wakinyan, or thunder god; the Takuśkanśkan, or moving god; the Tunkan, Inyan, or stone god; the Heyoka god; the Sun; the Moon; the Armor god; the Spirit of the Medicine Sack; and the Wakantanka, who is probably an intrusive deity.[5]

MISS FLETCHER ON INDIAN RELIGION.

§ 99. The following remarks are those of a later writer, Miss Fletcher:

> The Indian's religion is generally spoken of as a nature and animal worship. The term seems too broadcast and indiscriminate. Careful inquiry and observation fail to show that the Indian actually worships the objects which are set up or mentioned by him in his ceremonies. The earth, four winds, the sun, moon, and stars, the stones, the water, the various animals, are all exponents of a mysterious life and power encompassing the Indian and filling him with vague apprehension and desire to propitiate and induce friendly relations. The latter is attempted not so much through the ideas of sacrifice as through more or less ceremonial appeals. More faith is put in ritual and a careful observance of forms than in any act of self-denial in its moral sense, as we understand it. The claim of relationship is used to strengthen the appeal, since the tie of kindred among the Indians is one which can not be ignored or disregarded, the terms grandfather and grandmother being

[1] Lynd, Ibid., p. 67. [2] Am. Antiq., vol. v, 149. [3] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. i, pt. 2, pp. 67, 68.
[4] Ibid., pt. 3, p. 33. [5] Riggs, Tah-koo Wah-kon, p. 61, et passim.

most general and implying dependence, respect, and the recognition of authority. (See §§ 9, 100.)

One of the simplest and most picturesque explanations of the use of the varied forms of life in the Indian worship was given to me by a thoughtful Indian chief. He said: "Everything as it moves, now and then, here and there, makes stops. The bird as it flies stops in one place to make its nest, and in another to rest in its flight. A man when he goes forth stops when he wills. So the god has stopped. The sun, which is so bright and beautiful, is one place where he has stopped. The moon, the stars, the winds, he has been with. The trees, the animals, are all where he has stopped, and the Indian thinks of these places and sends his prayers there to reach the place where the god has stopped and win help and a blessing."

The vague feeling after unity is here discernible, but it is like the cry of a child rather than the articulate speech of a man. To the Indian mind the life of the universe has not been analyzed, classified, and a great synthesis formed of the parts. To him the varied forms are equally important and noble. A devout old Indian said: "The tree is like a human being, for it has life and grows; so we pray to it and put our offerings on it that the god may help us." In the same spirit the apology is offered over a slaughtered animal, for the life of the one is taken to supplement the life of the other, "that it may cause us to live," one formula expresses it. These manifestations of life, stopping places of the god, can not therefore be accurately called objects of worship or symbols; they appear to be more like media of communication with the permeating occult force which is vaguely and fearfully apprehended. As a consequence, the Indian stands abreast of nature. He does not face it, and hence can not master or coerce it, or view it scientifically and apart from his own mental and emotional life. He appeals to it, but does not worship it.[1]

PRAYER.

§ 100. Every power is prayed to by some of the Dakota and Assiniboin. Among the accessories of prayer the Dakota reckons the following: (*a*) Ceremonial wailing or crying (ćéya, to weep, wail; whence, ćékiya, to cry, to pray, and woćékiye, prayer), sometimes accompanied by articulate speech (§§ 177, 208); (*b*) the action called yuwiⁿtapi (yuwiŋ'-tapi) described in § 24; (*c*) holding the pipe with the mouthpiece toward the power invoked, as the Heyoka devotees sometimes do (§§ 223, 224); (*d*) the use of smoke from the pipe or the odor of burning cedar needles (§§ 159, 168); (*e*) the application of the kinship terms, "grandfather" (or its alternative, "venerable man") to a male power, and "grandmother" to a female one (§§ 99, 107, 239); (*f*) sacrifice, or offering of goods, animals, or pieces of one's own flesh, etc. (see § 185).

SACRIFICE.

§ 101. The radical forms of worship among the Dakota, according to Lynd, are few and simple. One of the most primitive is that of Wocnapi (Wośnapi) or Sacrifice. To every divinity that they worship they make sacrifices. Even upon the most trivial occasions the gods are either thanked or supplicated by sacrifice. The religious idea it carries with it is at the foundation of the every-day life of the Dakota. The wohduze or taboo has its origin there; the wiwaŋyag waćipi or sun-

[1] Rept. Peabody Museum, vol. III, p. 276, note.

dance (§§ 141–211) carries with it the same idea; the wakaŋ wohaŋpi or sacred feast (feast of the first-fruits) is a practical embodiment of it; and haŋmdepi or god-seeking of the extreme western tribes is but a form of self-sacrifice. No Dakota in his worship neglects this ceremony. It enters into his religious thoughts at all times, even at the hour of death. The sacrifices made upon recovery from sickness are never composed of anything very valuable, for the poverty of the Indian will not permit this. Usually a small strip of muslin, or a piece of red cloth, a few skins of some animals, or other things of no great use or value are employed. Sometimes a pan or kettle is laid up for a sacrifice. But after a short time, the end for which the sacrifice was made is attained, and it is removed. Those in need of such things as they see offered in sacrifice may take them for their own use, being careful to substitute some other articles. Perhaps the most common forms of sacrifice are those which are made in the hunt. Particular portions of each animal killed are held sacred to the god of the chase or some other deities. If a deer is killed, the head, heart, or some other part of it is sacrified by the person who has slain it. The part sacrificed differs with different individuals. In ducks and fowls the most common sacrifice is of the wing, though many sacrifice the heart, and a few the head. This custom is called wohduze, and is always constant with individuls, i. e., the same part is always sacrificed. The other wohduze or taboo is connected with the wotawe or armor,[1] and will be described hereafter (§ 125).

§ 102. *Haymdepi or god-seeking.*—Haŋmdepi or god-seeking is a form of religion among the Dakotas that points back to a remote antiquity. The meaning of the word, in its common acceptation, appears to be greatly misunderstood by some. Literally, it means only to dream, and is but another form of haŋma; but in its use it is applied almost wholly to the custom of seeking for a dream or revelation, practiced by the Sisitonwan, Ihanktonwanna, and Titonwan (Sioux), and by the Crow, Minnetaree, Assiniboin, and other western Dakota. In this respect it has no reference whatever to the common dreams of sleep, but means simply the form of religion practiced.

If a Dakota wishes to be particularly successful in any (to him) important undertaking, he first purifies himself by the Inipi or steam bath, and by fasting for a term of three days. During the whole of this time he avoids women and society, is secluded in his habits, and endeavors in every way to be pure enough to receive a revelation from the deity whom he invokes. When the period of fasting is passed he is ready for the sacrifice, which is made in various ways. Some, passing a knife through the breast and arms, attach thongs thereto, which are fastened at the other end to the top of a tall pole raised for that purpose; and thus they hang, suspended only by these thongs, for two, three, or even four days, gazing upon vacancy, their minds being in-

[1] Lynd, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 72.

tently fixed upon the object in which they desire to be assisted by the deity, and waiting for a vision from above. Once a day an assistant is sent to look upon the person thus sacrificing himself. If the deities have vouchsafed him a vision or revelation, he signifies the same by motions, and is released at once; if he be silent, his silence is understood, and he is left alone to his reverie.

Others attach a buffalo hair rope to the head of a buffalo just as it is severed from the animal, and to the other end affix a hook, which is then passed through the large muscles in the small of the back, and thus fastened they drag the head all over the camp, their minds meanwhile being fixed intently, as in the first instance, upon the object in which they are beseeching the deity to assist them.

A third class pass knives through the flesh in various parts of the body, and wait in silence, though with fixed mind, for a dream or revelation. A few, either not blessed with the powers of endurance or else lacking the courage of the class first named, will plant a pole upon the steep bank of a stream, and attaching ropes to the muscles of the arm and breast, as in the first instance, will stand, but not hang, gazing into space, without food or drink, for days.

Still another class practice the haŋmdepi without such horrid self-sacrifice. For weeks, nay, for months, they will fix their minds intently upon any desired object, to the exclusion of all others, frequently crying about the camp, occasionally taking a little food, but fasting for the most part, and earnestly seeking a revelation from their god.[1]

§103. Similar testimony has been given respecting the Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara, though this last tribe belongs to the Caddoan stock. Smet wrote thus about them:

> They cut off their fingers and make deep incisions in the fleshy parts of the body before starting for war, in order to obtain the favors of their false gods. On my last visit to these Ricaries, Minataries, and Mandans I could not discern a single man at all advanced in years whose body had not been mutilated, or who possessed his full number of fingers.[2]

In treating of the religious opinion of the Assiniboin, Smet says:

> Some burn tobacco, and present to the Great Spirit the most exquisite pieces of buffalo meat by casting them into the fire; while others make deep incisions in the fleshy parts of their bodies, and even cut off the first joints of their fingers to offer them in sacrifice.[3]

Lynd says:

> §104. Frequently the devout Dakota will make images of bark or stone, and, after painting them in various ways and putting sacred down upon them, will fall down in worship before them, praying that all danger may be averted from him and his. It must not be understood, however, that the Dakota is an idolater. It is not the image that he worships, * * * but the spiritual essence which is represented by that image, and which is supposed to be ever near it.[4]

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[1] Lynd, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 72, 76, 77.
[2] Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 92.
[3] Ibid., p. 134.
[4] Lynd, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 67.

This plausible distinction has been made by persons of different nations at various periods in the world's history, but it seems to be of doubtful value.

USE OF PAINT IN WORSHIP.

§ 105. In the worship of their deities paint forms an important feature. Scarlet or red is the religious color for sacrifices, while blue is used by the women in many of the ceremonies in which they participate (§§ 374, 375). This, however, is not a constant distinction of sex, for the women frequently use red or scarlet. The use of paints the Dakotas aver was taught them by the gods.[1]

For accounts of the Sun-dance and a sacrifice to the Dawn, see §§ 141, 211, 215.

THE UNKTEḢI, OR SUBAQUATIC AND SUBTERRANEAN POWERS.

§ 106. The gods of this name, for there are many, are the most powerful of all. In their external form they are said to resemble the ox, only they are of immense proportions. They can extend their horns and tails so as to reach the skies. These are the organs of their power. According to one account the Unktelii inhabit all deep waters, and especially all great waterfalls. Two hundred and eleven years ago, when Hennepin and Du Luth saw the Falls of St. Anthony together, there were some buffalo robes hanging there as sacrifices to the Unktelii of the place.[2]

§ 107. Another account written by the same author informs us that the male Unktelii dwell in the water, and the spirits of the females animate the earth. Hence, when the Dakota seems to be offering sacrifices to the water or the earth, it is to this family of gods that the worship is rendered. They address the males as "grandfathers," and the females as "grandmothers." It is believed that one of these gods dwells under the Falls of St. Anthony, in a den of great dimensions, which is constructed of iron.[3]

§ 108. "The word Unktelii defies analysis, only the latter part giving us the idea of *difficult* [sic], and so nothing can be gathered from the name itself of the functions of these gods. But Indian legend generally describes the genesis of the earth as from the water. Some animal, as the beaver [compare the Iowa and Oto Beaver gentes, Paça and Paqça.—J. O. D.] living in the waters, brought up, from a great depth, mud to build dry land."[4] According to the Dakota cosmogony, this was done by the Unktelii, called in the Teton dialect Ũñktcexila or Uŋkćeġila. (Compare the Winnebago, Waktceqi ikikaratcada or water-monster gens, and the Wakandagi of the Omaha and Ponka, see §§7,77).

[1]Lynd, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 80.

[2]Riggs, in Am. Antiq., vol. II, p. 266.

[3]Riggs, Tah-koo Wah-kon, p. 62. See Maza or Iron names of Indians in the author's forthcoming monograph on Indian Personal Names.

[4]Riggs, in Am. Antiq., vol. II, p. 267.

§ 109. The Iowa and Oto tribes have among their nikie names, Ni waⁿcike, Water Person, and Ni waⁿcike mi, Water Person Female. If these do not refer to the beaver, they may have some connection with the water monsters or deities. An Omaha told the author a Yankton legend about these gods of the waters. The wife of the special Unktelii coveted an Indian child and drew it beneath the surface of the river. The father of the child had to offer a white dog to the deity in order to recover his son; but the latter died on emerging from the water, as he had eaten some of the food of the Unktelii during his stay with the deity. After awhile the parents lost a daughter in like manner, but as she did not eat any of the food of the Unktelii, she was recovered after an offering of four white dogs.[1]

Smet tells of offerings made by the Assiniboin to "the water" and "the land," but it is probable that they were made to the Unktelii.[2]

§ 110. The Dakota pray to lakes and rivers, according to Riggs,[3] but he does not say whether the visible objects were worshiped or whether the worship was intended for the Unktelii supposed to dwell in those lakes and rivers.

POWER OF THE UNKTEḤI.

§ 111. These gods have power to send from their bodies a wakan influence which is irresistible even by the superior gods. This influence is termed "tonwan." This power is common to all the Taku Wakan. And it is claimed that this tonwan is infused into each mystery sack which is used in the mystery dance. A little to the left of the road leading from Fort Snelling to Minnehaha, in sight of the fort, is a hill which is used at present as a burial place. This hill is known to the Dakota as "Taku Wakan tipi," the dwelling place of the gods. It is believed that one of the Unktelii dwells there.

§ 112. The Unktelii are thought to feed on the spirits of human beings, and references to this occur in the mystic songs. The mystery feast and the mystery dance have been received from these gods. The sacrifices required by them are the soft down of the swan reddened with vermilion, deer skins, dog, mystery feast and mystery dances.

In Miss Fletcher's article on "The Shadow or Ghost Lodge: A ceremony of the Ogallala Sioux," we read that 2 yards of red cloth are "carried out beyond the camp, to an elevation if possible, and buried in a hole about 3 feet deep. This is an offering to the earth, and the chanted prayer asks that the life, or power in earth, will help the father" of the dead child "in keeping successfully all the requirements of the ghost lodge."[4] (See § 146.)

SUBORDINATES OF THE UNKTEḤI.

The subordinates of the Unktelii are serpents, lizards, frogs, ghosts, owls, and eagles. The Unktelii made the earth and men, and gave the

[1] Contr. N. A. Ethn. vol. VI, pp. 357—358.
[2] Missions and Missionaries, p. 136.
[3] Am. Antiq., vol. V. p. 149.
[4] Rept. Peabody Museum, vol. III, p. 297.

Dakota the mystery sack, and also prescribed the manner in which some of those pigments must be applied which are rubbed over the bodies of their votaries in the mystery dance, and on the warrior as he goes into action.

THE MYSTERY DANCE.

§ 113. Immediately after the production of the earth and men, the Unktelii gave the Indians the mystery sack and instituted the Wakan waćipi or mystery dance. They ordained that the sack should consist of the skin of the otter, raccoon, weasel, squirrel, loon, one variety of fish, and of serpents. It was also ordained that the sack should contain four species of medicines of wakan qualities, which should represent fowls, medicinal herbs, medicinal trees, and quadrupeds. The down of the female swan represents the first, and may be seen at the time of the dance inserted in the nose of the sack. Grass roots represent the second, bark from the roots of the trees the third, and hair from the back or head of a buffalo the fourth. These are carefully preserved in the sack. From this combination proceeds a wakan influence so powerful that no human being, unassisted, can resist it.

Those who violated their obligations as members of the Mystery dance, were sure of punishment. If they went into forests, the black owl was there, as a servant of the Unktelii; if they descended into the earth, they encountered the serpent; if they ascended into the air, the eagle would pursue and overtake them; and if they ventured into the water, there were the Unktelii themselves.[1] An account of the mystery or medicine dance is given by Pond, op. cit., pp. 37–41.

"Those Dakotas," said Lynd, "who belong to the medicine dance esteem the Unktelii as the greatest divinity. Among the eastern Dakotas the medicine dance appears to have taken the place of these more barbarous ceremonies (i. e., the self-tortures of the hanmdepi, piercing of the flesh, etc.)—among the Winnebagoes entirely."

The Omaha do not have the sun dance, but the wacicka aǥiⁿ, answering to the Dakota mystery dance, is said to be of ancient use among them.

"Indeed, the medicine dance, though an intrusive religious form, may be considered as an elevating and enlightening religion in comparison with the hanmdepi."[2]

THE MINIWATU.

§ 114. The Teton Dakota tell of the Miniwatu, Wamnitu,[3] and Mini waśiću, all of which are probably names for the same class of monsters, the last meaning "Water God or Guardian Spirit." These powers are said to be horned water monsters with four legs each. "They make

[1] Pond, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll, vol. II, pp. 35–38.

[2] Lynd, Ibid., pt. 2, pp. 71–77. Riggs, in Amer. Philolog. Assoc. Proc, 1872., p. 6.

[3] A picture of "Wah-Menitu, the spirit or god in the water," is given on p. 161 of Lloyd's translation of Maximilian, London, 1843.

waves by pushing the water toward the lowlands; therefore, the Indians prefer to encamp on or near the bluffs. They fear to swim the Missouri River on account of the water monsters, who can draw people into their mouths." Can these be the Unktelii, whom the Teton call Uŋkćegila?

§ 115. "Long ago," according to Bushotter, "the people saw a strange thing in the Missouri River. At night there was some red object, shining like fire, making the water roar as it passed upstream. Should any one see the monster by daylight he became crazy soon after, writhing as with pain, and dying. One man who said that he saw the monster described it thus: 'It has red hair all over, and one eye. A horn is in the middle of its forehead, and its body resembles that of a buffalo.[1] Its backbone is like a cross-cut saw, being flat and notched like a saw or cog wheel. When one sees it he gets bewildered, and his eyes close at once. He is crazy for a day, and then he dies. The Teton think that this matter is still in the river, and they call it the Miniwatu or water monster. They think that it causes the ice on the river to break up in the spring of the year."[2]

The Teton say that the bones of the Uŋkćegila are now found in the bluffs of Nebraska and Dakota.

THE WAKI^{N}YA^{N} (WAKIŊYAŊ), OR THUNDER-BEINGS.

§ 116. The name signifies the flying ones, from kinyan, to fly. The thunder is the sound of their voices. The lightning is the missile or tonwan of the winged monsters, who live and fly through the heavens shielded from mortal vision by thick clouds. By some of the wakan men it is said that there are four varieties of the form of their external manifestation. In essence, however they are but one. One of the varieties is black, with a long beak, and has four joints in his wing. Another is yellow, without any beak at all; with wings like the first, except that he has six quills in each wing. The third is scarlet, and remarkable chiefly for having eight joints in each of its enormous pinions. The fourth is blue and globular in form, and it is destitute of both eyes and ears. Immediately over the places where the eyes should be there is a semicircular line of lightning resembling an inverted half moon from beneath which project downward two chains of lightning diverging from each other in zigzag lines as they descend. Two plumes like soft down, coming out near the roots of the descending chains of lightning, serve for wings.[3]

These thunderers, of course, are of terrific proportions. They created the wild rice and a variety of prairie grass, the seed of which bears some resemblance to that of the rice. At the western extremity of the

[1] According to Omaha tradition, two buffalo gentes are of subaquatic origin. See Om. Soc., pp. 231–233.

[2] From an unpublished text of Bushotter.

[3] The Thunderers in the Omaha myth have hair of different colors. One has white hair, the second has yellow, the third, bright red, and the fourth, green hair. See Contr. N. A. Eth., vol. VI, p. 187.

earth, which is supposed to be a circular plain surrounded by water, is a high mountain, on the summit of which is a beautiful mound. On this mound is the dwelling of the Wakinyan gods. The dwelling opens toward each of the four quarters of the earth, and at each doorway is stationed a sentinel. A butterfly stands at the east entrance, a bear at the west, a reindeer [sic, probably intended for a deer.—J. O. D.] at the north, and a beaver at the south [the beaver seems out of place here as a servant of the Wakinyan gods, for, judging from analogy, he ought to be the servant of the Unktelii (see § 108)—J. O. D.].

Except the head, each of these wakan sentinels is enveloped in scarlet down of the most extraordinary beauty.[1]

§ 117. The Teton texts of Bushotter state the belief that "some of these ancient people still dwell in the clouds. They have large curved beaks resembling bison humps, their voices are loud, they do not open their eyes except when they make lightning, hence the archaic Teton name for the lightning, Wakinyan tunwanpi, "The thunder-beings open their eyes." They are armed with arrows and "maza wakan" or "mysterious irons" (not "guns"), the latter being of different kinds. Kaŋǧitame, stones resembling coal, are found in the Bad Lands, and they are said to be the missiles of the Thunderers. When these gods so desire they kill various mysterious beings and objects, as well as human beings that are mysterious. Their ancient foes were the giant rattlesnakes and the prehistoric water monsters (Uŋkćeǧila: see §§ 108, 114, 115).

§118. Long ago the Teton encamped by a deep lake whose shore was inclosed by very high cliffs. They noticed that at night, even when there was no breeze, the water in the middle of the lake was constantly roaring. When one gazed in that direction, he saw a huge eye as bright as the sun, which caused him to vomit something resembling black earth moistened with water, and death soon followed. That very night the Thunderers came, and the crashing sounds were so terrible that many people fainted. The next morning the shore was covered with the bodies of all kinds of fish, some of which were larger than men, and there were also some huge serpents. The water monster which the Thunderers had fought resembled a rattlesnake, but he had short legs and rusty-yellow fur.

§119. The Thunderers are represented as cruel and destructive in disposition. They are ever on the war path. A mortal hatred exists between them and the family of the Unktelii. Neither has power to resist the tonwan of the other if it strikes him. Their attacks are never open, and neither is safe except he eludes the vigilance of the other. The Wakinyan, in turn, are often surprised and killed by the Unktelii. Many stories are told of the combats of these gods. Mr. Pond once listened to the relation, by an eyewitness (as he called himself), of a story in substance as follows: A Wakinyan measuring 25 to 30 yards

[1] Pond, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 2, 41-42.

between the tips of his wings was killed and fell on the bank of the Blue Earth river (Minnesota).

From the Wakinyan the Dakota have received their war implements, the spear and tomahawk, and many of the pigments, which, if properly applied, will shield them from the weapons of their enemies.[1]

§120. When a person dreams of the Thunderers, it is a sign that he and they must fight. The Wakinyan are not the only gods of war; there are also the Takucka^{n}cka^{n} (Takuśkańśkan) and the Armor gods. (See §§ 122–3, 127–9.)

Of the circle dance, Riggs says (in Amer. Antiq., II, 267): "They cut an image of the great bird from bark and suspend it at the top of the central pole, which is shot to pieces at the close of the dance." (He probably means that the image of the great bird, a Thunder bird, is shot to pieces, not the pole.) Sacrifices are made to the Wakinyan and songs are sung both to the Wakinyan and the Unktelii.

§121. There seems to be some connection between the Heyoka gods and the Wakinyan; but it is not plain. The Heyoka god uses a small Wakinyan god as his drumstick. (See §218.) The Wakinyan songs are sung by members of the Heyoka dancing order.

Smet was told that the Dakota—

> Pretend that the thunder is an enormous bird, and that the muffled sound of the distant thunder is caused by a countless number of young (thunder) birds. The great bird, they say, gives the first sound, and the young ones repeat it; this is the cause of the reverberations. The Sioux declare that the young thunderers do all the mischief, like giddy youth who will not listen to good advice; but the old thunderer or big bird is wise and excellent; he never kills or injures any one.[2]

Next to the Sun, according to Smet, Thunder is the great deity of the Assiniboin. Every spring, at the first peal of thunder, they offer sacrifices to the Wakinyan.[3]

The Assiniboin, according to Maximilian, ascribed the thunder to an enormous bird.[4]

THE ARMOR GODS.

§122. As each young man comes to maturity a tutelar divinity, sometimes called "Waśićuŋ" (see §236), is assigned to him. It is supposed to reside in the consecrated armor then given to him, consisting of a spear, an arrow, and a small bundle of paint. It is the spirit of some bird or animal, as the wolf, beaver, loon, or eagle. He must not kill this animal, but hold it ever sacred, or at least until he has proved his manhood by killing an enemy. Frequently the young man forms an image of this sacred animal and carries it about with him, regarding it as having a direct influence upon his everyday life and ultimate destiny. Parkman says (in his "Jesuits in North America," p. LXXI,

[1] Pond, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 3, p. 43. Riggs, Tah-koo Wah-kon, pp. 62–64.
[2] Missions and Missionaries, p. 143.
[3] Smet, op. cit., p. 134.
[4] Maximilian, Travels in North America, p. 197.

note) that the knowledge of this guardian spirit comes through dreams at the initiatory fast. If this is ever true among the Dakota, it is not the rule. This knowledge is communicated by the "war prophet."[1] (See §§120, 127, 129, 305, etc.)

Ashley tells us that among the Sisseton and Wahpeton Dakota the warrior, as such, was forbidden by custom of law to eat the tongue, head, or heart of many beasts. There were other animals of which the heads might be eaten, but not the tongues. A warrior about to go on the war path could not have intercourse with women, but must go through the purification of the inipi or sweat bath, which lasts four days. A married warrior could not touch his own weapons until he had thus purified himself.[2]

§ 123. The Armor god and the Spirit of the mystery sack are sometimes spoken of as if they were individual and separate divinities; but they seem rather to be the god-power which is put into the armor and sack by consecration. They should be regarded as the indwelling of the Unktelii or of the Takuśkanśkan. A young man's war weapons are wakan and must not be touched by a woman. A man prays to his armor in the day of battle. In the consecration of these weapons of war and the hunt a young man comes under certain taboo restrictions. Certain parts of an animal are sacred and must not be eaten until he has killed an enemy.[3]

THE WAR PROPHET.

§ 124. The war prophet has been referred to. In this capacity the wakan man is a necessity. Every male Dakota 16 years old and upward is a soldier, and is formally and mysteriously enlisted into the service of the war prophet. From him he receives the implements of war, carefully constructed after models furnished from the armory of the gods, painted after a divine prescription, and charged with a missive virtue—the tonwan—of the divinities. From him he also receives those paints which serve as an armature for the body. To obtain these necessary articles the proud applicant is required for a time to abuse himself and serve him, while he goes through a series of painful and exhausting performances which are necessary on his part to enlist the favorable notice of the gods. These performances consist chiefly of vapor baths, fastings, chants, prayers, and nightly vigils. The spear and the tomahawk being prepared and consecrated, the person who is to receive them approaches the wakan man and presents a pipe to him. He asks a favor, in substance as follows: "Pity thou me, poor and helpless, a woman, and confer on me the ability to perform manly deeds." The prophet gives him the weapons and tells him not to forget his vows to the gods when he returns in triumph, a man. The weapons are carefully preserved by the warrior. They are wrapped in cloth, together

[1] Riggs, Tah-koo Wah-kon, pp, 69, 70.
[2] Rev. E. Ashley, MS. letter to Dorsey, March 24, 1884.
[3] Riggs, in Am. Antiq., vol, II, No. 4, p. 270.

with the sacred pigments. In fair weather they are laid outside of the lodge every day. They must never be touched by an adult female.[1]

§ 125. Lynd's account is slightly different, though in substantial accord with the preceding one:

When a youth arrives at the age proper for going on the warpath he first purifies himself by fasting and the inipi or steam bath for three days, and then goes, with tears in his eyes, to some wakan man whose influence is undoubted, and prays that he will present him with the wotawe or consecrated armor. This wakan man is usually some old and experienced zuya wakan or sacred war leader. After a time the armor is presented to the young man, but until it is so presented he must fast and continue his purifications incessantly. It is a singular fact that nothing but the spear of this armor is ever used in battle, though it is always carried when the owner accompanies a war party. At the same time that the old man presents the armor he tells the youth to what animal it is dedicated, and enjoins upon him to hold that animal wakan. He must never harm or kill it, even though starvation threaten him. At all times and under all circumstances the taboo or wohduze is upon it, until by slaying numerous enemies it is gradually removed. By some the animal is held sacred during life, the taboo being voluntarily retained.[2] (See §§ 101, 127.)

THE SPIRITS OF THE MYSTERY SACKS.

§ 126. These are similar to the armor gods, in that they are divinities who act as guardian spirits. Each of these powers is appropriated by a single individual, protecting and aiding him, and receiving his worship. These spirits are conferred at the time of initiation into the order of the Mystery Dance, and of course are confined to the members of that order.[3] Each spirit of the mystery sack is not a separate god, but a wakan power derived from the Unktelii, according to a later statement of Riggs.[4]

TAKUŚKAŊŚKAŊ, THE MOVING DEITY.

§ 127. This is a form of the wakan which jugglers, so-called mystery men, and war prophets invoke. In their estimation he is the most powerful of their gods; the one most to be feared and propitiated, since, more than all others, he influences human weal and woe. He is supposed to live in the four winds, and the four black spirits of night do his bidding. The consecrated spear and tomahawk (see § 124) are its weapons. The buzzard, raven, fox, wolf, and other animals are its lieutenants, to produce disease and death.[5] (Compare this with some of the pictographs on the war chart of the Kansa tribe: Fig. 4, Wind songs; the connection between the winds and war is shown in § 33. Fig. 8, Deer songs. Fig. 9, an Elk song. Fig. 10, seven songs of the Wakanda who makes night songs. Fig. 11, five songs of the Big Rock. This is a rough red rock near Topeka, Kans. "This rock has a hard body, like that of a wakanda. May you walk like it." Fig. 12, Wolf songs. The

[1] Pond, Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt 3, p. 53.
[2] Ibid., pt. 2, p. 73.
[3] Riggs, Tah-koo Wah-kon, pp. 70, 71.
[4] Am. Antiq., Vol. II, No. 4, p. 270.
[5] Riggs in Am. Antiq., Vol. II, p. 268

wolf howls at night. Fig. 13, Moon songs. Fig. 14, Crow songs. The crow flies around a dead body which it wishes to devour. Fig. 18, Shade songs. There is a Wakanda who makes shade. Fig. 20, song of the Small Rock. Fig. 22, songs of the young Moon. Fig. 23, songs of the Buffalo Bull. Fig. 27, Owl songs. The owl hoots at night.[1])

§ 128. Miss Fletcher has given us a very interesting account of "The Religious Ceremony of the Four Winds or Quarters, as observed by the Santee Sioux." "Among the Santee (Sioux) Indians the Four Winds are symbolized by the raven and a small black stone, less than a hen's egg in size." "An intelligent Santee said to me: 'The worship of the Four Winds is the most difficult to explain for it is the most complicated.' The Four Winds are sent by the 'Something that Moves.'"[2] There is a "Something that Moves" at each of the four directions or quarters. The winds are, therefore, the messengers or exponents of the powers which remain at the four quarters. These four quarters are spoken of as upholding the earth,[3] and are connected with thunder and lightning as well as the wind.[4] * * *

"My informant went on to tell me that the spirits of the four winds were not one, but twelve, and they are spoken of as twelve."[5] (See § 42.)

§ 129. In Tah-koo Wah-kon, pp. 64, 65, Riggs says:

This god is too subtle in essence to be perceived by the senses, and is as subtle in disposition. He is present everywhere. He exerts a controlling influence over instinct, intellect, and passion. He can rob a man of the use of his rational faculties, and inspire a beast with intelligence, so that the hunter will wander idiot-like, while the game on which he hoped to feast his family at night escapes with perfect ease. Or, if he please, the god can reverse his influence. He is much gratified to see men in trouble, and is particularly glad when they die in battle or otherwise. Passionate and capricious in the highest degree, it is very difficult to retain his favor. His symbol and supposed residence is the bowlder (see Big Rock and Small Rock, § 127), as it is also of another god, the Tunkan.

Pond assigns to him the armor feast and inipi or vapor bath (called steam or sweat bath). He says:[6]

The armor feast is of ordinary occurrence when the provisions are of sufficient abundance to support it, in which the warriors assemble and exhibit the sacred implements of war, to which they burn incense around the smoking sacrifice.

§ 130. In October, 1881, the late S. D. Hinman read a paper before the Anthropological Society of Washington, entitled "The Stone God or

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[1] Mourning and War Customs of the Kansas, in Am. Naturalist, July, 1885, pp. 676, 677.

[2] That is, the Takuśkaŋśkaŋ.

[3] Geikie, in his Hours with the Bible (New York: James Pott. 1881), Vol. I, p. 55, has the following quotation from Das Buch Henoch, edited by Dillmann, Kap. 17, 18: "And I saw the corner stone of the earth and the four winds which bear up the earth, and the firmament of heaven."

[4] Note that both the Takuśkaŋśkaŋ, the "Something that Moves," and the Wakiŋyaŋ or the Thunder-beings, are associated with war.—J. O. D.

[5] Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 289, and note 1. The use of the number twelve in connection with the ceremony of the Four Winds finds a counterpart in the Osage initiation of a female into the secret society of the tribe; the Osage female is rubbed from head to foot, thrice in front, thrice on each side, and thrice behind, with cedar needles.—J. O. D.

[6] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 3, p. 44.

Oracle of the Pute-temni band of Hunkpati Dakotas." He said that this oracle had been seen by him while on an expedition with some Dakotas across the James River valley in Dakota Territory. A Hunkpati man of the party gave the history of the stone and an account of its miraculous movement from the Sacred Hill to the old dirt lodge village. This oracle was called the Takuśkaŋśkaŋ.

§ 131. But the Takuśkaŋśkaŋ assumed other shapes. Said Bushotter, in one of his Teton texts:

The Lakotas regard certain small stones or pebbles as mysterious, and it is said that in former days a man had one as his helper or servant. There are two kinds of these mysterious stones (i. e., pebbles, not rocks). One is white, resembling ice or glass (i. e., is probably translucent; compare the translucent pebbles of the Iⁿ-ɻugɸi order of the Omaha, see Om. Soc., p. 346); the other resembles ordinary stones. It is said that one of them once entered a lodge and struck a man, and people spoke of the stones sending in rattles through the smoke hole of a lodge. When anything was missed in the village the people appealed to the stones for aid, and the owner of one of the stones boiled food for a mystery feast, to which the people came. Then they told the stone of their loss and the stone helped them. It is said that the stones brought back different messages. If anyone stole horses the stones always revealed his name. Once the Omahas came to steal horses, but the stones knew about them and disappointed their secret plans; so that the Lakotas learned to prize the stones, and they decorated them with paint, wrapped them up, and hung a bunch of medicine with each one.

It is very probable that the Assiniboin also worshipped the Takuśkaŋśkaŋ; for they reverenced the four winds, as Smet tells us.[1]

TUNKAN OR INYAN, THE STONE GOD OR LINGAM.

§ 132. It has been said by Lynd[2] that the western tribes (probably the Teton, Yanktonai, Yankton, etc.), neglect the Unktehi, and pay their main devotion to Tunkan or Inyan, answering to the Hindoo Lingam.

Tunkan, the Dakotas say, is the god that dwells in stones and rocks, and is the oldest god. If asked why he is considered the oldest, they will tell you because he is the hardest—an Indian's reason. The usual form of the stone employed in worship is round, and it is about the size of the human head. The devout Dakota paints this Tunkan red, putting colored swan's down upon it, and then he falls down and worships the god that is supposed to dwell in it or hover near it.[3] The Tunkan is painted red (see § 136) as a sign of active worship.[4] In cases of extremity I have ever noticed that they appeal to their Tunkan or stone god, first and last, and they do this even after the ceremonies of the medicine dance have been gone through with. All Sioux agree in saying that the Tunkan is the main recipient of their prayers; and among the Tetons, Mandans, Yanktons, and Western Dakotas they pray to that and the spirit of the buffalo almost entirely.[5]

§133. Riggs says:[6]

"The Inyan or Toon-kan is the symbol of the greatest force or power in the dry land. And these came to be the most common objects of worship. Large bowlders were selected and adorned with red and green (sic) paint, whither the devout

[1] Op. cit., p. 136.
[2] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 3, p. 71.
[3] Ibid., p. 79.
[4] Ibid., p. 81.
[5] Ibid., p. 84.
[6] Am. Antiq., vol. II, p. 268.

Dakota might go to pray and offer his sacrifice. And smaller stones were often found, set up on end and properly painted, around which lay eagles' feathers, tobacco, and red cloth. Once I saw a small dog that had been recently sacrificed. In all their incantations and dances, notably in the circle dance, the painted stone is the god supplicated and worshipped with fear and trembling."

§ 134. Long tells of a gigantic stone figure resembling a human being, which he found on the bank of Kickapoo Creek. The Indians made offerings to it of tobacco and other objects.[1]

INYAŊ ŚA.

§ 135. Rev. Horace C. Hovey says:[2]

"It was the custom of the Dakotas to worship bowlders when in perplexity and distress. Clearing a spot from grass and brush they would roll a bowlder on it, streak it with paint, deck it with feathers and flowers, and then pray to it for needed help or deliverance. Usually when such a stone had served its purpose its sacredness was gone. But the peculiarity of the stone now described is that from generation to generation it was a shrine to which pilgrimages and offerings were made. Its Indian name, 'Eyah Shah,' simply means the 'Red Rock,' and is the same term by which they designate catlinite, or the red pipe clay. The rock itself is not naturally red, being merely a hard specimen of granite, symmetrical in shape, and about 5 feet long by 3 feet thick. The Indians also called it 'waukon' (mystery) and speculated as to its origin. * * * The particular clan that claimed this rude altar was known as the Mendewakantons. Although being but 2 miles below the village of the Kaposias, it was to some extent resorted to by them likewise.[3] The hunting ground of the clan was up the St. Croix, and invariably before starting they would lay an offering on Eyah Shah. Twice a year the clan would meet more formally, when they would paint the stone with vermilion, or, as some say, with blood, then trim it with flowers and feathers, and dance around it before sunrise with chants and prayers. Their last visit was in 1862, prior to the massacre that occurred in August of that year. Since that date, the stripes were renewed three years ago. I counted the stripes and found them twelve in number, each about 2 inches wide, with intervening spaces from 2 to 6 inches wide. By the compass, Eyah Shah lies exactly north and south. It is twelve paces from the main bank of the Mississippi, at a point 6 miles below St. Paul. The north end is adorned by a rude representation of the sun with fifteen rays."

§ 136. Bushotter writes thus:

"Sometimes a stone, painted red all over, is laid within the lodge and hair is offered to it. In cases of sickness they pray to the stone, offering to it tobacco or various kinds of good things, and they think that the stone hears them when they sacrifice to it. As the steam arose when they made a fire on a stone, the Dakotas concluded that stones had life, the steam being their breath, and that it was impossible to kill them."

MATO TIPI.

§ 137. Eight miles from Fort Meade, S. Dakota, is Mato tipi, Grizzly bear Lodge, known to the white people as Bear Butte. It can be seen from a distance of a hundred miles. Of this landmark Bushotter writes thus:

"The Teton used to camp at a flat-topped mountain, and pray to it. This moun-

[1] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 1, pp. 55.

[2] Hovey on "Eyah Shah" in Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., Proc., vol. XXXIV, Buffalo Meeting, 1886. Salem, 1887, p. 332. Also in Am. Antiq., Jan., 1887, pp. 35, 36.

[3] Mr. Hovey appears ignorant of the fact that the Kapoźa ("Kaposias") are a division of the Mdewakantonwan. The latter had six other divisions or gentes.

tain had many large rocks on it, and a pine forest at the summit. The children prayed to the rocks as if to their guardian spirits, and then placed some of the smaller ones between the branches of the pine trees. I was caused to put a stone up a

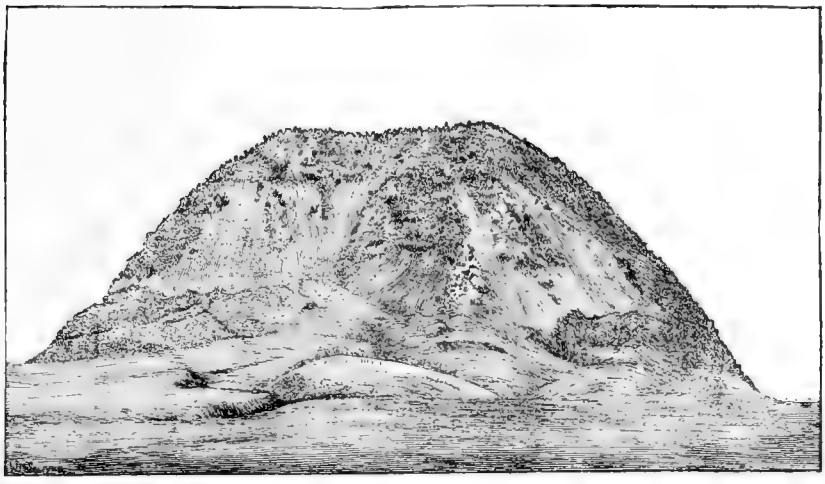


FIG. 188.—Bear Butte, South Dakota. (Copyright by Grabill, 1890.)

tree. Some trees had as many as seven stones apiece. No child repeated the ceremony of putting a stone up in the tree; but on subsequent visits to the Butte he or she wailed for the dead, of whom the stones were tokens." (See § 304.)

THE SUN AND MOON.

§ 138. The sun as well as the moon is called "wi" by the Dakota and Assiniboin tribes. In order to distinguish between the two bodies, the former is called aŋpetu wi, day moon, and the latter, haŋhepi wi or haŋyetu wi, night moon. The corresponding term in ɸegiha is mi^{n}, which is applied to both sun and moon, though the latter is sometimes called nia^{n}ba. "The moon is worshiped rather as the representative of the sun, than separately. Thus, in the sun dance, which is held in the full of the moon, the dancers at night fix their eyes on her."[1]

§ 139. According to Smet[2]—

The sun is worshiped by the greater number of the Indian tribes as the author of light and heat. The Assiniboins consider it likewise to be the favorite residence of the Master of Life. They evidence a great respect and veneration for the sun, but rarely address it. On great occasions, they offer it their prayers, but only in a low tone. Whenever they light the calumet, they offer the sun the first whiffs of its smoke.

This last must refer to what Smet describes on p. 136 as the great "festival lasting several days," during which the "high priest" offers the calumet to "the Great Spirit, to the sun, to each of the four cardinal points, to the water, and to the land, with words analogous to the benefits which they obtain from each.

[1] Riggs, Tah-koo Wah-kon, p. 69.

[2] Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 138.

§ 140. Bushotter, in his Teton text, says:

They prayed to the sun, and they thought that with his yellow eye he saw all things, and that when he desired he went under the ground.

Riggs states in Tah-koo Wah-kon (p. 69):

Although as a divinity, the sun is not represented as a malignant being, yet the worship given him is the most dreadful which the Dakotas offer. Aside from the sun dance, there is another proof of the divine character ascribed to the sun in the oath taken by some of the Dakotas: "As the sun hears me, this is so."

THE SUN DANCE.

§ 141. Pond[1] gave an account of the sun dance obtained from Riggs, in which occurs the following: "The ceremonies of the sun dance commence in the evening. I have been under the impression that the time of the full moon was selected, but I am now (1867) informed that it is not essential." Neither Capt. Bourke (§§ 197–210) nor Bushotter speaks of the time of the full moon. In Miss Fletcher's account of the Oglala sun dance of 1882,[2] she says: "The festival generally occurs in the latter part of June or early in July and lasts about six days. The time is fixed by the budding of the *Artemisia ludoviciana*." (See §§ 138, 150.)

§ 142. Lynd writes:[3]

The wiwanyag wacipi, or worship of the sun as a divinity, is evidently one of the most radical bases of Dakota religion. It has a subordinate origin in the wihanmnapi, or dreaming, and is intimately connected with the hanmdepi, or vision hunting. This most ancient of all worships, though it is of very frequent occurrence among the Dakotas, does not take place at stated intervals, as among the old nations of the East, nor does the whole tribe participate in the ceremonies. It is performed by one person alone, such of his relatives and friends assisting in the ceremonies as may deem fit or as he may designate. Preparatory to this, as to all the other sacred ceremonies of the Dakotas, are fasting and purification. The dance commences with the rising of the sun and continues for three days, or until such time as the dreaming worshiper shall receive a vision from the spirit or divinity of the sun. He faces the sun constantly, turning as it turns, and keeping up a constant blowing with a wooden whistle. A rude drum is beaten at intervals, to which he keeps time with his feet, raising one after the other, and bending his body towards the sun. Short intervals of rest are given during the dance. The mind of the worshiper is fixed intently upon some great desire that he has, and is, as it were, isolated from the body. In this state the dancer is said to receive revelations from the sun, and to hold direct intercourse with that deity. If the worshiper of this luminary, however, should fail to receive the desired revelation before the close of the ceremonies, then self-sacrifice is resorted to, and the ceremonies of the hanmdepi become a part of the worship of the sun.

A DAKOTA'S ACCOUNT OF THE SUN DANCE.

§ 143. Several accounts of the sun dance have been published within the past twenty years, but they have, without exception, been written by white persons. The following differs in one respect from all which have preceded it; it was written in the Teton dialect of the Dakota, by

[1] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 3.

[2] Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., Montreal meeting, Vol. XXXI, p. 580.

[3] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., Vol. II, pt. 2.

George Bushotter, a Teton. As he did not furnish his description of the dance in a single text, but in several, which were written on different occasions, it devolved on the present writer to undertake an arrangement of the material after translating it. The accompanying illustrations were made by Mr. Bushotter.

§ 144. *Object of the sun dance.*—The Dakota name for the sun dance is "Wi wa^{n}-yañg wa-tci-pi (Wi waŋyaŋg waćipi), literally, "Sun looking-at they-dance." The following are assigned as the reasons for celebrating this dance: During any winter when the people suffer from famine or an epidemic, or when they wish to kill any enemy, or they desire horses or an abundance of fruits and vegetables during the coming summer, different Indians pray mentally to the sun, and each one says, "Well, I will pray to Wakantanka early in the summer." Throughout the winter all those men who have made such vows take frequent baths in sweat lodges. Each of these devotees or candidates invites persons to a feast, on which occasion he joins his guests in drinking great quantities of various kinds of herb teas. Then the host notifies the guests of his vow, and from that time forward the people treat him with great respect.

§ 145. *Rules observed by households.*—The members of the households of the devotees always abstain from loud talking and from bad acts of various kinds. The following rules must be observed in the lodge of each devotee: A piece of the soil is cut off between the back of the lodge and the fireplace, and when virgin earth is reached vermilion is scattered over the exposed place. When the men smoke their pipes and have burned out all of the tobacco in their pipe bowls, they must not throw away the ashes as they would common refuse; they must be careful to empty the ashes on the exposed earth at the back of the lodge. No one ventures to step on that virgin earth, and not even a hand is ever stretched toward it. Only the man who expects to participate in the sun-dance can empty the ashes there, and after so doing he returns each pipe to its owner.

§ 146. *The "U-ma-ne."*—"The mellowed earth space, U-ma-ne in Dakota, and called by some peculiar names in other tribes, has never been absent from any religious exercise I have yet seen or learned of from the Indians. It represents the unappropriated life or power of the earth, hence man may obtain it. The square or oblong, with the four lines standing out, is invariably interpreted to mean the earth or land with the four winds standing toward it. The cross, whether diagonal or upright, always symbolizes the four winds or four quarters."[1]

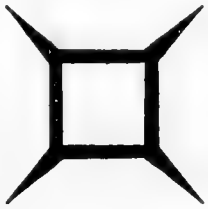


FIG. 189.—The "U-ma-ne" symbol.

Miss Fletcher uses this term, "U-ma-ne," to denote two things: the mellowed earth space (probably answering to the u-jé-ꞯi of the Omaha and Ponka) and the symbol of the earth and the four winds made within that mellowed earth space. A sketch of the latter symbol is shown in Fig. 189. (See §§ 112, 155, etc.; also Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VI,—471–475.)

[1] Miss Fletcher, in Rept. Peabody Museum, vol. III, p. 284, note.

§ 147. *Rules observed by the devotee.*—During the time of preparation the devotee goes hunting, and if he kills a deer or buffalo he cuts up the body in a "wakan" manner. He skins it, but leaves the horns attached to the skull. He reddens the skin all over, and in the rear of the lodge, in the open air, he prepares a bed of wild sage (*Artemisia*), on which he lays the skull. He erects a post, on which he hangs a tobacco pouch and a robe that is to be offered as a sacrifice. When the devotee takes a meal everything which he touches must be perfectly clean. He uses a new knife, which no one else dares to handle. Whatever he eats must be prepared in the best possible manner by the other members of the household. They make for him a new pipe ornamented with porcupine work, a new tobacco pouch, and a stick for pushing the tobacco down into the bowl, both ornamented in like manner.

§ 148. The devotee must not go swimming, but he can enter the sweat-lodge. There he rubs his body all over with wild sage; he cannot use calico or cotton for that purpose. No unclean person of either sex must go near him. The devotee is prohibited from fighting, even should the camp be attacked. He must not act hastily, but at all times must he proceed leisurely. He has his regular periods for crying and praying.[1]

§149. All his female kindred make many pairs of moccasins and collect money and an abundance of all kinds of goods, in order to give presents to poor people at the time of the sun dance. Then they can make gifts to whomsoever they please, and on that account they will win the right to have a child's ears pierced. The goods or horses, on account of which the child's ears are to be pierced, are reserved for that occasion at some other place. The man whose office it will be to pierce the children's ears has to be notified in advance that his services will be required. (See § 205.)

TRIBES INVITED TO THE SUN-DANCE.

§ 150. When the devotees have performed all the preliminary duties required of them, messages are sent to all the neighboring tribes, *i. e.*, the Omaha, Pawnee Loup, Cheyenne, Ree, Hidatsa, Blackfeet, Nez Percé, Winnebago, Yankton, and Santee. The latter part of June is fixed upon as the time for the dance. (See §§ 138, 141.) The visitors from the different nations begin to come together in the spring, each visiting tribe forming its separate camp. Though some of the visitors are hereditary enemies, it matters not during the sun-dance; they visit one another; they shake hands and form alliances. In this manner several weeks are spent very pleasantly.

DISCIPLINE MAINTAINED.

§ 151. Policemen are appointed, and a crier proclaims to each lodge that at a specified place there is a broad and pleasant prairie where

[1] Compare Miss Fletcher, in Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., 1882, p. 581.

all are expected to pitch their tents. The overseers or masters of ceremonies have guns, and their orders are obeyed; for if one disobeys his horses and dogs are killed by the policemen. This punishment is called akićita wićaktepi, or, in common parlance, "soldier-killing."

All who join the camp must erect the upright (or conical) tents, as no low rush or mat tents, such as are found among the Osage and Winnebago, are allowed in the camp circle.

CAMPING CIRCLE FORMED.

§ 152. At length orders are given for all the people to pitch their tents in the form of a tribal circle, with an opening to the north.[1] (See Pl. XLV.) It takes several days to accomplish this, and then all the men and youths are required to take spades and go carefully over the whole area within the circle and fill up all the holes and uneven places which might cause the horses to stumble and fall.

MEN SELECTED TO SEEK THE MYSTERY TREE.

§ 153. Though Bushotter has written that this work requires several days, it is probable, judging from what follows in his manuscript, that only two days are required for such work. For he continues thus:

On the third day some men are selected to go in search of the Ćan-wakan or Mystery Tree, out of which they are to form the sun-pole.[2] These men must be selected from those who are known to be brave, men acquainted with the war path, men who have overcome difficulties, men who have been wounded in battle, men of considerable experience.

§ 154. The men selected to fell the mystery tree ride very swift horses, and they decorate their horses and attire themselves just as if they were going to battle. They put on their feather war bonnets. They race their horses to a hill and then back again. In former days it was customary on such occasions for any women who had lost children during some previous attack on the camp, to wail often as they ran towards the mounted men, and to sing at intervals as they went. But that is not the custom at the present day. Three times do the mounted men tell of their brave deeds in imitation of the warriors of the olden times, and then they undertake to represent their own deeds in pantomime.

§ 155. On the fourth day, the selected men go to search for the mystery tree. They return to camp together, and if they have found a suitable tree, they cut out pieces of the soil within the camping circle, going down to virgin earth. (See § 146.) This exposed earth extends over a considerable area. On it they place a species of sweet-smelling

[1] Miss Fletcher says, in Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., 1882, p. 580, "The people camp in a circle, with a large opening at the east. In 1882 over 9,000 Indians were so camped, the diameter of the circle being over three-quarters of a mile wide."

[2] Miss Fletcher's account (Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., p. 582) names the fourth day as that on which they sought for the sun-pole.

grass (a trailing variety) and wild sage, on which they lay the buffalo skull.

TENT OF PREPARATION.

§ 156. After this there is set up within the camping circle a good tent known as the tent of preparation.[1] When the managers wish to set up the tent of preparation, they borrow tent skins here and there. Part of these tent skins they use for covering the smoke hole, and part were used as curtains, for when they decorate the candidates they use the curtains for shutting them in from the gaze of the people and when they finish painting them they throw down the curtains.

In the back part of this tent of preparation are placed the buffalo skulls, one for each candidate. A new knife which has never been used is exposed to smoke. A new ax, too, is reddened and smoked.

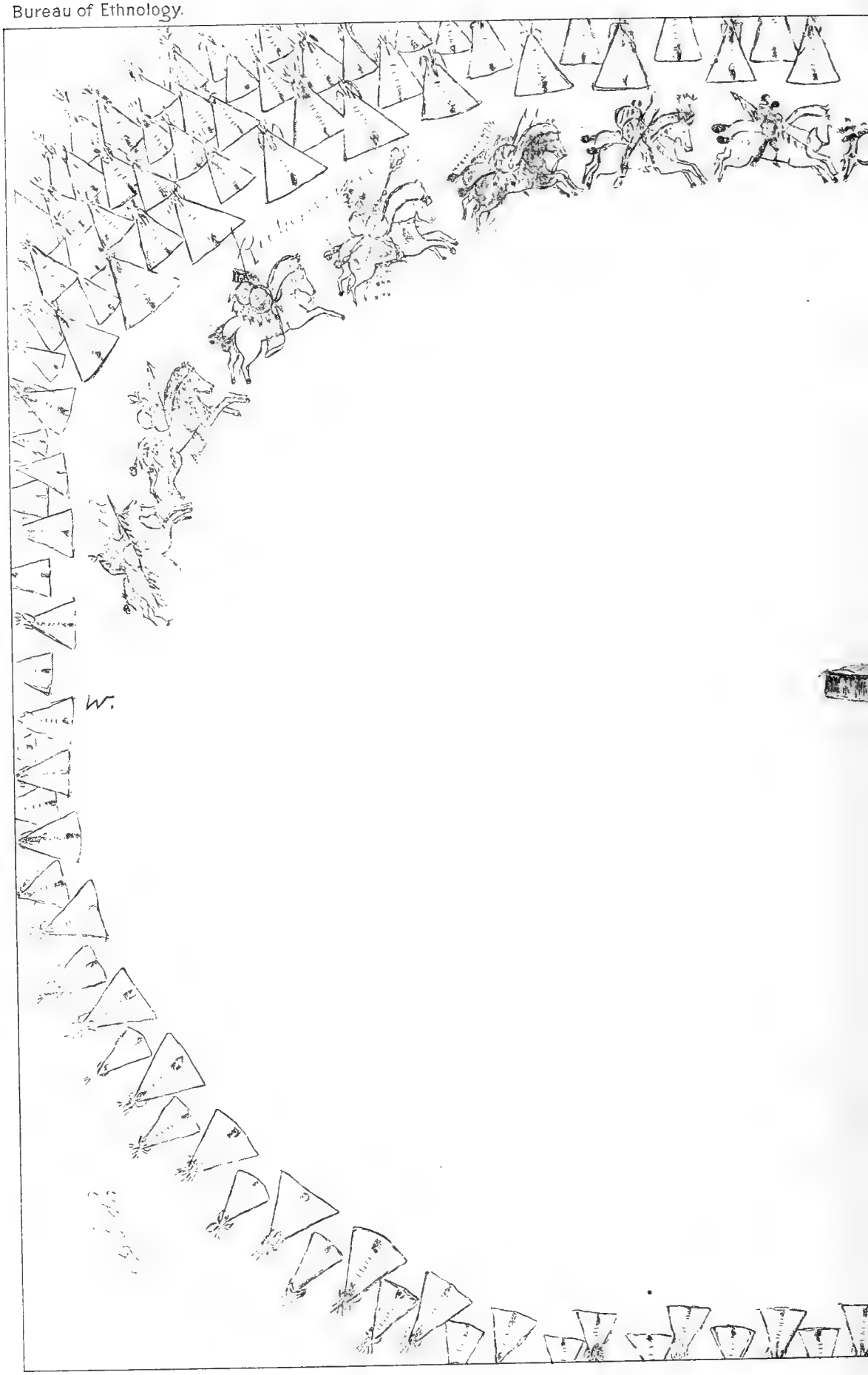
§ 157. Wild sage (*Artemisia*) is used in various ways prior to and during the sun dance. Some of it they spread on the ground to serve as couches, and with some they wipe the tears from their faces. They fumigate with the plant known as "ćaŋ śilśilya," or else they use "walipe waśtema," sweet-smelling leaves. Day after day they fumigate themselves with "waćaŋġa," a sweet-smelling grass. They hold every object which they use over the smoke of one of these grasses. They wear a kind of medicine on their necks, and that keeps them from being hungry or thirsty, for occasionally they chew a small quantity of it. Or if they tie some of this medicine to their feet they do not get weary so soon.[2]

§ 158. When the tent of preparation is erected, there are provided for it new tent pins, new sticks for fastening the tent skins together above the entrance, and new poles for pushing out the flaps beside the smoke hole. These objects and all others, which had to be used, are brought into the tent of preparation and fumigated over a fire into which the medicine has been dropped. By this time another day has been spent. Now all the candidates assemble in the tent of preparation, each one wearing a buffalo robe with the hair outside. One who acts as leader sits in the place of honor at the back part of the tent, and the others sit on either side of him around the fireplace. They smoke their pipes. When night comes they select one of the songs of the sun dance, in order to rehearse it. Certain men have been chosen as singers of the dancing songs, and, when one set of them rest, there are others to take their places. The drummers beat the drum rapidly, but softly (as the Teton call it, kpaŋkpaŋyela, the act of several drummers hitting in quick succession).

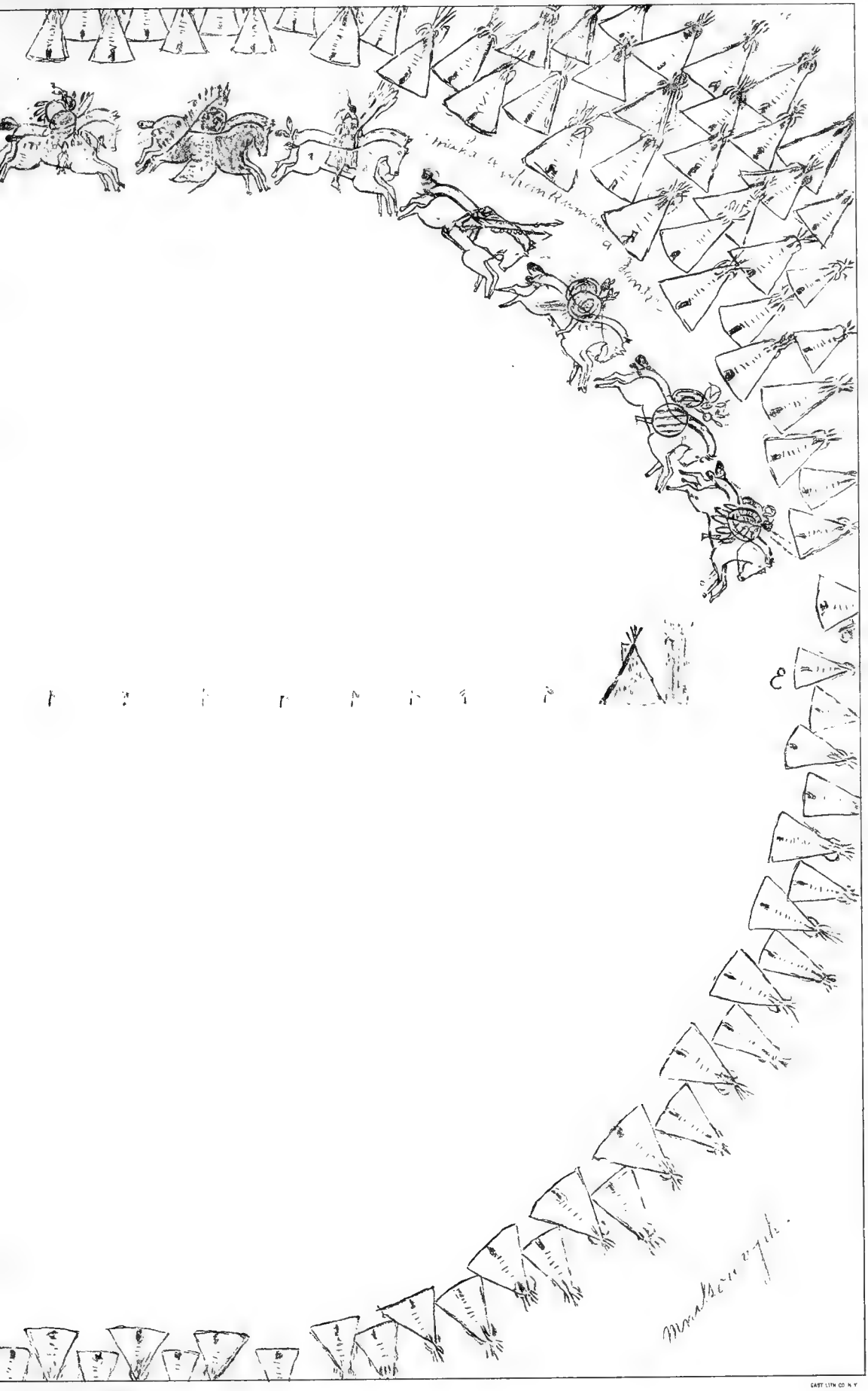
Three times do they beat the drums in that manner, and then they beat it rapidly, as at the beginning of the sun dance. At this juncture,

[1] Miss Fletcher (Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., 1882, p. 580) states that "the tent set apart for the consecrating ceremonies, which take place after sunset of the first day, was pitched within the line of tents, on the site formerly assigned to one of the sacred tents."

[2] The author heard about this medicine in 1873, from a Ponka chief, one of the leaders of a dancing society. It is a bulbous root, which grows near the place where the sun pole is planted.

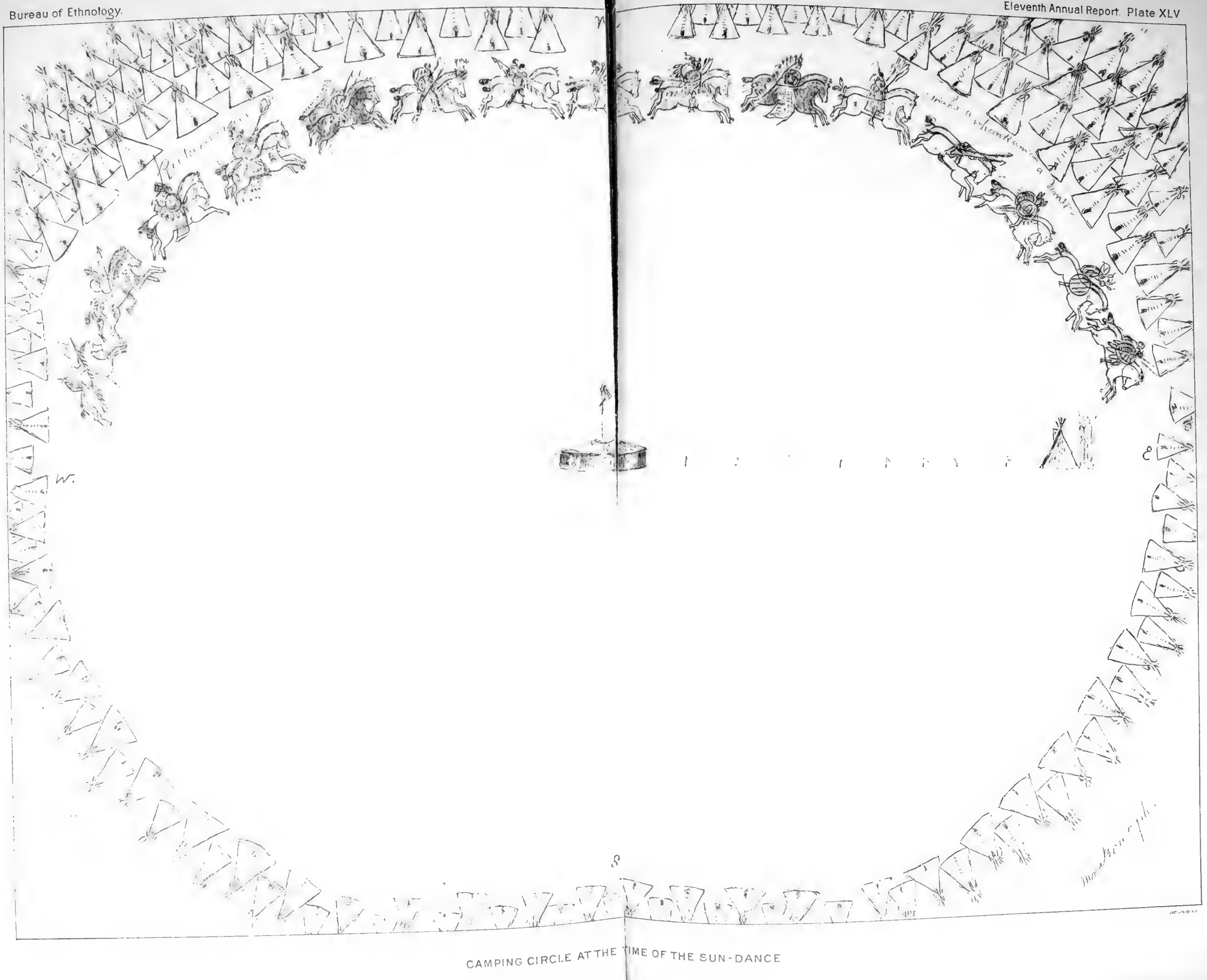


CAMPING CIRCLE AT



EAST. LITH. CO. N. Y.

OF THE SUN-DANCE.



CAMPING CIRCLE AT THE TIME OF THE SUN-DANCE

as many as have flutes—made of the bones of eagles' wings, ornamented with porcupine quills, and hung around their necks, with cords similarly ornamented, with some eagle down at the tip ends of the flutes—blow



FIG. 190.—Eaglewing flute. (From original, loaned by Capt. J. G. Bourke, U. S. A.)

them often and forcibly as they dance. While the drum is beaten three times in succession (kpaŋkpaŋyela, as has been described), all the candidates cry aloud (ćeya), but when it is beaten the fourth time, they cry or wail no longer, but dance and blow their flutes or whistles.

§ 159. When the candidates take their seats in the tent of preparation, they select a man to fill the pipe with tobacco. When they wish to smoke, this man passes along the line of candidates. He holds the pipe with the mouthpiece toward each man, who smokes without grasping the pipe stem.[1]

When the candidates are allowed to eat, the attendant feeds them. No one can be loquacious within the tent of preparation. If a dog or person approaches the tent, the offender is chased away before he can reach it. No spectators are allowed to enter the tent. And this regulation is enforced by blows, whenever anyone attempts to violate it.

EXPEDITION TO THE MYSTERY TREE.

§ 160. The next morning, which is that of the fifth day, they prepare to go after the tree that is to serve as the sun pole.[2] The married and single men, the boys, and even the women, are all ordered to go horseback. Whoever is able to move rapidly accompanies the party. When the chosen persons go to fell the mystery tree they rush on it as they would upon a real enemy, just as tradition relates that the Omaha and Ponka rushed on their sacred tree. (See § 42.)[3] Then they turn quickly and run from it until they arrive at the other side of the hill (nearest to the mystery tree), after which they return to the tree.[4] They tie leaves together very tightly, making a mark of the bundle, assaulting it in turn as a foe.

§ 161. The tree is reached by noon. The persons chosen to fell it whisper to one another as they assemble around it. They approach some one who has a child, and take hold of him. Then they bring robes and other goods which they spread on the ground, and on the pile they seat the child, who is sometimes a small girl, or even a large one.

[1] With this compare the Omaha act, uiǂaⁿ, in the Iñke-sabĕ dance after the sham fight. Om. Soc., in 3d. Ann. Bept. Bur. Ethn., p. 299.

[2] See Miss Fletcher, Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., 1882, p, 582.

[3] See § 28, the Kansa ceremony of the waqpele gaxe, and Om. Soc., in 3d An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 234, 297.

[4] Contr. N. A. Ethn., vol. VI, 470, 12-15; and Om. Soc., p. 296.

FELLING THE TREE.

§ 162. Each of the chosen men takes his turn in striking the tree Every one must first tell his exploits, then he brandishes the ax three times without striking a blow, after which he strikes the tree once, and only once, making a gash. He leaves the ax sticking in the tree, whence it is removed by the next man. He who leaves the ax in the tree is by this act considered to make a present of a horse to some one. As soon as he gives the blow, his father (or some near kinsman) approaches and hands him a stick, whereupon the young man returns it, asking him to give it to such a one, calling him by name. For instance, let us suppose that a young man, Mato ćuwi maza, Grizzly bear with an Iron Side, requests that his stick be given to Psića waŋkantuya, or Leaping High. The old man who is employed as the crier goes to the camp and sings thus: "Mato ćuwi maza í-ya-ha-he+! Mato ćuwi maza í-ya-ha-he+!" The last word is a sign of a brave deed on the part of the donor, and it is so understood by every one. On reaching the tent of the other man, the crier says, "Psića waŋkantuya śuŋkawakaŋ waŋ hiyo u ye+! Mato ćuwi maza ćaŋ-wakaŋ kaksa ća taśuŋke waŋ hiyo u ye+!" i. e., O Leaping High, a horse is brought to you! A horse is brought to you because Mato ćuwi maza has given a blow to the mystery tree!" On hearing this, Psića waŋkantuya says, "Há-ye," or "Thanks!" as he extends his hands with the palms towards the crier; and he brings them down toward the ground and takes the stick representing the horse. Then the crier passes along around the circle, singing the praises of the donor, and naming the man who has received the present.

§ 163. After all the chosen men have told of their deeds, and have performed their parts, the women select a man to speak of what generous things they have done, and when he has spoken, the larger women who are able to fell trees rise to their feet, and take their turns in giving one blow apiece to the tree. By the time that all the women have struck the tree it falls, and all present shout and sing. Many presents are made, and some of the people wail, making the entire forest echo their voices. Then those men who are selected for that purpose cut off all the limbs of the tree except the highest one, and they do not disturb the tree top. Wherever a branch is cut off they rub red paint on the wound.

§ 164. They make a bundle of some wood in imitation of that for which they have prayed, and hang it crosswise from the fork of the tree. Above the bundle they suspend a scarlet blanket, a buffalo robe or a weasel skin, and under the bundle they fasten two pieces of dried buffalo hide, one being cut in the shape of a buffalo, and the other in that of a man.

Though Bushotter did not state the circumstance, it is remarkable that both the figures have the membrum virile rigid. The author learned about this from two trustworthy persons, who obtained all the para-

phernalia of the sun dance, and one of them, Capt. John G. Bourke, U. S. Army, showed him the figures of the man and buffalo used at the sun dance at Red Cloud Agency, in 1882. In the former figure, the lingam is of abnormal size. The connection between the phallic cult and the sun is obvious to the student. (See §§ 19,132,146,155,169,170, 176).

THE TREE TAKEN TO CAMP.

§ 165. No one of the company dare to touch the sun pole as they take it to the camp. Before wagons were available, they made a horse carry most of the weight of the pole, part of it being on one side of him and part on the other, while the wakaŋ men chosen for the purpose walked on both sides of the horse in order to support the ends of the pole. (See § 317.) At the present day, a wagon is used for transporting the sun pole to the camp.[1] While they are on the way no person dares to go in advance of the pole, for whoever violates the law is in danger of being thrown from his horse and having his neck broken.

The married men and youths carry leaf shields on their backs, and some of the riders make their horses race as far as they are able. Any member of the party can appropriate the small branches which have been cut from the mystery tree.

When they reach the camp circle, all of the party who carry branches and leaves drop them in the places where they intend erecting their respective tents.

§ 166. Judging from Mr. Bushotter's first text, the tents are not pitched when the people return with the sun pole. But as soon as they lay the pole in the place where it is to be erected, the tents are pitched again. Then all the objects that are to be attached to the sun pole are tied to it, and some of the men take leather straps, such as the women use when they carry wood and other burdens, and fasten them to the sun pole in order to raise it into position.

RAISING THE SUN POLE.

§ 167. This raising of the sun pole seems to be symbolic of the four winds, the tatúye tópa, or "the four quarters of the heavens," as Dr. Riggs translates the Dakota term. Those who assist in raising the sun pole must be men who have distinguished themselves. They raise the pole a short distance from the ground, and then they shout, making an indistinct sound; they rest awhile and pull it a little higher, shouting again; resting a second time, they renew their efforts, pulling it higher still. They shout the third time, rest again, and at the fourth pull the pole is perpendicular. Then the men around the camping circle fire guns, making the horses flee. Those who raised the pole have a new spade, and they use it one after another in throwing a sufficient quantity of earth around the base of the pole, pressing the earth down firmly in order to steady the pole.

[1] Miss Fletcher states that the sun pole is carried to the camp on a litter of sticks, and must not be handled or stepped over. Op. cit., p. 582.

BUILDING OF DANCING LODGE.

§ 168. Next follows the building of the dancing lodge. (See Pl. XLVI. and § 317.) Forked posts are set in the ground in two concentric circles. Those posts forming the circle nearer the sun pole are a few feet higher than the posts in the outer circle, thus making a slant sufficient for a roof. From the inner circle of posts to the sun pole there is no roof, as the dancers who stand near the pole must see the sun and moon. From each forked post to the next one in the same circle is laid a tent pole; and on the two series of these horizontal tent-poles are placed the saplings or poles forming the roof. In constructing the wall of the dancing lodge they use the leaf shields, and probably some poles or branches of trees, the shields and leaves stuck in the wall here and there, in no regular order, leaving interstices through which the spectators can peep at the dancers. A very wide entrance is made, through which can be taken a horse, as well as the numerous offerings brought to be given away to the poor. Then they smoke the pipe, as in that manner they think that they can induce their Great Mysterious One to smoke.

§ 169. All having been made ready, the aged men and the chief men of the camp kick off their leggins and moccasins, and as many as have pistols take them to the dancing lodge, around the interior of which they perform a dance. As they pass around the sun pole, all shoot at once at the objects suspended from the pole (§ 164), knocking them aside suddenly. Leaving the dancing lodge, they dance around the interior of the camping circle till they reach their respective tents.

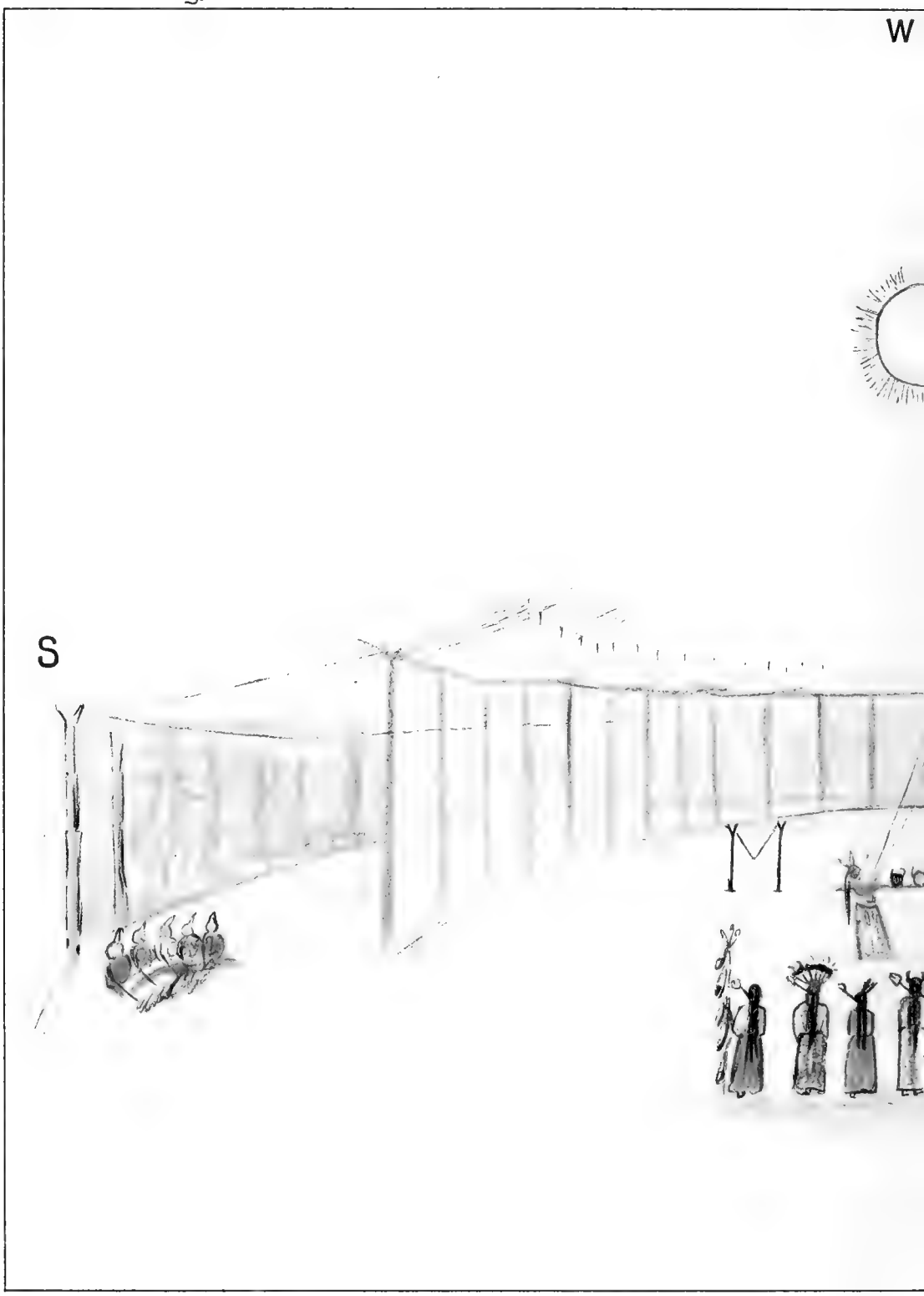
THE UUĢITA.

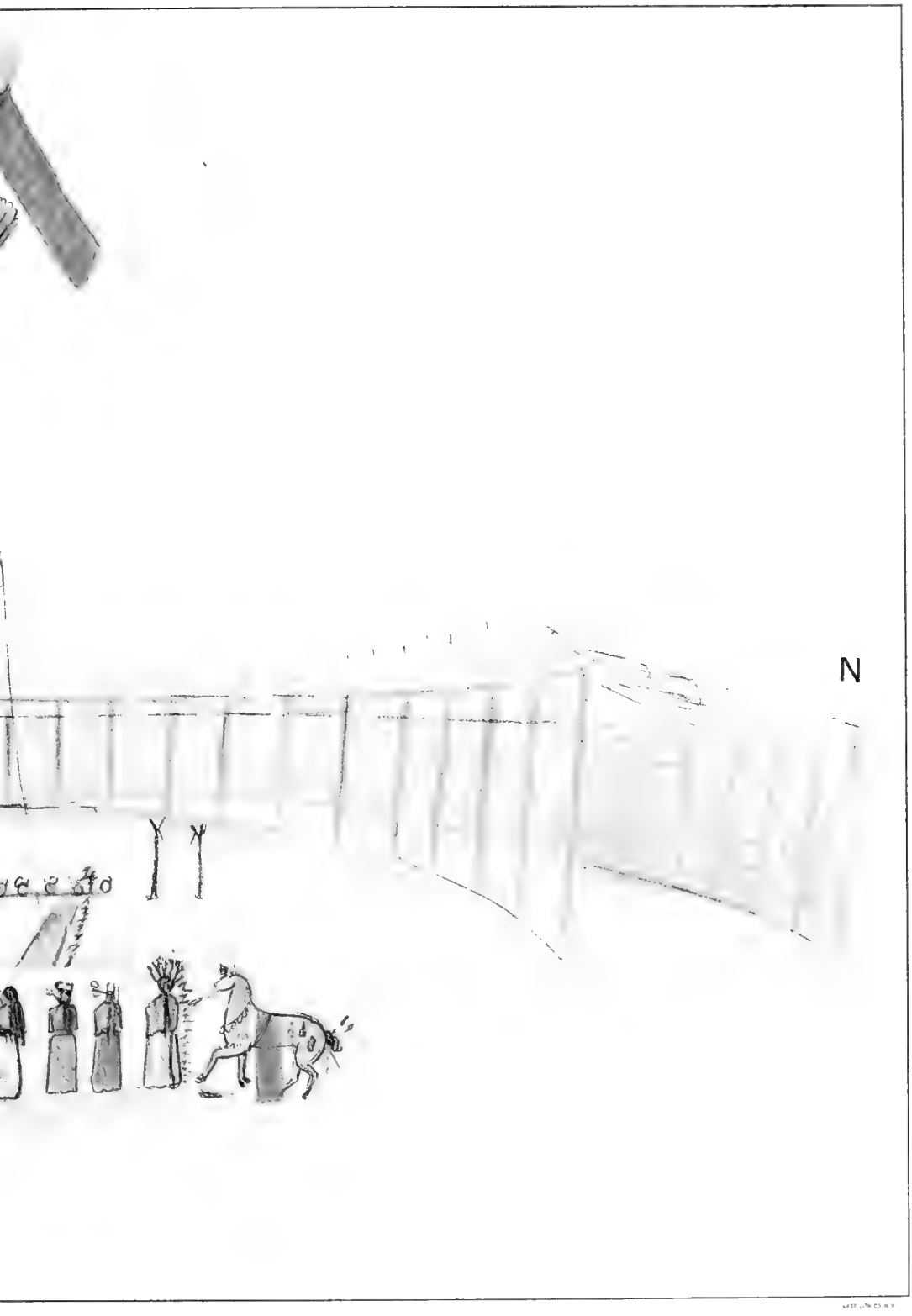
§ 170. This is followed by the "uuģita." Each man ties up the tail of his horse and dresses himself in his best attire. When they are ready, they proceed two abreast around the interior of the camping circle, shooting into the ground as they pass along, and filling the entire area with smoke. There are so many of them that they extend almost around the entire circle. If any of the riders are thrown from their horses as they dash along, the others pay no attention to them, but step over them, regarding nothing but the center of the camping circle. (See Pl. XLV.)

§ 171. By this time it is nearly sunset. The young men and young women mount horses and proceed in pairs, a young man beside a young woman, singing as they pass slowly around the circle. The young men sing first, and the young women respond, acting as a chorus. That night the tent of preparation is again erected. The candidates dance there. The people gaze towards that tent, for it is rumored that the candidates will march forth from it.

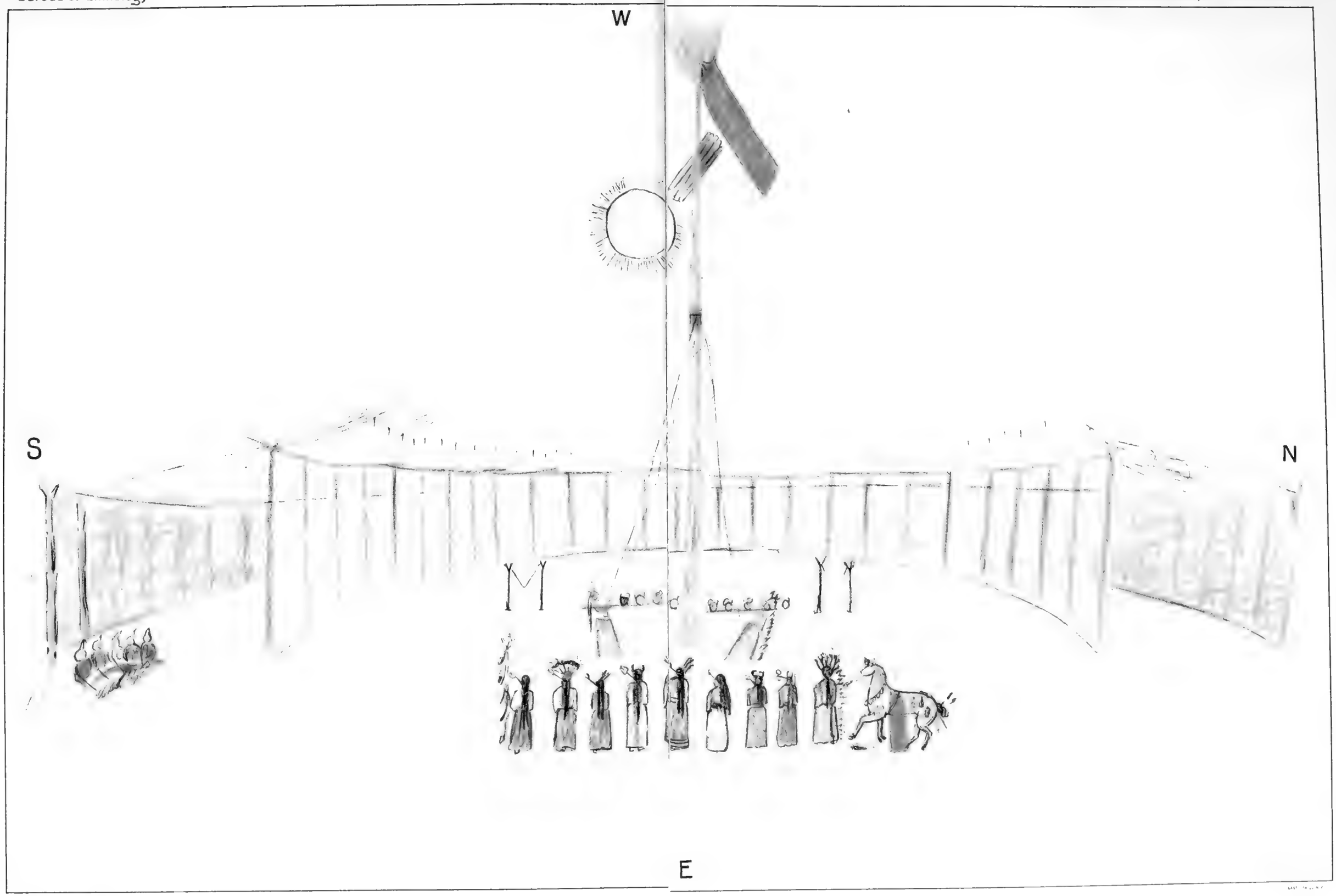
DECORATION OF CANDIDATES OR DEVOTEES.

§ 172. The candidates spend the night in decorating themselves. Each one wears a fine scarlet blanket arranged as a skirt and with a good


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THE DANCING LODGE.

belt fastened around his waist. From the waist up he is nude, and on his chest he paints some design. Sometimes the design is a sunflower. A man can paint the designs referring to the brave deeds of his father, his mother's brother, or of some other kinsman, if he himself has done nothing worthy of commemoration. If a man has killed an animal, he can paint the sign of the animal on his chest, and some hold between their lips the tails of animals, signifying that they have scalped their enemies. Others show by their designs that they have stolen horses from enemies.

§ 173. Each one allows his hair to hang loosely down his back. Some wear head-dresses consisting of the skins of buffalo heads with the horns attached. Others wear eagle war-bonnets. Each candidate wears a buffalo robe with the thick hair outside. He fills his pipe, which is a new one ornamented with porcupine work, and he holds it with the stem pointing in front of him. Thus do all the candidates appear as they come out of the tent of preparation. As they march to the dancing lodge the leader goes first, the others march abreast after him. He who acts as leader carries a buffalo skull painted red. All cry as they march, and on the way they are joined by a woman who takes the place of her "hakata," or cousin; and sometimes they are joined by a horse that is highly prized by his owner.

OFFERINGS OF CANDIDATES.

§ 174. The first time that they emerge from the tent where they sleep they march around it four times, and they make offerings of four blankets, which they suspend from as many posts set up in the form of a square within which the tent is erected. When they proceed from the tent of preparation to the dancing lodge, one of their servants sets up



FIG. 191.—The tent of preparation and the dancing lodge.

sticks at intervals, forming a straight line from the tent of preparation to the dancing lodge, and on these sticks he places their offerings of blankets and tobacco pouches. After the gifts are thus suspended, none of the spectators can cross the line of sticks.

§ 175. Capt. J. G. Bourke has a wand that was used by one of the heralds, or criers, during the sun dance. It was about 5 feet long, and was decorated with beadwork and a tuft of horse hair at the superior extremity. Whenever the crier raised this wand the people fell back, leaving an open space of the required area.

CEREMONIES AT THE DANCING LODGE.

§ 176. On reaching the dancing lodge, the candidates pass slowly around the exterior, starting at the left side of the lodge and turning towards the right. They do this four times and then enter the lodge. They stretch their hands towards the four quarters of the heavens as they walk around the interior of the lodge. They sit down at the back part of the lodge, and then they sing.

Between them and the pole they cut out the soil in the shape of a half-moon, going down to virgin earth, and on this bare spot they place all the buffalo skulls. After this they paint themselves anew with red paint, on completing which they are lifted to their feet by their attendants. Again they walk around the interior of the lodge, stretching out their hands towards the four quarters of the heavens.

§ 177. A song of the sun dance is started by one of the candidates, and the others join him, one after another, until all are singing. Meanwhile the men who have been selected for the purpose redden their entire hands, and it devolves on them to dance without touching anything, such as the withes connected with the sun pole or the buffalo skulls; all that they are required to do is to extend their hands towards the sun, with the palms turned from them.

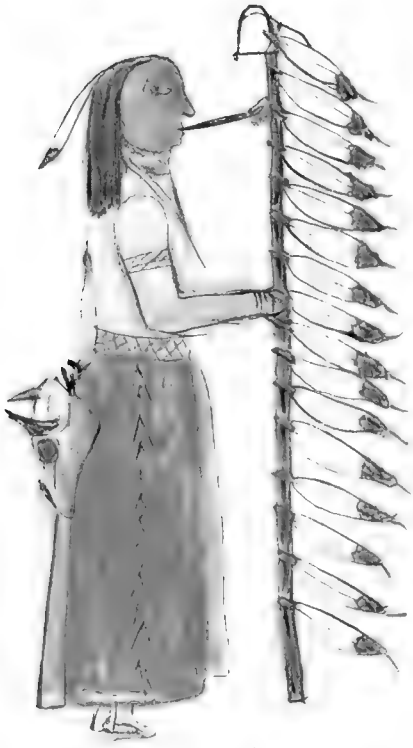
At this time all the candidates are raised again to their feet, and brought to the back part of the lodge, where they are placed in a row. They soon begin to cry, and they are joined by the woman who has taken the place of her elder brother.

§ 178. It is customary, when a man is too poor to take part himself in the sun dance, for a female relation to take his place, if such a woman pities him. She suffers as the male candidates do, except in one respect—her flesh is not scarified. This woman wears a buckskin skirt, and she lets her hair fall loosely down her back. She carries the pipe of her brother or kinsman in whose place she is dancing.

§ 179. As the drums beat, the candidates dance and blow their flutes. The woman stands, dancing slowly, with her head bent downward, but with shoulders erect, and she is shaking her head and body by bending her knees often without raising her feet from the ground. She abstains from food and drink, just as her brother or kinsman would have done had he participated in the dance. In fact, all the candidates have to fast from the time that the sun pole is cut, and from that time they cry and dance at intervals.

§ 180. If the owner of a horse decides that his steed must take part in the dance, he ties the horse to one of the thongs fastened to the sun-pole, and stands near the animal. Whenever he wishes he approaches the horse, takes him by the lower jaw as he stands and cries, and then he, too, joins in the dance. This horse is decorated in the finest manner; he is painted red, his tail is rolled up into a bundle and tied together, and he wears feathers in the tail and forelock.

§ 181. *Candidates scarified.* When the time comes for scarifying the



1.



2.

I PTEPA KIN WACI.—2. OKASKA NAZIN.

candidates,[1] if one wishes to dance in the manner about to be described, he is made to stand between four posts arranged in the form of a square, and his flesh on his back being scarified in two places, thongs are run through them and fastened to them and to the posts behind him. His chest is also scarified in two places, thongs are inserted and tied, and then fastened to the two posts in front of him (see Pl. XLVII, 1, Okaśka naźin, or "He stands fastened to" or "within"). Bushotter says nothing about the skewers used in torturing the dancers; but Capt. Bourke obtained three ornamental ones which had been run through the wounds of some of the devotees, in order to be stained with blood and kept thereafter as souvenirs of the bravery of the dancers. Besides these were the regular skewers which were thrust horizontally through the flesh; and to the ends of these skewers were fastened the thongs that were secured by the opposite ends to the sun pole. The last dance allowed by the Government was in 1883, and it would be difficult now to find any of these skewers. (See § 204.)

Another man has his back scarified and a thong inserted, from which a buffalo skull is suspended, as shown in Pl. XLVII, 2, Pte-pa ḳin waći, or "He dances carrying a buffalo skull on his back." He dances thus, thinking that the weight of the skull will soon cause the thong to break through the flesh. The blood runs in stripes down his back.

§ 182. Another man decides to be fastened to the sun pole. For the use of such dancers there are eight leather thongs hanging down from the pole, being fastened to the pole at a point about midway from the top. For each man tied to the pole it is the rule to take two of the thongs and run them through his flesh after the holes are made with the knife (see Pl. XLVIII). After the thongs are fastened to him, the dancer is required to look upward. When the candidate is a short man, his back is scarified and his attendants push him up high enough from the ground for the thongs to be inserted and tied. In this case the weight of the man stretches the skin where the thongs are tied, and for a long time he remains there without falling (see Pl. XLIX).

§ 183. A very long time ago it happened that the friends of such a short man pitied him, so they gave a horse to another man, whom they directed to release their friend by pulling at the thongs until they broke out. So the other man approached the dancer, telling of his own deeds. He grasped the short man around the body, threw himself violently to the ground, breaking off the thong, which flew upward, and bringing the short man to the ground. Then the kindred of the short man brought presents of calico or moccasins and another horse, with other property, and they made the old women of the camp scramble for the possession of the gifts. The horse was given away by the act called "Kaliol yeyapi," or "They threw it off suddenly." The father of the dancer stood at the entrance of his tent, holding a stick in his hand. He threw the stick into the air, and the bystanders struggled for

[1] See Miss Fletcher's account, Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., 1882, p. 584.

its possession. Whoever grasped the stick, and succeeded in holding it, won the horse. If a forked stick is thrown up and caught it entitles the holder to a mare and her colt.

§ 184. When a young man has his flesh pierced for him, if he is beloved by his female relations, they furnish him with many objects decorated with porcupine quills, and these objects are suspended from the pierced places of his flesh, this being considered as a mark of respect shown by the women to their kinsman. Very often the women by such acts deprive themselves of all their property.

§ 185. *Pieces of flesh offered.*—When the candidates have their flesh pierced for the insertion of the thongs, a number of men who do not intend to dance approach the sun pole and take seats near it. With a new knife small pieces of flesh are cut out in a row from the shoulders of each of these men, who hold up the pieces of their own flesh, showing them to the pole. They also cover the base of the pole with earth. If some of the women desire to offer pieces of their flesh, they come and do so.

§ 186. Very soon after this the people who are outside of the dancing lodge sing a song in praise of the devotees of all kinds, and the old women are walking about with their clothing and hair in disorder, the garments flapping up and down as they dance. The attendants hold the pipes for the candidates to smoke, and they decorate them anew. After they decorate them, the dancing is resumed. By this time it is past noon, so the girls and boys whose ears are to be pierced are collected in one place, and presents are given to all the poor people.[1] After the children's ears have been pierced, the attendants make the candidates rise again and continue the dance.

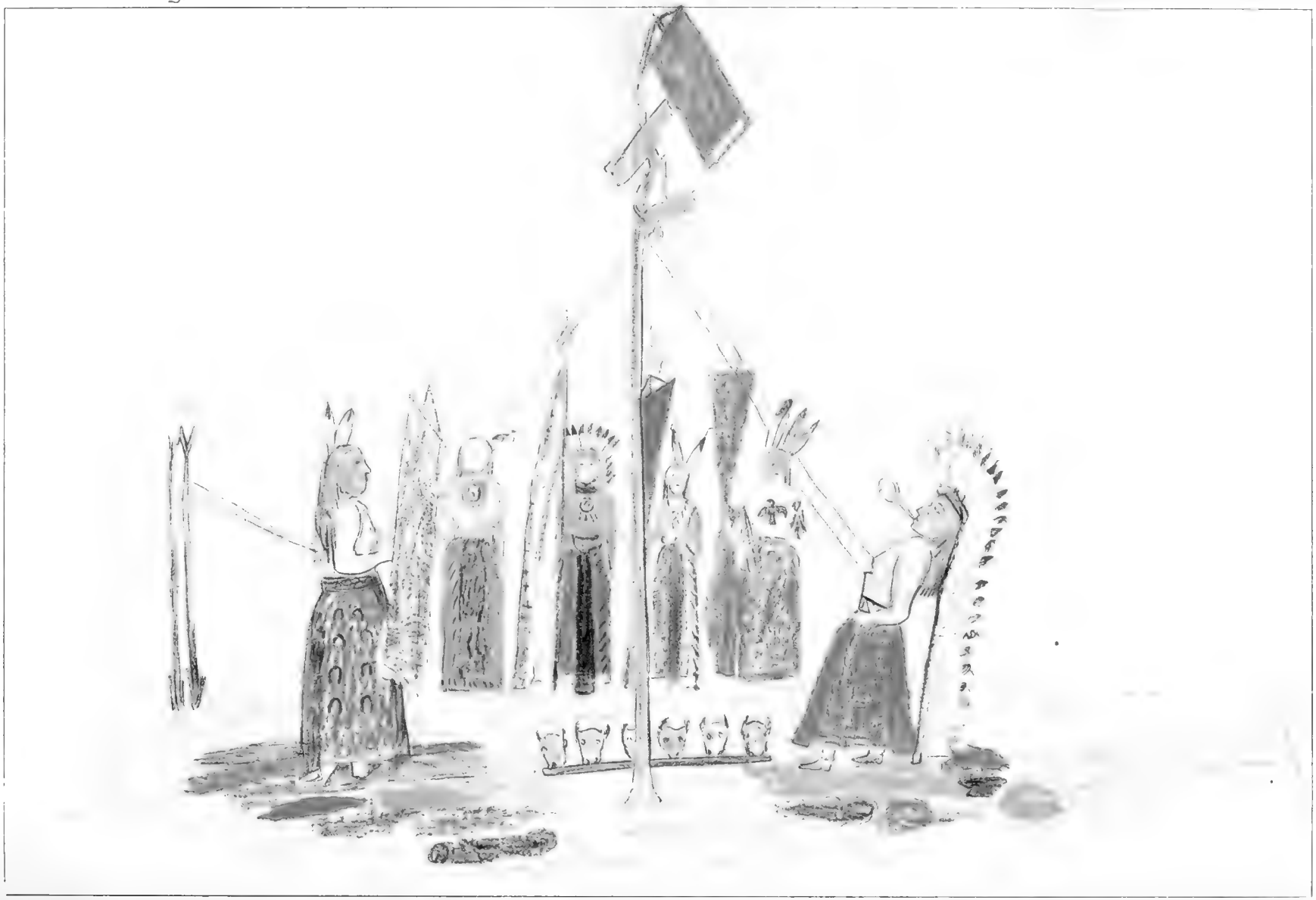
§ 187. *Torture of owner of horse.*—The man whose horse has taken part in the dance is tied to the tail of his horse, and his chest is pierced in two places and fastened by thongs to the sun pole. Some of the attendants whip the horse several times, making him dart away from the pole, thereby releasing the man, as the thongs are broken by the sudden strain (see § 29).

§ 188. The devotees dance through the night, and when it is nearly midnight they rest. Beginning at the left side of the dancing lodge, every devotee stops and cries at each post until he makes the circuit of the lodge. By this time it is midnight, so the attendants make them face about and stand looking towards the east, just as in the afternoon they had made them face the west.

END OF THE DANCE.

§ 189. At sunrise they stop dancing and they leave the dancing lodge. As they come forth, they pass out by the right side, and march four times around the exterior of the lodge. After which they proceed

[1] Miss Fletcher, *op. cit.*, p. 583.



THE SUN-DANCE

directly to the lodge of preparation, around which they march four times prior to entering it.

§ 190. When the devotees emerge from the dancing lodge, one of their attendants places more gifts on the line of sticks between the two lodges, and after the procession has moved on there is considerable disputing among the small boys of the camp for the posession of the gifts.

§ 191. After leaving the lodge of preparation, the exhausted devotees are taken back to their own tents, where each one is given four sips of water and a small piece of food, and by the time that he gets accustomed to food after his long fast, he eats what he pleases, enters the sweat lodge, rubs himself with the wild sage, and thenceforward he is regarded as having performed his vow.

§ 192. The spectators scramble for the possession of the blankets and long pieces of calico left as sacrifices at the dancing lodge, and some of them climb to the top of the sun pole and remove the objects fastened there. The sun pole is allowed to remain in its place. The author saw a sun pole at Ponka Agency, then in Dakota, in 1871. It had been there for some time, and it remained till it was blown down by a high wind.

At the conclusion of the dance the camp breaks up and the visitors return to their respective homes.

§ 193 All who participate in the dance must act according to rule for if one slights part of the rites they think that he is in great danger. The men selected as overseers or managers are the persons who act as the attendants of the candidates.

The candidates think that all their devotions are pleasing to the sun. As they dance, they pray mentally, "Please pity me! Bring to pass all the things which I desire!"

INTRUSIVE DANCES.

§ 194. During the sun dance, other dances—intrusive dances, as Lynd terms them—are going on in the camp. Among these are the following: The Mandan dance, performed by the Ćaŋte ṭiŋza okolakićiye, or the Society of the Stout-hearted Ones; the Wakaŋ waćipi or mystery dance, the Peźi mignaka waćipi or the dance of those wearing grass in their belts, the ghost dance, the buffalo dance, and the Omaha kiyotag a-i, popularly called the grass dance.

§ 195. When a man joins the Mandan dance as a leader, he wears a feather headdress of owl feathers, a scarf, called "Waŋźi-ićaśke," is worn around his neck and hangs down his back, and he carries a pipe, a bow, and arrows. In the Peźi mignaka waćipi, both young men and young women take part. All these dances are held outside the lodge of the sun dance, within which lodge only the one dance can be performed. The grass dance is named after the Omaha tribe. As many men as are able to participate in that dance march abreast until they reach the camp of some gens, where they sit

down facing the people whom they visit, hence the name, meaning, "the Omaha reach there and sit down." Then the visitors sing while a noise is made by hitting the ground with sticks, etc. The singers and dancers sit looking at the tents of the gens that they have visited, and remain so until property and food are brought out and given to them. Then they arise and probably dance. They think that if they ask Wakantanka for anything after the conclusion of the sun dance they will receive it. So they call on him in different songs, thus: "O Wakantanka, please pity me! Let me have many horses!" Or, "O Wakantanka, please pity me! Let there be plenty of fruits and vegetables!" Or, "O Wakantanka, please pity me! Let me live a long time!"

§ 196. During the sun dance they sing about some old woman, calling her by name. They can sing about any old woman on such an occasion.

One of these songs has been given by Mr. Bushotter, but the writer must content himself in giving the words without the music.

"Winŭŋ'ĥića ķuŋ tókiya lá huŋwo'? He'-ye-ye+!
Yatíla ķuŋ' śuŋ'ka wikinićápe. Hé-ye-ye+!
E'-ya-ya-ha' ya'-ha ya'-ha yo'-ho he'-ye-ye+!
E'-ya-ya-ha' ya'-ha ya'-ha yo'-ho he'-ye-yâ!"

That is: "Old woman, you who have been mentioned, whither are you going? When they scrambled for the stick representing a horse, of course you were on hand! How brave you are!"

They sing this in a high key, and when they cease suddenly, they call out, "Ho'wo! Ho'wo! E'-ya-ha-he+! E'-ya-ha-he+!" "*Come on! Come on! How brave you are! How brave you are!*" When they have said this repeatedly an old woman enters the circle, making them laugh by her singing and dancing.

Thus ends the Bushotter account of the sun dance, which was read at a meeting of the Anthropological Society of Washington, May 6, 1890.

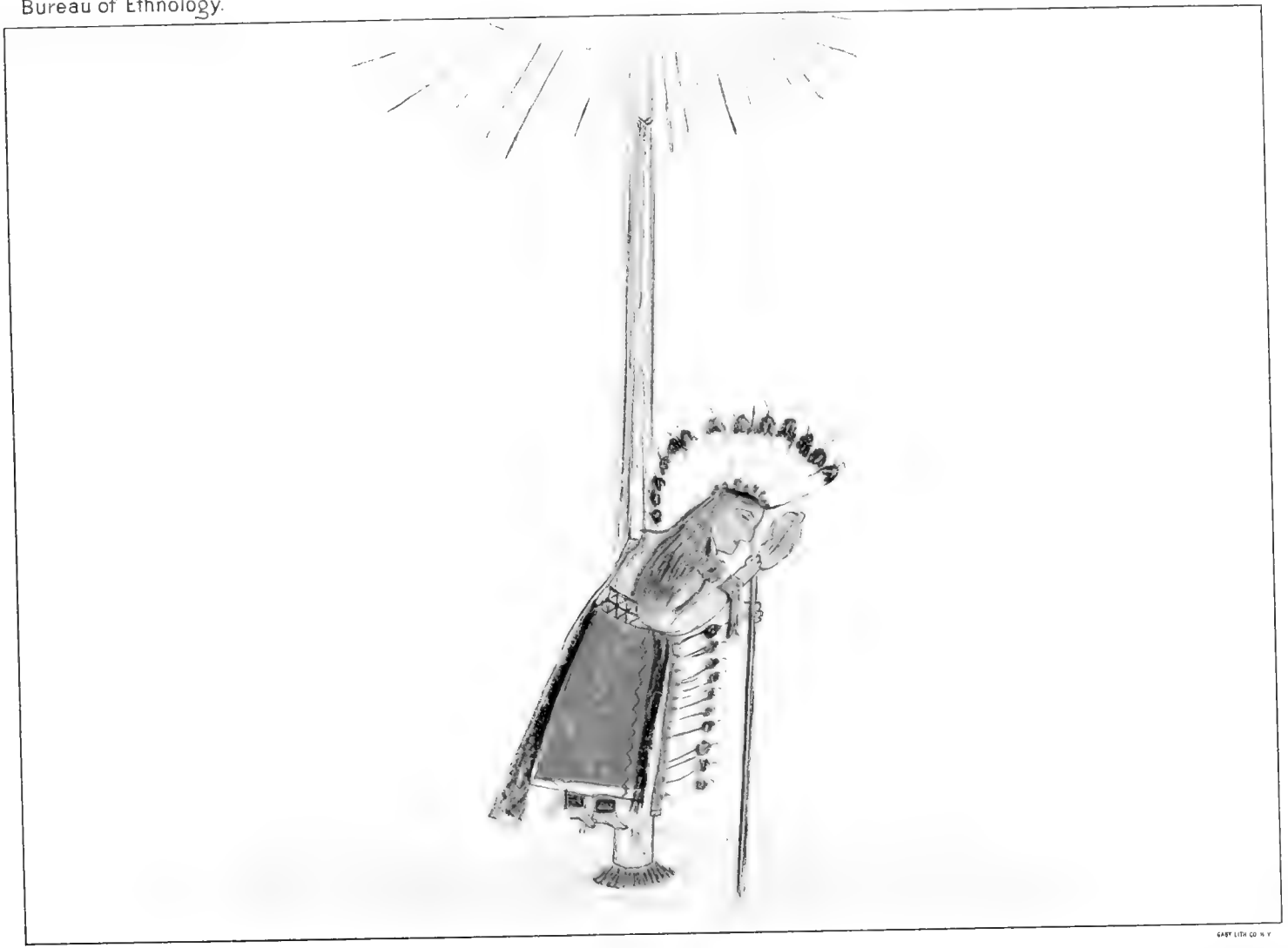
CAPT. BOURKE ON THE SUN-DANCE.

§ 197. After the reading of the paper, Capt. John G. Bourke, U. S. Army, remarked that he had seen the sun dance of the Dakota several times, and once had enjoyed excellent opportunities of taking notes of all that occurred under the superintendence of Red Cloud and other medicine men of prominence. Capt. Bourke kindly furnished the author with the following abstract of his remarks on this subject:

In June, 1881, at the Red Cloud Agency, Dakota, there were some twenty-eight who went through the ordeal, one of the number being Pretty Enemy, a young woman who had escaped with her husband from the band of Sitting Bull in British North America, and who was going through the dance as a sign of grateful acknowledgment to the spirits.

The description of the dance given in the account of Bushotter tallies closely with that which took place at the Red Cloud ceremony, with a few very immaterial exceptions due no doubt to local causes.

§ 198. At Red Cloud, for example, there was not a separate buffalo head for each Indian; there were not more than two, and with them, being placed erect and leaning against a frame-work made for the purpose, several elaborately decorated pipes,



A SUSPENDED DEVOTEE.

beautiful in all that porcupine quills, beads, and horsehair could supply. Buffaloes had at that time disappeared from the face of the country within reach of that agency, and there was also an increasing difficulty in the matter of procuring the pipestone from the old quarries over on the Missouri River [sic].[1]

§ 199. First, in regard to securing the sacred tree, after the same had been designated by the advance party sent out to look for it. The medicine men proclaimed to the young warriors that all they were now to do was just the same as if they were going out to war. When the signal was given, the whole party dashed off at full speed on their ponies, and as soon as we arrived at the tree, there was no small amount of singing, as well as of presents given to the poor.

Next, a band of young men stepped to the front, and each in succession told the story of his prowess, each reference to the killing or wounding of an enemy, or to striking *coup*, being corroborated by thumping on the skin which served the medicine men as a drum.

§ 200. The first young man approached the sacred tree, swung his brand-new ax, and cut one gash on the east side; the second followed precisely the same program on the south side; the third, on the west side, and the fourth, on the north side, each cutting one gash and no more.

§ 201. They were succeeded by a young maiden, against whose personal character, it was asserted, not a breath of insinuation could be brought, and she was decked in all the finery of a long robe of white antelope skin almost completely covered with elks' teeth, as well as with beads. She seized the ax, and, with a few well-directed blows, brought the tree to the ground.

§ 202. In carrying the tree to the camp it was placed upon skids, no one being allowed to place a hand upon the tree itself. Upon reaching the summit of the knoll nearest the camp the tree was left in charge of its immediate attendants while the rest of the assemblage charged at full speed upon the camp itself.

§ 203. When the tree had been erected in place, it was noticed that each of those who were to endure the torture had been provided with an esquire, while there was also a force of men, armed with guns to preserve order, criers to make proclamations, and heralds and water-carriers armed with long staves tipped with bead-work and horse-hair. These water-carriers did not carry water for the men attached to the tree, they were not allowed to drink, but if they happened to faint away the medicine men would take a mouthful of water apiece and spray it upon the body of the patient, producing coldness by the evaporation of the water.

§ 204. All the Indians on that occasion were attached to the tree itself by long ropes of hair or by thongs, fastened to skewers run horizontally under the flesh. (See § 181.)

§ 205. The young woman, Pretty Enemy, was not tied up to the tree, but she danced with the others, and had her arms scarified from the shoulders to the elbows. All this scarification was done by a medicine man, who also slit the ear of the babies born since the last sun dance.

§ 206. The young men were scarified in the following manner: Their attendants, whom I have called esquires, seized and laid them on a bed of some sagebrush at the foot of the sacred tree. A short address was made by one of the medicine men; then another, taking up as much of the skin of the breast under the nipple of each dancer as could be held between his thumb and forefinger, cut a slit the length of the thumb, and inserted a skewer to which a rope was fastened, the other end of the rope being tied to the tree.

§ 207. The young men placed eagle pipes, as they were called, in their mouths. These pipes were flutes which were made each from one of the bones in an eaglet's wing. They had to be sounded all the time the young man was dancing. This dancing was done in the manner of a buck jump, the body and legs being stiff and all

[1] The famous pipestone quarry was near the Big Sioux river in Minnesota.

movement being upon the tips of the toes. The dancers kept looking at the sun, and either dropped the hands to the sides in the military position of "attention," with the palms to the front, or else held them upward and outward at an angle of 45 degrees, with the fingers spread apart, and inclined towards the sun.

§ 208. When laid on the couch of sagebrush before spoken of, each young man covered his face with his hands and wailed. I was careful to examine each one, and saw that this wailing was a strictly ceremonial affair unaccompanied by tears.

§ 209. Before approaching the tree the victims were naked, with the exception of blue cloth petticoats and buffalo robes worn with the fur outside, giving them the appearance of monks of the olden time. The buffalo robes were, of course, thrown off when the young men were laid on the sagebrush preparatory to the scarification. One young man was unable to tear himself loose, and he remained tied up to the tree for an hour and seven minutes by my watch. He fainted four times. The medicine man put into his mouth some of the small red, bitter, salty seeds of the *Dulcamara*, while the women threw costly robes, blankets, articles of beadwork and quillwork, and others of the skin of the elk and antelope upon the rope attaching him to the tree, in the hope of breaking him loose. The articles thus attached to the rope were taken away by the poor for whom they were given. There was any amount of this giving of presents at all stages of the dance, but especially at this time, and the criers were calling without ceasing, "So and so has done well. He is not afraid to look the poor women and children in the face! Come up some more of you people! Do not be ashamed to give! Let all the people see how generous you are!" or words to that effect. (I had to rely upon my interpreter, who was reputed to be the best and most trustworthy at the agency).

§ 210. One of the prime movers in the organization of this particular dance, Rocky Bear, at the last moment, for some particular reason, decided not to go through the terrible ordeal. He explained his reasons to the tribe, and was excused. He gave presents with a lavish hand, and it was understood that on some subsequent occasion he would finish the dance. There was no sign of dissatisfaction with his course, and everyone seemed to be on the best of terms with him. All through the ceremony there was much singing by the women and drumming by the medicine men, and a feast of stewed dog, which tastes very much like young mutton, was served with boiled wild turnips.

§ 211. By a comparison of the accounts of Miss Fletcher, Capt. Bourke, and Bushotter it will be noticed that while there are several points of disagreement which, as Capt. Bourke remarks, are "due no doubt to local causes," the accounts are in substantial agreement. Miss Fletcher says that the opening of the camp circle was toward the east; but Bushotter gives it as toward the north. She states that the tent of preparation was erected on the first day after sunset; but Bushotter says it was set up on the fourth day. She represents the selection of the men who go to seek the tree, the departure to fetch the tree, the felling of the tree, the bringing it and setting it up within the camp circle as all taking place on the fourth day. Bushotter states that the men were selected on the third day; they went to seek the tree on the fourth day; they went to fell the tree on the fifth day, and on the same day they brought it to the camp and set it in place. Capt. Bourke saw four men and one girl employed in felling the tree. Miss Fletcher mentions that five men and three girls did this in 1882; but Bushotter recorded that several men and women took part in this performance. The ears of the children were pieced on the fourth day after the raising

of the sun pole, according to Miss Fletcher; but Bushotter says that this did not occur till after the devotees had been scarified and fastened to the pole and posts, on the sixth day. Bushotter agrees with Miss Fletcher in saying that on the sixth day the earth was "mellowed," the devotees scarified, and they danced with the thongs fastened to the pole, etc., and attached to the skewers running under their flesh.

BERDACHES.

§ 212. These unfortunate beings, who have been referred to as miⁿquga and miⁿquge in Chapter III (§ 30), are called winkta by the Santee and Yankton Dakota, and winkte by the Teton. They dress as women and act in all respects as women do, though they are really men. The terms for sodomy, winktapi and winktepi, are significant, and go to prove that the berdaches should not be called hermaphrodites. It is probable that the Dakota regard the moon as influencing these people. (See § 353.)

ASTRONOMICAL LORE.

§ 213. Ho-ke-win-la is a man who stands in the moon with outstretched arms. His name is said to mean Turtle Man. When the Teton see a short man with a large body and legs they generally call him "Ho-ke-la," after the man in the moon.

The Teton do not like to gaze at the moon, because at some past time a woman, who was carrying a child on her back, gazed a long time at the moon, till she became very weak and fell senseless.

No Teton dare look at the stars and count even "one" mentally. For one is sure to die if he begin to count the stars and desist before finishing. They are also afraid to point at a rainbow with the index finger, though they can point at it with the lips or elbow. Should one forget, and point with the index finger, the bystanders laugh at him, saying, "By and by, O friend, when your finger becomes large and round, let us have it for a ball bat."

DAY AND NIGHT.

§ 214. One of Bushotter's Teton texts reads thus:

Indians are often singing "The day and night are mysterious" or "wakaŋ." They do so for the following reasons: While the day lasts a man is able to do many wonderful things at different times, and he kills so many animals, including men, and sometimes he receives presents, and besides he is able to see all things. But he does not fully understand what the day is, nor does he know what makes the light. Though the man can do various things during the day, he does not know who makes or causes the light. Therefore he believes that it was not made by hand, i. e., that no human being makes the day give light. Therefore the Indians say that the day is "wakaŋ." They do not know who causes all these things, yet they know that there is some one thing having power, and that this thing does it. In their opinion, that is the sun. So they pray to the sun; and they respect both the day and the sun, making them "wakaŋ." On that account they usually sing some songs about them. Then they say that the night is "wakaŋ." When it is night, there are ghosts and many fearful objects, so they regard the night as "wakaŋ," and pray to it.

THE DAWN.

§ 215. When Bushotter's younger brother was sick on one occasion he was made to pray to Anpao, The Dawn. The tent skins were thrown back from the entrance and the sick boy was held up with the palms of his hands extended towards the light, while he repeated this prayer: "Wakaŋ'taŋka, uŋ'śimála yé! Téhaŋ waun' kte," i. e., "O Great Mysterious One, please pity me! Let me live a long time!" Then the patient was laid back on his couch. While the sick boy prayed a blanket was held up, and the next morning it was hung from the top of the tent. When the invalid recovered the blanket and a tobacco pouch were taken to a hill and left there as sacrifices. The boy got well, and the people believed that some mysterious power had cured him.

WEATHER SPIRIT.

§ 216. The Teton say that a giant, called Waziya, knows when there is to be a change of weather. When he travels his footprints are large enough for several Indians to stand while they are abreast; and his strides are far apart, for at one step he can go over a hill. When it is cold the people say, "Waziya has returned." They used to pray to him, but when they found that he did not heed them they desisted. When warm weather is to follow Waziya wraps himself in a thick robe, and when it is to be cold he goes nude. The members of the Heyoka or Anti-natural Society love the acts of Waziya; so they imitate him in always saying or doing the opposite of what might be expected under the circumstances. Riggs says,[1] "Waziya, the god of the north, and Itokaga, the god of the south, are ever in conflict and each in turn is victorious."

HEYOKA.

§ 217. Waziya and Heyoka are not fully differentiated. Heyoka, according to Riggs,[2] is "the antinatural god." He is said to exist in four varieties, all of which have the forms of small men, but all their desires and experiences are contrary to nature. In the winter they stand on the open prairie without clothing; in the summer they sit on knolls wrapped in buffalo robes, and yet they are freezing. Each of them has in his hands and on his shoulders a bow and arrows, rattles, and a drum. All these are surcharged with lightning, and his drumstick is a little Wakinyan. The high mounds of the prairies are the places of his abode. He presides over the land of dreams, and that is why dreams are so fantastic.

§ 218. In speaking of the Heyoka gods, Pond says:[3]

Like the Wakinyan, there are four varieties of them, all of which assume in substance the human form, but it would be unnecessarily tedious to note the differences

[1] Concerning Dakota Beliefs, in Proc. Amer. Philol. Assoc., 3d An. Session, 1872, p. 5.
[2] Theogony of the Sioux, p. 269.
[3] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 44.

of form, especially as the differences are unimportant. They are said to be armed with the bow and arrows, and with deer-hoof rattles, which things are charged with electricity. One of the varieties carries a drum, which is also charged with the same fluid. For a drumstick he holds a small Wakinyan god by the tail, striking on the drum with the beak of the god. This would seem to us to be an unfortunate position for a god, but it must be remembered that it is "wakan," and the more absurd a thing is, the more "wakan."

§ 219. One of these gods in some respects answers to the whirlwind zephyr of Greek mythology. It is the gentle whirlwind which is sometimes visible in the delicate waving of the tall grass of the prairie.[1]

By virtue of their medicine and tonwan powers the Heyoka render aid to such men as revere them, in the chase, or by inflicting and healing diseases, especially those resulting from the gratification of their libidinous passions.

HEYOKA FEAST.

§ 220. Lynd gives an account of the Heyoka feast. He says:[2]

They assemble in a lodge, wearing tall, conical hats, being nearly naked, and painted in a strange style. Upon the fire is placed a huge kettle full of meat, and they remain seated around the fire smoking until the water in the kettle begins to boil, which is the signal for the dance to begin. They dance and sing around it excitedly, plunging their hands into the boiling water, and seizing large pieces of hot meat, which they devour at once. The scalding water is thrown over their backs and legs, at which they never wince, complaining that it is cold. Their skin is first deadened, as I am creditably informed, by rubbing with a certain grass; and they do not in reality experience any uneasiness from the boiling water—a fact which gives their performances great mystery in the eyes of the uninitiated.

§ 221. Dr. Brinton has confounded the Heyoka with the Wakinyan. The two are distinct classes of powers, though there is some connection between them, as may be inferred from the following stories in the Bush-otter collection.

§ 222. No Indian belonging to the Heyoka Society ever tells of his own personal mystery. Such things are "wakaŋ," and not even one man can be induced to sing the Heyoka songs upon an ordinary occasion; because if they sing one of those songs except at the proper time they say that the Thunder-beings would kill the entire households of the offenders. Therefore they object to singing the Heyoka songs and they do not like to speak about them.

STORY OF A HEYOKA MAN.

§ 223. It is said that the people of the olden times knew when they were about to die, and they used to dream about their deaths and how they would be when the time drew near. One of those men said, "When the first thunder is heard next spring, I and my horse shall die."

For that reason his kindred were weeping from time to time, this man who had dreamed of his death decorated the legs of his horse by moistening light gray clay and drawing zigzag lines down the legs. In like manner he decorated the neck and back of the horse, and he made sim-

[1] Compare the Maⁿnaⁿhiⁿdje sub-gens of the Kansa tribe, and part of the wind gens, as the Ɱaⁿze gens of the Omaha, Kansa and Osage may be associated with the Takuśkaŋśkaŋ of the Dakota.

[2] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 70, 71.

ilar lines on his own arms. Then he would walk about the prairie near the camp, singing and holding a pipe with the stem pointing toward the sky.

When the leaves opened out in the following spring, the first thundercloud was seen. Then the man said, "Ho, this is the day on which I am to die!" So he tied up his horse's tail in a rounded form, put a piece of scarlet blanket around the animal's neck, and spread a fine blanket over his back, as a saddlecloth, with the ends trailing along the ground. He painted himself and his horse just as he had been doing formerly, and, taking the pipe, he walked round and round at some distance from the camp, pointing the pipestem towards the clouds as he sang the Heyoka songs. The following is given as a song of the human Heyoka man, but it is said to have been sung originally by the mysterious and superhuman Heyoka in the thundercloud:

Ko-la, o-ya-te kiŋ, ko-la, waŋ-ni-yaŋg u-pe e-ye he+!
Ko-la, o-ya-te, kiŋ, ko-la, waŋ-ni-yaŋg u-pe e-ye he+!
Ko-la, lo-waŋ hi-bu we!
Ko-la, ć́e-ya hi-bu we!
O-ya-te waŋ-ma-ya-ka-pi ye.
He-he-he!
Ta-muŋ-ka śni ku ŋ e-ye-ye he+!

In this song, "oyate" means the Thunder-beings; "kola," the Heyoka men here on earth, whom the Thunder-beings threatened to kill; "oyate waŋmayakapi," ordinary Indians who are not wakan; "He-he-he! tamuŋka śni ku ŋ," i. e., "Alas! I hate to leave them (living Indians)," means that the singer expects to be killed by the Thunder-beings.

The whole song may be rendered freely thus:

My friends, the people are coming to see you!
My friends, the people are coming to see you!
My friends, he sings as he comes hither!
My friends, he cries as he comes hither!
You people on earth behold me while you may!
Alas! alas! alas!
I hate to leave my own people!

On the day referred to the Heyoka man had not been absent very long from the camp when a high wind arose, and the rain was so plentiful that a person could not see very far. Then the Thunder-beings looked (i. e., there was lightning) and they roared; but still the man and his horse continued walking about over there in sight of the camp. By and by there was a very sudden sound as if the trees had been struck, and all the people were much frightened, and they thought that the Thunder-beings had killed them. Some of the women and children fainted from fear, and the men sat holding them up. Some of the people thought that they saw many stars, and there seemed to be the sound, "Tuŋ+!" in the ears of each person.

When the storm had lasted a long time, the Thunder-beings were departing slowly, amid considerable loud roaring. When it was all over the people ventured forth from their lodges. Behold, the man and his

horse had been killed by the Thunder-beings, so his relations were crying ere they reached the scene of the disaster.

The horse had been burnt in the very places where the man had decorated him, and his sinews had been shriveled by the heat, so he lay with each limb stretched out stiff. The man, too, had been burnt in the very places where he had painted himself. The grass all around appeared as if the Thunder-beings had dragged each body along, for it was pushed partly down on all sides. So the people reached there and beheld the bodies.

As the men in former days used to know events beforehand, as has just been told, it has long been the rule for no one to reveal his personal mystery, which he regards as "wakan."

HEYOKA WOMEN.

§ 224. Bushotter gave the following account of a female Heyoka who was killed by lightning:

A certain woman whom I saw after she had been killed by lightning belonged to the Heyoka Society. When she walked, she carried a pipe with the mouthpiece pointing upward, as she thought that the Thunder-beings would put the mouthpiece into their mouths, though the act would immediately cause her death.

§ 225. "Women used to dream about the Thunder-beings, just as the men did, and in those dreams the Heyoka man or woman made promises to the Thunder-beings. If the dreamers kept their promises, it was thought that the Thunder-beings helped them to obtain whatever things they desired; but if they broke their promises, they were sure to be killed by the Thunder-beings during some storm. For this reason the Heyoka members worshiped the Thunder-beings, whom they honored, speaking of them as wakan."

§ 226. Some of the women sing, and some do not; but all let their hair hang loosely down their backs, and their dresses consist of a kind of cloth or a robe sewed down the middle of the back. Sometimes the cloth is all blue, at other times half is red and half is blue. Some times there is beadwork on the dress. Even the Heyoka women wear the long red cloth trailing on the ground before and behind them, in imitation of the young dandies of the tribe.

IYA, THE GOD OF GLUTTONY.

§ 227. Lynd speaks of the "vindictive Iya" as driving the hunters "back from the hunt to the desolation of their lodges.[1] And Riggs has written:[2]

A people who feast themselves so abundantly as the Dakotas do, when food is plenty, would necessarily imagine a god of gluttony. He is represented as extremely ugly, and is called E-ya. He has the power to twist and distort the human face, and the women still their crying children by telling them that the E-ya will catch them.

IKTO, IKTOMI, OR UNKTOMI.

§ 228. Ikto or Iktomi (in the Teton dialect) or Unktomi (in the San-

[1] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 67. [2] Theogony of the Sioux, p. 270.

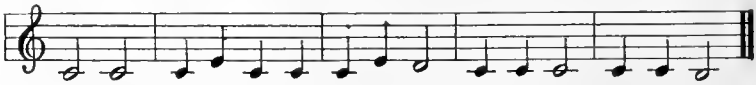
tee) are the names now given to the spider by the Dakota; but the names once belonged to a mythical character, who resembles in many respects the Ictinike of the Omaha and Ponka, and the Ictciñke of the Iowa, Oto, and Missouri tribes. "Ikto," say the Teton, "was the first being who attained maturity in this world. He is more cunning than human beings. He it was who named all people and animals, and he was the first to use human speech. Some call him the Waunća or Mocker, a name now applied to the monkey.[1] If we see any peculiar animals at any place, we knew that Iktomi made them so. All the animals are his kindred, and they are obliged to act just as he commanded them at the beginning."

§ 229. In enumerating the powers that delight in working ill to the Indians, Lynd mentions Unktomi thus:

"The ubiquitous Unktomi tortures the Indians in their hunger by bringing herds of buffaloes near the camp, which they no sooner start to pursue than he drives away by means of a black wolf and a white crow."[2]

§ 230. Though Ikto was very cunning, he was sometimes deceived by other beings. One day he caught the rabbit, and the latter was about to fare hard, when a thought occurred to him. He persuaded his captor to release him on condition that he taught Ikto one of his magic arts. Said the rabbit, "Elder brother, if you wish snow to fall at any time, take some hair such as this (pulling out some rabbit fur) and blow it in all directions, and there will be a blizzard." The rabbit then made a deep snow in this manner, though the leaves were still green. This surprised Ikto, who thought that he had learned a wonderful accomplishment. But the foolish fellow did not know that *rabbit* fur was necessary, and when he tried to make snow by blowing his own hair, he was disappointed.

§ 231. On another occasion, Ikto reached a stream which he could not ford. So he stood on the bank and sang thus:



Tó-kin ko-wá-ka-tan ma-ká-ni, e-chin'chin na-wá-zhin!
I stand, thinking often, Oh that I might reach the other side!

Presently a long object passed, swimming against the current. When it reached him it said, "I will take you across, but you must not lift your head above the water. Should you notice even a small cloud warn me at once, as I must go under the water." Ikto was then told to give the warning thus: "Younger brother, your grandfather is coming." Before the other bank was reached Ikto gave the warning, and so sudden was the commotion that Ikto became unconscious. On recovering, he found that the thunder was roaring, and the water was dashing high, but the monster had disappeared.

[1] With this compare the belief of some African tribes that the monkey has the gift of speech, but fears to use it lest he should be made a slave.

[2] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 66.

It is shown in the section on Spider lore (§ 249) how the name Iktomi has been transferred from the mythical character to the insect, who, in turn, is invoked as "grandfather."

ĆAŊOTIDAŊ AND HOḢNOĠIĆA.

§ 232. These powers have been scarcely differentiated; and some writers speak of them as identical. They seem to have been of the nature of bogies or boggarts. Says Lynd:[1]

Ćaŋotidaŋ draws the hungry hunters to the depths of the wood by imitating the voices of animals, or by the nefarious "*Cico! cico!*" (*i. e.*, I invite you to a feast! I invite you to a feast!) when he scares them out of their senses by showing himself to them.

On the same page he distinguishes between the Ćaŋotidaŋ and the Oḣnoġića thus:

"The stray lodge becomes the delight of the wild Ohnogica," implying that such lodges were haunted by this spirit for the purpose of frightening any unwary traveler who ventured there without a companion.

In Tah-koo Wah-kon (p. 75, note), Riggs speaks of the "Chan-o-te-dan or Hoh-no-ge-cha. The former is a fabulous creature, dwelling usually in the woods as the name indicates. The latter name would seem to give it a place by the door of the tent." With this we may compare the Omaha invocation, "O thou who standest at the right side of the entrance! Here is tobacco!" (§ 40). The name also reminds us of "The Dweller upon the Threshold" in Bulwer's "Zanoni."

Riggs, in his "Theogony of the Sioux," p. 270, writes thus of the "Chan-o-te-na":

This means, Dweller in the woods. Sometimes he is called Oh-no-ge-cha, which would seem to assign him to a place in the tent. Whether these are one and the same, or two, is a question in dispute. But they are harmless household gods. The Chan-o-te-na is represented as a little child, only it has a tail. Many Indian men affirm that they have seen it, not only in night dreams, but in day visions.

The name Holinoġića or Oḣnoġića is called by the Teton, Uŋgnaġićala, which is the name of the screech-owl. As the Ponka Indaȼiñga dwells in the forest, and is said to resemble an owl, he must be identical with the Dakota Ćaŋotidaŋ or Uŋgnaġićala. (See § 38.)

ANŬŊG-ITE.

§ 233. Wonderful stories of beings with two faces are found among the Dakota as well as among the Omaha. Lynd[2] states the belief of the Dakota (*i. e.*, those speaking the Santee dialect) that "women with child are but torturing sports for the vengeful Anog-ite."

In the Omaha legend of Two Faces and the Twins[3] the pregnant mother of the Twins died as soon as she had gazed at Two Faces. In the Teton legend of He-who-Has-a-Sword and Ha-ke-la, the latter is said to have met a giant, Anuŋg-ite, or Two Faces, who pretended to be an Indian woman nursing an infant. The infant had been stolen

[1] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 66.
[2] Ibid., p. 66.
[3] Cont. N. A. Ethnol., vol. VI, pp. 207–219.

from its parents by the Anuŋg-ite, who drew a rose brush across its face to make it cry. As soon as this was done the Two Faces said, in a woman's voice, "A-wo! A-wo! A-wo!" that being the expression used by Teton women when they wish to soothe crying infants.

§ 234. The Indians used to hear an Anuŋg-ite or Two Faces pass along kicking the ground. When he kicked the ground with one foot bells used to ring and an owl hooted, and when he kicked with the other it seemed as if a buffalo bull was there, snorting as he does when about to charge. At the next step a chickadee was heard, and when he moved the other foot he made all kinds of animals cry out. The Indians had heard this Anuŋg-ite and were afraid of him. Now and then when a man who thought himself strong was alone when he met the Anuŋg-ite the latter surprised him by catching him and throwing him into one of his ears. These ears were so large that each could hold three men. No person knew where the Anuŋg-ite made his abode, and no one cared to follow him; no one dared to go out of doors at night. Now, there was an old man and his wife who had a lodge to themselves, and their only child was a willful boy. One night he was particularly ill-behaved, and when his mother told him to do something he disobeyed her. So she said: "I will put you out of the lodge and the Anuŋg-ite will toss you into his ear." She did not believe this, and merely said it to frighten her son into obedience. Finding him heedless, she seized his arm and, though he began to cry, pushed him out of the lodge and fastened the entrance securely. The poor boy ran crying around the lodge, but soon there was silence. The mother in turn began to cry, and went to seek him, but she did not find him outside the lodge. The next morning she and her husband, weeping, went to seek him among the people in the neighboring camp, asking every one about him, but no one had seen him. So they returned to their lodge, and they wept many days for their son. One night the mother was weeping. Suddenly she heard some one say, "Hiⁿ! hiⁿ! You said to me: Ghost, take that one. Hiⁿ! hiⁿ!" This was said often, and she noticed a rattling of small bells as the being walked along. Just then she said: "Husband, I think now that a ghost has taken my son." The husband said: "Yes; you gave the boy to the ghost, and, of course, the ghost took him. Why should you complain? It serves you right." Then the mother cried aloud, so that her voice might have been heard at a distance. Then said she: "Husband, to-morrow night I will lie hid by the wood-pile, and if the ghost comes I will have a knife in my hand, and after I catch it by the leg I will call to you. Be ready to come at once. You must aid me, and I will recover my son, because I know that he threw him into his ear." So the next night she lay in wait for the monster. By and by something was coming, crying out "Hiⁿ!" and making all kinds of birds and animals cry out as it walked. She saw a very large being come and stand by the lodge. He was very tall, his head being above the smoke-hole, down which he peeped into the lodge. Suddenly the mother

called to her husband, and seized one leg of the monster with both hands. Then she and her husband gashed the legs in many places, and, after tying a thong to one leg, they pulled down the monster and bound him securely. They guarded him till it was day. Then they beheld a hideous monster covered with thick hair, except on his faces. They split his ears with a knife, and within one they found their long-lost son, who was very lean and unable to speak. He had a thick coat of long hair on him from his legs up to his head, but his head and face were smooth. And he would have become an Anuŋg-ite had he not been rescued. He did not survive very long. After the parents had taken their son from the ear of the monster they put many sticks of wood on a fire, and on this they laid the monster. He soon was in flames, and they stood looking on. Many things were sent flying out of the fire in all directions, just like sparks. These were porcupine quills, bags, all kinds of feathers, arrows, pipes, birds, axes, war-clubs, flints, stones for sharpening knives, stone balls resembling billiard balls, necklaces of *tuki* shells, flints for striking tinder, flint hide-scrapers, whips, tobacco-pouches, all kinds of beads, etc.[1]

PENATES.

§ 235. It has been supposed that the Dakotas had no penates or household gods; but according to Riggs,[2] "such have come into the possession of the missionaries. One of these images is that of a little man, and is inclosed in a cylindrical wooden case, and enveloped in sacred swan's down."

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.

§ 236. Each Teton may have his special guardian spirit. If such spirits are remembered they confer great power on their favorites. The latter may be surrounded by foes and yet escape, either by receiving great strength, enabling them to scatter their enemies, or by being made invisible, disappearing like a ghost or the wind. Sometimes it is said that one is rescued by being turned into a small bird that flies off in safety. (See §§ 122, 325.) This refers to those who "ihaŋbla" (have intercourse with spirits) or who have guardian spirits (tawaśi-ćuŋpi) as servants. Bushotter's stepfather has a guardian spirit who enabled him to tell about lost animals, etc., and bad deeds, even when the latter were committed in secret. So Bushotter and the other children of the household were afraid to do wrong after they had been detected several times by the aid of the guardian spirit.

BELIEFS ABOUT THE BUFFALO.

§ 237. In several of the Siouan tribes the buffalo is considered a

[1] Translated from the original MS. in the Bushotter collection. Tuki is the Teton name for a univalve shellfish said to come from the Great Lakes.

[2] Tah-koo Wah-kon, p. 71.

"grandfather." He figures in the traditions of the Osage.[1] Gentes and sub gentes are named after him. His image plays an important part in the sun dance (§ 164).

§ 238. Miss Fletcher[2] mentions a prayer used during the White Buffalo Festival of the Hunkpapa Dakota, in which are remembered the "powers of the earth, wind, sun, water, and the buffalo." And in her article on "The Shadow or Ghost Lodge; a Ceremony of the Ogallala Sioux," she states that 2 yards of red cloth are (were) "lifted and offered to the buffalo, with a prayer that good may (might) be granted to the father" (i. e., of the dead child) "during the period of the lodge-keeping."[3]

§ 239. In her article on the "Elk Mystery of the Ogallala Sioux"[4] is given an important note:

Among the Santees in past times, a man who should dream of buffalo must announce it in the following manner: He takes the head of a buffalo he has killed, carefully removes the skin, preserving it as nearly whole as possible, and throws away the skull and the flesh. He then restores the skin to its natural shape and lets it cure. When this has taken place, a few feet square of earth is set apart at the back of the lodge, the sods cut off, and the exposed earth made fine. This is the "U-ma-ne." Upon this earth a new blanket, formerly a robe, is spread. The blanket or robe must not belong to a woman. The buffalo head is placed in the center of the blanket, and one side of the head (is) painted blue, and the other (side) red. Upon the blue side, tufts of white swan's down are tied to the hair of the head. Sometimes small eagle feathers are substituted, and, very rarely, large feathers. Upon the red side, tufts of down-colored red are similarly tied. These decorations look like "a woman's sunbonnet," as they cover the head and fall to the shoulders. The pipe is only filled and presented to the head. The feast kettle is hung over the fire. When all is in readiness, the man who prepared the head thus addresses it: "Grandfather! Venerable man! Your children have made this feast for you. May the food thus taken cause them to live, and bring them good fortune." An Indian of remarkable intelligence, whose father before him had been a priest of the higher class, explained that in some religious festivals the buffalo and the earth were spoken of as one, and (were) so regarded. "Therefore if any one should revile or ridicule the buffalo, ever so softly, the earth would hear and tell the buffalo, and he would kill the man."

Bushotter furnished two articles on the buffalo, translations of which are appended.

ORIGIN OF THE BUFFALO.

§ 240. The buffalo originated under the earth. It is said that in the olden times, a man who was journeying came to a hill where there were many holes in the ground. He explored them, and when he had gone within one of them, he found plenty of buffalo chips, and buffalo tracks were on all sides; and here and there he found buffalo hair which had come out when the animals rubbed against the walls. These animals were the real buffalo, who dwelt underground, and some of them came up to this earth and increased here to many herds. These buffalo had many earth lodges, and there

[1] Osage Traditions, in 6th An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 379, 380. Am. Naturalist, February, 1884, pp. 113, 114, 133. Ibid, July, 1885, p. 671, Om. Soc., in 3d An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 228, 233, 244, 247.

[2] Rept. Peabody Museum, vol. III, p. 264. Note how in the sun dance the sun, the four winds, and the buffalo are referred to (§§ 147, 164, 167, 173, and 181, and Pl. XLVIII), and ceremonies are performed connected with the earth, such as mellowing the earth (§§ 146, 155, and 176) and the "Uṡita," in which they shoot into the ground (§ 170).

[3] Op. cit., p. 297.

[4] Op. cit., p. 282, note.

they raised their children. They did many strange things. Therefore when a man can hardly be wounded by a foe, the people believe that the former has seen the buffalo in dreams or visions, and on that account has received mysterious help from those animals. All such men who dream of the buffalo, act like them and dance the buffalo (bull) dance. And the man who acts the buffalo is said to have a real buffalo inside him, and a chrysalis lies within the flat part of the body near the shoulder-blade; on account of which the man is hard to kill; no matter how often they wound him, he does not die. As the people know that the buffalo live in earth lodges, they never dance the buffalo dance in vain.

THE TATAŊGNAŠKIŊYAŊ OR MYTHIC BUFFALO.

§ 241. It is said that a mythic buffalo once attacked a party of Indians, killing one of them. The others fled and climbed a tree, at which the buffalo rushed many times, knocking off piece after piece of the tree with his horns till very little of it was left. Then one of the Indians lighted some tinder and threw it far off into the tall grass, scorching the buffalo's eyes, and seriously injuring his horns, causing the hard part of the latter to slip off, so that the animal could no longer gore any one. But as he was still dangerous, one of the men determined to fight him at the risk of his own life, and so he slipped down from the tree, armed with a bow and some arrows. He finally gave the buffalo a mortal wound. Then all the men came down the tree and cut up the buffalo after flaying him. They were about to carry off the body of their dead comrade in a robe, when they were obliged to climb a tree again because another mythic buffalo had appeared. He did not attack them, but went four times around the body of the slain man. Then he stopped and said, "Arise to your feet." All at once, the dead man came to life. The buffalo addressed him, saying, "Hereafter you shall be mysterious, and the sun, moon, four winds, day and night shall be your servants." It was so. He could assume the shape of a fine plume, which was blown often against a tree, to which it stuck, as it waved repeatedly.

THE BEAR.

§ 242. The Assiniboin address prayers to the bear.[1] They offer it sacrifices of tobacco, belts, and other esteemed objects. They celebrate feasts in its honor, to obtain its favors and to live without accidents. The bear's head is often preserved in the camp during several days, mounted in some suitable position and adorned with scraps of scarlet cloth, and trimmed with a variety of necklace collars, and colored feathers. Then they offer it the calumet, and ask it that they may be able to kill all the bears they meet, without accident to themselves, in order to anoint themselves with his fine grease and make a banquet of his tender flesh.

THE WOLF.

§ 243. Smet says, "The wolf is more or less honored among the Indians" (*i. e.* the Assiniboin) "Most of the women refuse to dress its skin for any purpose. The only reason that I could discover for this freak is, that the wolves sometimes go mad, bite those they meet and give them the hydrophobia. It is doubtless to escape this terrible disease and to avoid the destruction of their game, that the Indians make it" (the wolf) "presents, and offer it supplications. In other cases, he is little feared." The "little medicine wolf" is in great veneration among the Assiniboin. As soon as an Indian hears his barks, he counts the number; he remarks whether his voice is feeble or strong, and from

[1] Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 139.

what point of the compass it proceeds. All these things are regarded as good or bad omens. If the undertakings of the Indians result, as they occasionally do, in success, after hearing the barking of the little wolf, this animal is honored by a grand feast after the return of the party.[1]

§ 244. That some of the Dakota reverenced the wolf is evident from the fact that there is a society, called the Wolf Society, but known among the white people as the Dog Society. That society has many beautiful songs, according to Bushotter, and its membership is confined to young men. All the wolf stories belong to this society. Three of these stories follow this section.

§ 245. The man who met the ghost woman after fleeing from the two ghost men[2] encountered a wolf, who pitied him and showed him the way to a camp, where he was received and adopted into the tribe. This man always remembered the wolf as a kind animal, and when he killed any game, he threw a portion outside of the camp, as an offering to the wolf.

§ 246. There was once a handsome young Teton, whose wife's father disliked him and plotted against him. He dug a pit within his lodge, covering it with skins. Then he invited his son-in-law to a feast. The son-in-law met a wolf, whom he saluted, asking him the way to the village. The young man was persuaded to recline on the skins, which gave way, precipitating him into the pit. The father-in-law and his two single daughters covered the skins with earth, and removed their tent elsewhere on the morrow, when all the people started on a journey. After some days, the wolf who had met the man went to the deserted camping place in search of food. On reaching the place where the accident (?) had happened, he heard a human cry. So he dug away the earth, removed the skins, and found the man, whom he recognized. The wolf pitied him, and said, "As you did not kill me when we met, you shall now be saved." So he howled, and very soon many wolves appeared. They found a lariat, which they lowered into the pit, and by grasping the other end with their teeth, they pulled the man up. He was very grateful, promising never to harm a wolf. Just then a weeping woman appeared, gazing in surprise at the man, as he was very thin, looking like a ghost. She was his wife, and her heart was soon made glad when he told her of his rescue.

§ 247. Once upon time a man found a wolf den, into which he dug to get the cubs. The mother came, barking, and she finally said to him, "Pity my children;" but he paid no attention to her. So she ran for her husband, who soon appeared. Still the man persevered. Then the wolf sang a beautiful song, "O man, pity my children, and I will instruct you in one of my arts." He ended with a howl, causing a fog. When the wolf howled again the fog disappeared. Then the man thought, "These animals have mysterious gifts," and he tore up his red

[1] Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 140.
[2] See Ghost Lore, § 280.

blanket into small pieces, which he put as necklaces on the cubs, whom he painted with Indian red, restoring them to their place in the den. Then the grateful father exclaimed, "When you go to war hereafter, I will accompany you, and bring to pass whatever you wish." So they parted as friends. In the course of time the man went on the war path As he came in sight of a village of the enemy, a large wolf met him, saying, "By and by I will sing and you shall steal their horses when they least suspect danger." So they stopped on a hill close to the village, and the wolf sang. After this he howled, making a high wind arise. The horses fled to the forest, many stopping on the hillside. When the wolf had howled again, the wind died away, and a mist arose; so the man took as many horses as he pleased.

HORSES.

§ 248. These are well named "Cŭñka waka^{n} (Śuŋka wakaŋ)" for they are indeed wakaŋ. Consequently the Dakota have the Cŭñg olowa^{n} (Śuŋg olowaŋ) or Horse Songs, and they pray to the horses (ćewićakiyapi). If any one paints a horse in a wakaŋ manner, when he has no right to do so, he is sure to pay the penalty: he will encounter misfortune of some sort, or he will fall ill, or he will be slain by a foe, or he will have his neck broken by being thrown from a horse.

SPIDERS.

§ 249. The Teton pray to gray spiders, and to those with yellow legs. When a person goes on a journey and a spider passes, one does not kill it in silence. For should one let it escape, or kill it without prayer, bad consequences must ensue. In the latter case, another spider would avenge the death of his relation. To avoid any such misfortune, when the spider is encountered, the person must say to it, "Iktómi Tuŋkaŋśila, Waɣiŋyaŋ niktepe lo," i. e., "O Grandfather Spider, the Thunder-beings kill you!" The spider is crushed at once, and his spirit believes what has been told him. His spirit probably tells this to the other spiders, but they can not harm the Thunder-beings. If one thus addresses a spider as he kills it, he will never be bitten by other spiders.

§ 231. One of the Dakota myths tells how Unktomi killed himself, causing his limbs to shrivel up till they assumed the appearance of spiders' limbs.

SNAKE LORE.

§ 250. Some Dakota will not kill snakes by hitting them. He who violates the law in this respect will dream horrible dreams about various kinds of snakes; and occasionally it happens that such a man has a horse bitten by a snake. The Siŋtelila taŋka, or the Ancient of Rattlesnakes, was one of the enemies of the Thunder-beings.

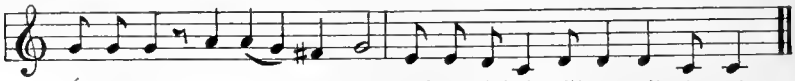
"There are some things about which it is most unlucky to dream.

Snakes are said to be terrible; they seek to enter a man's ears, nose, or mouth" (i.e., in the dream); "and should one succeed, it is a sure sign of death. 'No good comes from snakes.'"[1]

THE DOUBLE WOMAN.

§ 251. In the olden times there was what they called "Wiŋyaŋ nuŋpapi-ka," or the The Double Woman, consisting of two very tall females who were probably connected by a membrane. They wore horned headdresses decorated with feathers, and bunches of feathers hung from the right shoulder of one and from the left shoulder of the other. Instead of heel tags, each female had a turtle trailing from the heel or quarter of one moccasin, and a feather from that of the other. In the sketch as given by Bushotter there is a pale blue stripe around the bottom of each skirt, and half of each trailing feather is of that color. Each body, above the top of the blanket, is painted with blue dots on a yellow ground. There is a blue stripe across the right shoulder of the woman on the right, and one across the left shoulder of the other woman, each stripe curving downward towards the opposite side. (See Pl. L.)

They dwelt in a lodge on a very high black cliff. They were always laughing immoderately, as if they were strangers to sorrow. On pleasant evenings they stood on a hill, where they amused themselves by swinging. Should any Indian see them, when he reached home he vomited something resembling black earth, and died suddenly. These women were skillful dancers, and they used to reflect rays of light by means of their mirror, just as the young Indian men do in sport. They jumped many times and sang this song:



Ćeʹ-paŋ-śi ku-waʹ- ni-toʹ Tuʹ-wa leʹ-ći śiʹ-na miʹ-ćo-zeʹ.

"Cousin, please come over here! Some one waves a robe over inthis direction at me. Ha! ha! ha!" Then they walked about. No one knew from what quarter the Double Woman was coming, and how the two lived was a mystery. There are many tall women found now among different Indian tribes who imitate the behavior of the Double Woman.

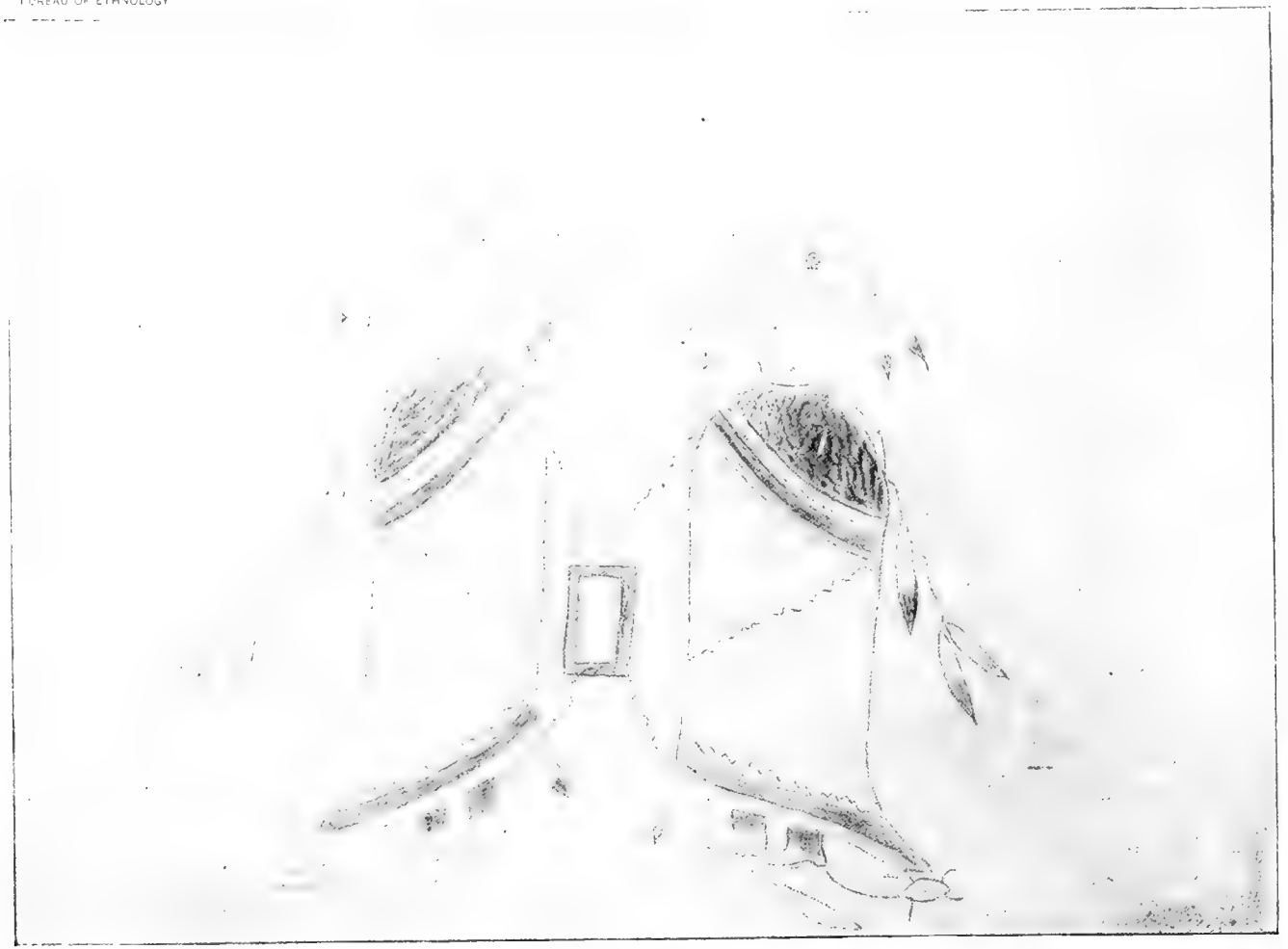
John Bruyier and other Teton at Hampton, Va., regard this story of the Double Woman as manufactured by Bushotter. But this character figures in two Santee myths in Rev. S. R. Riggs's collection, about to be published by the Bureau of Ethnology.[2] (See § 394.)

DEER WOMEN.

§ 252. Deer women of the Teton resemble the Wolf women of the Pawnee. Both tempt unwary youths whom they encounter away from

[1] Miss Fletcher, Elk Mystery of the Ogalalla Sioux, in Rept. Peabody Museum, vol. III, p. 281, note.

[2] Contr. to N. A. Ethn., vol. IX, Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography. Washington: Government Printing Office. 1893. pp. 131, 141, 144, 148.



THE DOUBLE WOMAN.

the camp in solitary places. Should a youth yield to the woman's solicitations the result will be a sad one. As soon as he leaves her she will resume her natural shape. The youth will appear as if drunk or insane, and he will reach home with difficulty. His health will become impaired, and he will soon die. So now the hunters avoid any female that they see on the way. They hate the Deer women. The Deer women never speak, but in all other respects they resemble Indian women.

DWARFS OR ELVES.

§ 253. Dwarfs or elves are probably referred to in the following.

This [*i. e.* the object sought by Lewis and Clarke's party] was a large mound in the midst of the plain, about N. 20° W. from the mouth of Whitestone River, from which it is 9 miles distant. The base of the mound is a regular parallelogram, the longest side being about 300 yards, the shorter 60 or 70; from the longest side it rises with a steep ascent from the north and south to the height of 65 or 70 feet, leaving on the top a level plain of 12 feet in breadth and 90 in length. The north and south extremities are connected by two oval borders, which serve as new bases, and divide the whole side into three steep but regular gradations from the plain. The only thing characteristic in this hill is its extreme symmetry, and this, together with its being wholly detached from the other hills, which are at the distance of 8 or 9 miles, would induce a belief that it was artificial; but as the earth and loose pebbles which compose it are arranged exactly like the steep grounds on the borders of the creek, we concluded from this similarity of texture that it might be natural. But the Indians have made it a great article of their superstition; it is called the Mountain of the Little People, or Little Spirits, and they believe that it is the abode of little devils in the human form, of about 18 inches high, and with remarkably large heads; they are armed with sharp arrows, with which they are very skillful, and are always on the watch to kill those who should have the hardihood to approach their residence. The tradition is that many have suffered from these little evil spirits, and, among others, three Maha Indians fell a sacrifice to them a few years since. This has inspired all the neighboring nations, Sioux, Mahas, and Ottoes, with such terror that no consideration could tempt them to visit the hill.[1]

BOGS.

§ 254. Bogs are very mysterious. There are various strange objects covered with thick hair which remain at the bottom of a bog. These objects have no eyes, but they are able to devour anything, and from their bodies water is ever flowing. When one of these beings wishes, he abandons his abode and reclines under ground at another place; then there is no water issuing from the place where he used to lie, but a spring gushes forth from the new resting place. The water of this spring is warm in winter, but as cold as ice in summer, and before one dares to drink of it he prays to the water, as he does not wish to bring illness on himself by his irreverence. In the olden days one of these strange beings was pulled up out of a bog and carried to the camp, where a special tent was erected for him. But water flowed all around him, which drowned almost all of the people. Then the survivors

[1] Lewis and Clarke, Expedition, ed. Allen, Dublin, 1817, vol. I, pp. 65, 66.

offered him food, which he held as he sat motionless, gazing at them. The food disappeared before the spectators were aware of it, though they did not see the being eat it.

TREES.

§ 255. The Dakota prayed to trees, because it was reported that in former days a tree had sung at intervals. A man claimed to have witnessed this, and from that time they have been regarded as mysterious.

CUSTOMS RELATING TO CHILDHOOD.

§ 256. The Teton sing on account of the unborn child, and set up a pole inside the lodge, at the part opposite the entrance, fastening eagles' down to the top of the pole, just as they do when a boy has advanced toward manhood.

§ 257. Soon after birth they paint the face of the infant, whether it be a boy or a girl, with vermilion, in the "Hunka" style.[1] Should they neglect to do this, it is said that the infant would become blear-eyed or it would suffer from some kind of sickness.

§ 258. When the navel string is cut, a small bag is made of deerskin, cut in the shape of a small tortoise, known as patkaśala. In this bag is placed a piece of the navel string and sweet-smelling leaves, with which the bag is filled. The infant has to carry this bag on its back. Part of the navel string is buried, and when the child is large enough to get into mischief they say, "He is hunting for his navel string."

§ 259. Prior to the naming of the infant is the ceremony of the transfer of character. Should the infant be a boy, a brave and good-tempered man, chosen beforehand, takes the infant in his arms and breathes into his mouth, thereby communicating his own disposition to the infant, who will grow up to be a brave and good-natured man. It is thought that such an infant will not cry as much as infants that have not been thus favored. Should the infant be a girl, it is put into the arms of a good woman, who breathes into its mouth.

§ 260. Twins are a mystery to the Teton, who believe that they are of superhuman origin, and must come from Twin-land. As they are not human beings, they must be treated very politely and tenderly, lest they should become offended and die in order to return to Twin-land.

In his MS. Teton vocabulary, sent to the Bureau of Ethnology in July, 1890, Dr. J. M. Woodburn, jr., recently physician at Rosebud Agency, S. Dak., makes the following statement which seems worthy of notice: "Twins are lucky as regards themselves only; the mother is looked upon as unfortunate. The twins may die, but they are sure to be born again into separate families. No ordinary human being can recognize them as twins after the new births; but twins themselves

[1] See "Calumet Dance," in Om. Sociology, 3d Am. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 280.

are able each to recognize the other as his fellow-twin in a previous state of existence. Medicine men often claim that their supernatural powers are due to a previous existence as twins." (See §§ 267, 287.)

§ 261. When a child is able to walk, they say that "He kicks out the teeth of his elder brother" (or "sister," as the case may be). The teeth of the elder child which have been shed, probably the first set, are buried under the entrance to the lodge so that other teeth may come in their place. Whoever steps over the spot where the teeth have been buried will soon have other teeth in his mouth.

PUBERTY.

§ 262. Among the Oglala Dakota, according to Miss Fletcher,[1] the rites incident to the puberty of girls take place on the fourth day of the sun-dance festival. In a note on page 260 of the Peabody Museum Report, vol. III, the same authority says:

Through the kindness of Rev. A. L. Riggs I learn that among the bands of Eastern Sioux living near Fort Sully, Dak., a feast, called the reappearance of the White Buffalo Skin, is held for the consecration of a girl on her arriving at puberty. The feast is sacred and costly, and not everyone can afford it. Those who have once made the feast become the privileged guests at every such feast, occupy the feast tent, and are served first. A prominent feature in the feast is the feeding of these privileged persons, and the girl in whose honor the feast is given, with choke cherries, as the choicest rarity to be had in the winter. The feast can be held at any time. Bull berries, or, as the Dakotas call them, "rabbits' noses," may be substituted, or finely pounded meat mixed with fat, in case no berries are to be had. In the ceremony, a few of the cherries are taken in a spoon and held over the sacred smoke, then fed to the girl. The spoon is filled anew, incensed as each person is fed. As each one is given the cherries, he is addressed thus: "Wi-ćа-śa-ya-ta-pi wo-yute de ya-tiŋ kte, i. e., "You will eat this chief's food." The eaters are not chiefs; they only partake of chiefs' food.

§ 263. Initiation to manhood took place in one of two ways: (1) By the wohduze ceremony, or, (2) by the bear dance, as witnessed by Long.

The former has been referred to in §§ 122–125 of this article; the latter has been described by Long[2] as

a ceremony which they are in the habit of performing when any young man wishes to bring himself into particlar notice, and it is considered a kind of initiation into the state of manhood. There is a kind of flag made of fawn skin dressed with the hair on, suspended upon a pole. Upon the flesh side of it are drawn certain figures indicative of the dream which it is necessary the young man should have dreamed before he can be considered a proper candidate for this kind of initiation. With this flag a pipe is suspended by way of sacrifice. Two arrows are stuck up at the foot of the pole, and fragments of painted feathers, etc., are strewed upon the ground near it. These pertain to the religious rites attending the ceremony, bewailing and self-mortification. The young man who has had the dream acts the bear in this dance, and is hunted by the other young men; but the same man can not act the bear more than once in consequence of his dreams.

§ 264. Miss Fletcher says:[3]

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[1] Proc. Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci., Montreal meeting, 1882, p. 583.

[2] Skiff Voy. to Falls of St. Anthony, in Minn. Hist. Coll., II, pt. 1, pp. 18–19.

[3] Rept. Peabody Museum, vol. III, pp. 277, 278.

The maturity of the sexes is a period of serious and religious experiences which are preparatory by their character for the entrance of the youth or maiden into the religious and secular responsibilities of life, both individual and tribal. Among the tribes which hold especial public ceremonies announcing the maturity of a girl, these rights are held not far from the actual time of puberty, and indicate the close of childhood and entrance of the person into the social status of womanhood. The public festival has, however, been preceded by private religious rites. With young men the religious training precedes and follows puberty, and the entrance is publicly announced by the youth joining in the dangers and duties of tribal life. According to the old customs, a young man did not take a wife until he had proved his prowess, and thus became enrolled among the manly element, or braves, as they are sometimes spoken of. The initial fasts of warriors have been mistaken sometimes for ceremonials of puberty.

GHOST LORE AND THE FUTURE LIFE.

MEANING OF WANAĠI.

§ 265. The word "wa-na-ġi" means more than "apparition." The living man is supposed to have one, two, or more "wanaġi," one of which after death remains at the grave and another goes to the place of the departed. The writer has been told that for many years no Yankton Dakota would consent to have his picture taken lest one of his "wanaġi" should remain in the picture, instead of going after death to the spirit land. The Teton Dakota apply the name of "ghost" or "shadow" to the lock of hair cut from the forehead of the deceased and kept for some time by the parents; and till that lock is buried the deceased is supposed to retain his usual place in the household circle.

§ 266. Lynd[1] says that to the human body the Dakota give four spirits:

The first is supposed to be a spirit of the body, which dies with the body. The second is a spirit which always remains with or near the body. Another is the soul which accounts for the deeds of the body, and is supposed by some to go to the south, by others to the west, after the death of the body. The fourth always lingers with the small bundle of the hair of the deceased, kept by the relatives until they have a chance to throw it into the enemy's country, when it becomes a roving spirit, bringing death and disease to the enemy in whose country it remains. From this belief arose the practice of wearing four scalp feathers for each enemy slain in battle, one for each spirit.

§ 267. "Some Sioux claim a fifth scalp feather, averring that there is a fifth spirit, which enters the body of some animal or child after death. As far as I am aware, this belief is not general, though they differ in their accounts of the spirits of man, even in number.

Some of these metempsychosists go so far as to aver that they have distinct recollections of a former state of existence and of the passage into this. The belief, as before stated, does not appear to be general." (See §§ 260, 287.)

§ 268. With regard to the place of abode of the four spirits of each man—though they believe that the true soul which goes south or west

[1] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, pp. 68, 80.

is immortal—they have no idea, nor do they appear to have any particular care as to what may become of them after death. It may be remarked, that the happy hunting grounds, supposed to belong to every Indian's future, are no part of the Dakota creed—though individual Dakota may have learned something like it from the white men among them.

ASSINNIBOIN BELIEFS ABOUT THE DEAD.

§ 269. The Assinniboin "believe that the dead migrate toward the south,[1] where the climate is mild, the game abundant, and the rivers well stocked with fish. Their hell is the reverse of this picture; its unfortunate inmates dwell in perpetual snow and ice and in the complete deprivation of all things. There are, however, many among them who think that death is the cessation of life and action and that there is naught beyond it.[2]

"The Assinniboine believe that their dead go to a country in the south, where the good and brave find women and buffaloes, while the wicked or cowardly are confined on an island, where they are destitute of all the pleasures of life. The corpses of brave men are not deposited in trees, but on the ground, as they will help themselves, and they are covered with wood and stones to protect them from the wolves."[3]

GHOSTS NOT ALWAYS VISIBLE.

§ 270. The ghosts of the departed are not always visible to the living. Sometimes they are heard but not seen, though in the lodge with a mortal. Occasionally they become materialized, taking living husbands or wives, eating, drinking, and smoking, just as if they were ordinary human beings.

DEATH AND BURIAL LORE.

§ 271. As ghosts visit the sick at night it is customary to drive them away by making a smoke from cedar wood, or else cedar is laid outside the lodge. Sometimes a piece of cedar is fastened up at the smoke-hole. (See § 42.) One Teton story shows how a female ghost disliked a bad odor and fled from it. When they hear a ghost whistling, some one leaves the lodge and fires a gun. Before death the lodge is surrounded by ghosts of deceased kindred that are visible to the dying person.

All the dead man's possessions are buried with him; his body is dressed in good clothing. The favorite horse is decorated and saddled, and to this day various articles belonging to the deceased are fastened to him. The horse is shot and part of his tail is cut off and laid near the head of the burial scaffold, as it is thought that in such a case the

[1] A similar belief has been held by the Athapascans now on the Siletz reservation, Oregon. This has been published by the author in The American Anthropologist for January, 1889, p. 60.

[2] Smet, Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 142.

[3] Maximilian, Travels in North America, p. 197.

ghost can ride the ghost of the horse and use all the articles carried by that animal.

§ 272. *Why the Teton stopped burying in the ground.*—Long ago the people buried some men on a hill and then removed camp to another place. Many winters afterwards a man visited this burial place, but all traces of the graves had disappeared. So many men came and dug far down into the hill. By and by one said, "A road lies here." So they dug in that direction and made a fire underground. And there they found a tunnel large enough for men to walk in by stooping, with many similar intersecting ones. They followed the main one and finally came to a place whither a strange animal, the Waliaŋksića, had dragged the corpses. For this reason the Lakota became unwilling to lay their dead in the ground, so they began to bury on scaffolds which could not be reached by beasts of prey. At the present day the Teton gives three reasons for not burying in the ground: (1) Animals or persons might walk over the graves; (2) the dead might lie in mud and water after rain or snow; (3) wolves might dig up the bodies and devour them.

§ 273. *Importance of tattooing.*—In order that the ghost may travel the ghost road in safety it is necessary for each Lakota during his life to be tattooed either in the middle of the forehead or on the wrists. In that event his spirit will go directly to the "Many Lodges." The other spirit road is said to be short, and the foolish one who travels it never reaches the "Many Lodges." An old woman sits in the road and she examines each ghost that passes. If she can not find the tattoo marks on the forehead, wrists, or chin, the unhappy ghost is pushed from a cloud or cliff and falls to this world. Such is the lot of the ghosts that wander o'er the earth. They can never travel the spirit road again; so they go about whistling, with no fixed abode.

§ 274. If a quiet and well-behaved person dies his ghost is apt to be restless and cause trouble, but the ghost of a bad person who dies a natural death is never feared. The ghost of a murdered person is always dangerous.

§ 275. If a ghost calls to a loved one and the latter answers, he or she is sure to die soon after. If some one is heard weeping outside of a lodge, it is a sign that a person dwelling in that lodge is doomed to die. If a sister dies, she has a strong desire to return and carry off a beloved brother. So in the event of a death in the family a gun is fired or medicine is thrown on a fire to raise a smoke. If one who is alone encounters a ghost, the latter will be apt to pull his mouth and eyes until they are crooked. This danger is encountered only by one who has dreamed of a ghost. He who has been harmed by a ghost always faints, and it is long before he revives. Mothers scare bad children by saying, "Well, wait a bit and I will tell a ghost to come and carry you off." Some one who has dreamed of ghosts will draw one on a skin, etc., to frighten the children. Such a person is said to

draw his own ghost just as he will appear in future. No one else dares to draw a ghost. (See § 299.)

CEREMONIES AT THE GHOST LODGE.[1]

§ 276. When a son dies the parents with a knife cut off some hair from the top of the head, just above the forehead, placing the hair in a deerskin cover. Then they set up three poles, fastened together at the top and forming a sort of tripod. A cord hung over the top of these holds up the white deerskin pack containing the hair of the deceased. This hair is called the ghost or shade (or wa-na-ġi) of the dead person. The deerskin pack hangs horizontally from the poles and the skin is worked with porcupine quills in many lines, and here and there are various kinds of red and blue circular figures sewed on it. All the sod had been cut away from the ground beneath the pack, and on this bare or virgin earth they put a bowl and a drinking vessel, each ornamented with porcupine work. Three times a day do they remember the ghost, for whom they put the choicest food in the bowl and water in the drinking vessel. Every article is handled carefully, being exposed to the smoke of sweet-smelling herbs. The pack said to contain the ghost is put in the ghost lodge with the knife which he used during life.

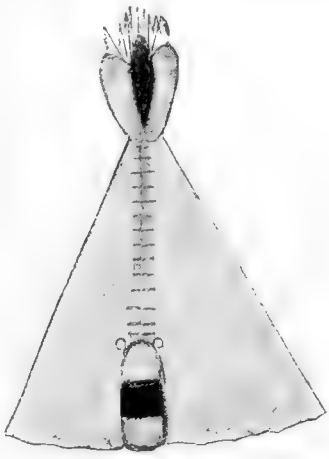


FIG. 192.—The ghost lodge.

The Indians always have observed the custom of smoking pipes and eating while sitting in the ghost lodge. At the back of the lodge they prepare a seat and in the middle they set up two poles similar to those erected outside the entrance to the tents. Before they eat in the lodge, they sacrifice part of the food. Whenever they move the camp or single tent from one place to another all these sacred objects are packed and carried on a horse kept for this special purpose. This horse is called "Wanaġi taśuŋkewakaŋ," i. e., "The ghost's horse." This horse has his tail and mane cut off short; the hair on the body is shaved very close; his body is rubbed all over with yellow clay. Some one then rubs paint on the fingers, touching the rump gently several times, as well as the forehead and around the neck and breast. A feather is tied to the end of the tail. On his back they place a saddle-cloth and a saddle, each ornamented with porcupine quills. The horse must mourn—i. e., keep his hair short—as long as the ghost remains unburied; but as soon as the hair is removed from the pack and buried the horse's hair is allowed to grow long again. As soon as the people stop

[1] Read in this connection the article by Miss Fletcher on "The Shadow: or, Ghost Lodge: a Ceremony of the Ogallala Sioux," Rept. of Peabody Museum, vol. II, pp. 296, 307.

to encamp the ghost lodge is set up before any of the others. The articles which are kept there remain for a specified time, perhaps for several years, during which period certain ceremonies are performed. At the end of the allotted time comes the ghost feast, the Waéčũŋpi or Wakíčaġápi, when the ghost pack is opened and the ghost taken out and buried. Then all the people assemble, setting up their tents near the ghost lodge. The kindred of the deceased weep and bring food to the place. All this food has been boiled. They set up in the ground some forked sticks, such as are used for digging wild turnips, and straight poles are laid along the forked sticks. On the poles are hung moccasins, and in the space between the forked sticks are piled blankets, buffalo robes, calico, untanned skin bags, tanned bags, porcupine quills, wild turnips, and fruits.[1] These are distributed by women, and the people spend the time pleasantly. They also give presents to the young women. If the deceased was a male and a member of an order of young men, all who belong to it are invited to a feast (there was a similar custom among the Ponka, in 1872), where they sing songs. When they stop singing they sit with bodies erect, but with bent head and stooping shoulders. Then the parents of the dead youth enter the lodge, weeping as they pass around the circle, and each one places both hands on the head of each guest, because the son, who regarded the men as his friends, is no longer present. If the deceased is a female, only the women assemble, except some men who lead the singing. If horses take part in the ceremonies, their manes and tails are shaved short, and they, too, receive gifts. Here and there one of the kindred of the deceased gives away all his property, and then the bag is opened and the hair or ghost is taken out and buried. From this time the parting with his parents is absolute. They think that, until the hair is buried, the deceased is really present with the household, and that when this burial takes place he dies a second time. After this burial the kindred put on their usual clothing, and while they weep for the dead at intervals they are at liberty to anoint and decorate themselves according to fancy.

Another account of Bushotter states that when they prepare for the ghost feast they redden the sack containing the hair and hang the war bonnet of feathers on the three poles at right angles with the ghost sack. They wish to remember his deeds in war, so they also stick one end of his war spear in the ground, with its top leaning against the tops of the three poles. His shield is suspended from one of the poles. The three pipes on the shield in a colored sketch prepared by Bushotter denote that on so many expeditions the deceased warrior carried a war pipe. The red stripes declare how many of the enemy were wounded by him, and the human heads show the number of foes that he killed. The half-moon means that he shouted at his foes on a certain night. Once he threw

[1] These things are probably given by the kindred of the deceased, but Bushotter has not so informed us.

aside his arms and engaged in a hand-to-hand struggle with a foe; this is shown by the human hand. The horse-tracks indicate that he ran off with so many horses. If his name was Black Hawk, for instance, a black hawk was painted in the middle of his shield.

All these things are arranged before they open the bag containing the hair. Then they enter the lodge, and there they open all the things that they have brought. The kindred of the deceased are the only ones to enter the lodge, and when they see the hair taken from the sack they scream suddenly for a minute or two. It is at this time that they distribute the gifts. Food has been boiled in many kettles, and is now divided among the people not the kindred of the deceased, who are scattered around the ghost lodge, and some food is usually given to the young men of the order to which the deceased belonged.

A woman who attends to collecting the food, calico, bags, clothing, etc., turns to the four posts of the scaffold in succession, and utters one of the following sayings or prayers at each post: "If the ghosts eat this, may I live long!" or "May the ghosts eat this, and I obtain many horses!" or "If my nephew (*or* niece) eats this, may some one give me many presents!" This woman is careful to put the best part of the food on the bowl or dish under the scaffold near the head of the corpse.[1] Should any one eat before the food has been put aside for the ghost, all the ghosts become angry with him, and they are sure to punish him; they will make him drop his food just before it reaches his mouth, or they will spill the water when he tries to drink, and sometimes they cause a man to gash himself with a knife.

GOOD AND BAD GHOSTS.

§ 277. Some ghosts are beneficent, but most of them are maleficent. They know all things, even the thoughts of living people. They are glad when the wind blows. Bushotter's younger brother was crazy at one time, and a doctor or peźuta wićaśa said that the sickness had been caused by a ghost.

INTERCOURSE WITH GHOSTS.

§ 278. Lynd says: The belief in the powers of some Dakotas to call up and converse with the spirits of the dead is strong in some, though not general. They frequently make feasts to those spirits and elicit information from them of distant friends and relatives. Assembling at night in a lodge, they smoke, put out the fire, and then, drawing their blankets over their heads, remain singing in unison in a low key until the spirit gives them a picture. This they pretend the spirit does; and many a hair-erecting tale is told of the spirit's power to reveal, and the after confirmation.[2]

GHOST STORIES.

A few ghost stories of the Teton collection will now be given.

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[1] In one of his papers Bushotter says that it is the mother of the deceased person who deposits the food under the scaffold and utters the prayers. John Bruyier, a half-blood Teton from Cheyenne River Agency, South Dakota, never heard the petition about the horses, for if parents obtained horses after the death of their son, they gave them away.

[2] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 69.

§ 279. *The ghost husband.*—A young Lakota died just before marrying a young girl whom he loved. The girl mourned his death, so she cut her hair here and there with a dull knife, and gashed her limbs, just as if she had been an old woman. The ghost returned and took her for his wife. Whenever the tribe camped for the night the ghost's wife pitched her tent at some distance from the others, and when the people removed their camp the woman and her husband kept some distance behind the main body. The ghost always told the woman what to do; and he brought game to her regularly, which the wife gave to the people in exchange for other articles. The people could neither see nor hear the ghost, but they heard his wife address him. He always sent word to the tribe when there was to be a high wind or heavy rain. He could read the thoughts of his wife, so that she need not speak a word to him, and when she felt a desire for anything he soon obtained it for her.

§ 280. *The solitary traveler.*—Once a solitary traveler was overtaken by a tremendous thunderstorm near a forest. So he remained there for the night. After dark he noticed a light in the woods, and when he reached the spot, behold, there was a sweat lodge, in which were two persons talking. One said, "Friend, some one has come and stands without. Let us invite him to share our food." The listener fled suddenly, as they were ghosts, and they pursued him. Though he looked behind now and then, he could not see them; so he ran with all his might towards a hill, and escaped from them. As he was ascending a divide of the Bad Lands, all at once he heard the cry of a woman. He was very glad to have company for the rest of the journey; but no sooner had he thought about the woman than she appeared by his side, saying, "I have come because you have just wished to have my company." This frightened the man, but the ghost woman said, "Do not fear me, else you will never see me again." So they went on silently till daybreak. Then the man looked at her, but her legs could not be seen, though she was walking without any apparent effort. Then the man thought, "What if she should choke me?" Immediately the woman disappeared like the wind. (See § 245).

§ 281. *The ghost on the hill.*—One day, when the people were hunting the buffalo, a strange man appeared on a hill. He wore a winter robe, with the hair outside. When he was descending the hill the people became alarmed, but he continued to advance. The young men rushed to meet him, taking bows and arrows. They could not see his face. They tried to shoot him, but each arrow passed by him on one side or the other. So they finally fled, as he was a ghost.

§ 282. *The Indian who wrestled with a ghost.*—A young man went alone on the warpath. At length he reached a wilderness, encountering many difficulties, which did not deter him from his undertaking. One day, as he was going along, he heard a voice, and he thought, "I shall have company." As he was approaching a forest he heard some one halloo. Behold, it was an owl. By and by he drew near another

forest, and as night was coming on he had to rest there. At the edge of the forest he lay down in the open air. At midnight he was aroused by the voice of a woman, who was wailing, "My son! my son!" Still he remained where he was, and continued putting wood on the fire. He lay with his back to the fire, placing his flint-lock gun in readiness before him. He tore a hole in his blanket large enough to peep through.

Soon he heard the twigs break under the feet of one approaching, so he peeped without rising. Behold, a woman of the olden days was coming. She wore a skin dress with long fringe. A buffalo robe was fastened around her at the waist. Her necklace was composed of very large beads, and her leggins were covered with beads or porcupine work. Her robe was drawn over her head, and she was snuffling as she came. The man lay with his legs stretched out, and she stood by him. She took him by one foot, which she raised very slowly. When she let it go it fell with a thud, as if he was dead. She raised it a second and third time. Still the man did not move himself. Then the woman pulled a very rusty knife from the front of her belt, seized his foot suddenly, and was apparently about to lift it and gash it, when up sprang the man, saying, "What are you doing?" Without waiting for a reply he shot at her suddenly, and away she went, screaming "Yuŋ! yuŋ! yuŋ! yuŋ! yuŋ! yuŋ!" Then she plunged into the forest and was seen no more.

Once again the man covered his head with his blanket, but he did not sleep. When day came he raised his eyes, and, behold, he saw a human burial scaffold, with the blankets, etc., ragged and dangling. He thought, "Is this the ghost that came to me?" On another occasion he came to a forest where he had to remain for the night. He started a fire, by which he sat. Suddenly he heard some one making the woods ring as he sang. The man shouted to the singer, but the latter paid no attention to him. The man had a small quantity of wasna (grease mixed with pounded dried buffalo meat and wild cherries) and plenty of tobacco. So when the singer, who was a male ghost, came to him and asked him for food, the man replied, "I have nothing whatever;" but the ghost said, "Not so; I know that you have some wasna." Then the man gave some of it to the ghost and filled the pipe for him. After the meal, when the ghost took the pipe and held it by the stem, the man saw that his hand had no flesh, being nothing but bones. As the ghost's robe had dropped from his shoulders to his waist all his ribs were visible, there being no flesh on them. Though the ghost did not open his lips as he smoked, the smoke was pouring out through his ribs. When he finished smoking the ghost said to the man, "Ho! we must wrestle together. If you can throw me, you shall kill a foe without hindrance, and steal some horses." The young man agreed to the proposition; but before beginning he gathered plenty of brush around the fire, on which he put an armful. Then the ghost rushed at the man, seizing him with his bony

hands, which pained the man, but this mattered not. He tried to push off the ghost, whose legs were very powerful. When the ghost was brought near the fire, he became weak, but when he managed to pull the man towards the darkness, he became very strong. As the fire got low the strength of the ghost increased. Just as the man began to grow weary the day broke. Then the struggle was renewed. As they drew near the fire the man made a desperate effort, and with his foot he pushed a firebrand suddenly into the fire. As the fire blazed again, the ghost fell just as if he was coming to pieces. So the man won, and the ghost's prophecy was fulfilled; he subsequently killed a foe, and stole some horses. For that reason people have believed whatever the ghosts have said.

§ 283. *The man who shot a ghost.*—In the olden time a man was traveling alone, and in a forest he killed several rabbits. After sunset he was in the midst of the forest, so he made a fire, as he had to spend the night there. He thought thus: "Should I encounter any danger by and by, I have this gun, and I am a man who ought not to regard anything." He cooked a rabbit and satisfied his hunger. Just then he heard many voices, and they were talking about their own affairs, but the man could see nobody. So he thought, "It seems that now at length I have encountered ghosts." Then he went and lay under a fallen tree, which was at a great distance from the fire. He loaded his gun with powder only, as he knew by this time that they were really ghosts. They came round about him and whistled, "Hyu, hyu, hyu!" "He has gone yonder," said one of the ghosts. They came and stood around the man, just as people do when they hunt rabbits. The man lay flat beneath the fallen tree, and one ghost came and climbed on the trunk of that tree. Suddenly the ghost gave the cry uttered on hitting an enemy, "Aᵘ-he!" and he kicked the man on the back. But before the ghost could get away, the man shot at him and wounded him in the legs; so the ghost gave the male cry of pain, "Au! au! au!" And finally he went off crying as females do, "Yuŋ! yuŋ! yuŋ!" And the other ghosts said to him; "Where did he shoot?" And the wounded one said: "He shot me through the head and I have come apart." Then the other ghosts were wailing on the hillside. The man decided to go to the place where they were wailing. So, as the day had come, he went thither, and found some graves, one of which a wolf had dug into so that the bones were visible, and there was a wound in the skull.

ASSINNIBOIN BELIEFS ABOUT GHOSTS.

§ 284. Smet says:[1]

> The belief in ghosts is very profound, and common to all these tribes. Indians have often told me that they have met, seen, and conversed with them, and that they may be heard almost every night in the places where the dead are interred. They say that they speak in a kind of whistling tone. Sometimes they contract the face [of a human being whom they meet] like that of a person in an epileptic fit.[1]

[1] Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 140.

The Assiniboines never pronounce the name of Tchatka [i. e., Ćatka, or, Left Hand, a former chief] but with respect. They believe that his shade guards the sacred tree; that he has power to procure them abundance of buffalo and other animals, or to drive the animals from the country. Hence, whenever they pass they offer sacrifices; they present the calumet to the tutelary spirits and manes of Tchatka. He is, according to their calendar, the Wah-kon-tangka par excellence, the greatest man or genius that ever visited their nation.[1]

PRAYERS TO THE DEAD, INCLUDING ANCESTORS.

§ 285. Riggs says[2] that the Dakota pray to the spirits of their deceased relatives. [See §§ 67–71.] And in his account of the Assiniboin, Smet says:

The Assinniboines esteem greatly a religious custom of assembling once or twice a year around the graves of their immediate relatives. These graves are on scaffolds about 7 or 8 feet above the surface of the ground. The Indians call their dead by name and offer to them meats carefully dressed, which they place beside them. The ceremony of burying the dead is terminated with tears, wailings, howlings, and macerations of all present. They tear the hair, gash the legs, and at last they light the calumet, for that is the Alpha and Omega of every rite. They offer it to the shades of the departed and entreat them not to injure the living. During their ceremonious repasts, in their excursions, and even at a great distance from their graves, they send to the dead puffs of tobacco smoke and burn little pieces of meat as a sacrifice to their memory.

§ 286. Before consulting the tutelary spirits [see § 34] or addressing the dead, they begin by kindling the sacred fire. This fire must be struck from a flint, or it must reach them mysteriously by lightning, or in some other way. To light the sacred fire with a common fire would be considered among them as a grave and dangerous transgression.[3]

METAMORPHOSES AND THE TRANSMIGRATION OF SOULS.

§ 287. They believe in transformations, such as are described in Ovid, and they think that many of the stars are men and women translated to the heavens. They believe in the transmigration of souls. Some of the medicine men profess to tell of what occurred to them in bodies previously inhabited for at least six generations back. [See §§ 260, 267.]

EXHORTATIONS TO ABSENT WARRIORS.

§ 288. Among the Teton it has been customary for those remaining at home to make songs about the absent warriors, calling them by name, as if they could hear the speakers. This Dakota custom agrees with what has been recorded of the Omaha.[4]

Bushotter has told of another Teton custom. The kindred of a slain warrior make songs in his honor, and sing them as they mourn for his death.

MYSTERIOUS MEN AND WOMEN.

§ 289. Lynd says:

Certain men profess to have an unusual amount of the wakan or divine principle in them. By it they assume the working of miracles, laying on of hands, curing of the

[1] Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 204.
[2] Am. Antiq., vol. v, 1883, p. 149.
[3] Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 243.
[4] Om. Sociology, Third Ann. Rept. Bur. Eth., p. 325.

sick, and many wonderful operations. Some of these persons pretend to a recollection of former states of existence, even naming the particular body in which they formerly lived. Others assert their power over nature, and their faculty of seeing into futurity, and of conversing with the deities. A third class will talk of the particular animals whose bodies they intend to enter when loosed from their present existence [§§ 260, 267, 287]. In endeavoring to sustain these pretensions they occasionally go through performances which are likely to deceive the ignorant throng.[1]

Pond wrote thus of the Dakota wakan men:[2]

They do not spring into existence under ordinary operations of natural laws, but, according to their faith, these men and women (for females, too, are wakan) first arouse to conscious existence in the form of winged seeds, such as the thistle, and are wafted by the * * * influence of the four winds till they are conducted to the abode of some Taku Wakan, by whom they are received into intimate communion. They remain there till they become acquainted with the character and abilities of the class of gods whose guests they happen to be, and until they have imbibed their spirits, and are acquainted with all the chants, feasts, dances, and rites which the gods deem necessary to impose on men. Thus do some of them pass through a series of inspirations with different classes of divinities, till they are fully wakanized and prepared for human incarnation. They are invested with the invisible wakan powers of the gods, their knowledge and cunning, and their omnipresent influence over mind, instinct, and passions. They are taught to inflict diseases and heal them, discover concealed causes, manufacture implements of war, and impart to them the ton-wan power of the gods; and also the art of making such an application of paints that they will protect from the powers of the enemies. This process of inspiration is called "dreaming of the gods." Thus prepared and retaining his primitive form, the demi-god rides forth on the wings of the wind over * * * the earth, till he has carefully observed the characters and usages of the different tribes of men; then, selecting his location, he enters one about to become a mother, and, in due time, makes his appearance among men. * * * When one of these wakan men dies he returns to the abode of his god, from whom he receives a new inspiration, after which he passes through another incarnation as before, and serves another generation. In this manner they pass through four incarnations, * * * and then return to their original nothingness.

§ 290. There are different persons who regard themselves as wakan, says Bushotter. Among these are those who practice medicine, those who act as Heyoka, those who boil for the grizzly bear feasts, those who take part in the mystery dance, those who foretell the future, those who detect wrong-doers and find what has been lost or stolen, and those who do various things in a cunning manner. It happens thus to them: A man hears a human voice during the day and he does what the voice directs to be done, or on a certain night a tree converses with him, and the two talk about their own affairs, and what the tree tells him to do, that he does, so he says, or, it orders him to keep some law or custom as long as he lives. Among these superstitious notions are the following: Some men direct the pipe to be handed around the lodge from the left side to the right, and others vice versa. Some men dare not gash a firebrand with a knife; and should a visitor do so heedlessly, they say that he "cuts his finger." Others will not kill a swallow, lest thunder and hail ensue. Some do not allow a knife to be passed above a kettle.

[1] Minn. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. II, pt. 2, p. 70.

[2] Pond, in Schoolcraft, Ind. Tribes, vol. VI, pp. 652. 1857.

§ 291. The wakan men claim that they are invulnerable. To prove this they assemble at stated intervals, having painted themselves in various styles. Each one has a flute suspended over the chest by a necklace. They wear long breechcloths, and march in single file. Two men armed with bows and arrows rush suddenly towards the waken men and shoot at them; but instead of wounding them they merely bend the arrows! Sometimes the men fire guns at them, but the bullets fall to the ground, and when they are examined they are flattened! No visible mark of a wound can be found on the bodies of these wakan men, though when they were hit by the bullet or arrow blood pours from their mouths. After they wash off the paint from their bodies their flesh becomes tender and is vulnerable. This is the excuse urged when an ordinary person succeeds in wounding a wakan man. It is supposed that the wakan men rub themselves with some kind of medicine known only to themselves, making them invulnerable, and that perhaps the bullets or arrows are rubbed with the medicine prior to the shooting. It is also supposed that the playing of the flute aids in rendering them invulnerable. (See § 306, etc.)

§ 292. Bushotter names two kinds of Dakota doctors—the Mato wapiya, or Grizzly Bear doctor, who is very wakan, and the Peźuta wapiya, or Peźuta wićaśa, the doctor who prescribes roots. The person who practices medicine claims to have had interviews with the spirits, but he never reveals what the spirits have told him, though he says that immediately after the revelation made him by the spirit he begins to act according to its directions. And in some cases of sickness this doctor takes the flesh of the patient into his mouth and makes a sucking sound while inhaling, and from the patient's side he pretends to remove something. When he has made the sucking sound after taking the flesh into his mouth, or when he has taken blood or something else from the side of the patient, he spits it from his mouth. Then he sees the patient's mother, whom he tells what is the cause of the disease, and whether the patient will recover or die. Such doctors pretend to have within themselves one of the following: A small red hawk, a common woodpecker, a real buffalo, a rattlesnake, or a grizzly bear. And when one of these doctors kicks on the ground there is heard something within him, singing in a beautiful voice; and so the people believe what the doctors say about diseases.

§ 293. When the doctor has sucked the patient's flesh a long time without removing anything, he asks a favor of the mysterious being dwelling within himself, and then that being cries out often, and the doctor succeeds in his efforts. It is by the aid of these mysterious beings that the doctors are enabled to practice medicine. In the olden time one of the doctors was very mysterious. Once, when he was practicing, a bowl of water was set down before him. He vomited into the bowl and a water-snake appeared in it. But when the doctor opened his mouth again the snake glided gently into it and disappeared down

his throat. Such exhibitions by the doctors have been observed by the Indians, who are constrained to believe what the doctors claim for themselves. And because they believe that the doctors are very mysterious, the latter are able to gather together many possessions as pay for their services. Therefore the men and women doctors try to excel one another in their skill, as it pays them so well.

§ 294. A "pezúta wicaśa" told Bushotter to say to his step-father that his son, Bushotter's younger brother, had been made crazy by a ghost. The doctor came and fumigated the patient, and after he felt a little better he sucked at the boy's chest and drew out some blood. He resumed the operation, and then declared that there was in the boy's side a flat object resembling a serpent, the removal of which would insure the boy's recovery. The doctor was promised a horse if he would attend the patient until he cured him. Acting by his directions, Bushotter's elder brother caught a large catfish, of the species called "howasapa," and handed it to his step-father, who offered a prayer and marked the fish with a knife on the top of the head. After this the fish was cooked, and the sick boy ate it and recovered his health. It was after this that the same boy was cured by invoking the Dawn and offering sacrifice, as related in § 215.

GOPHER LORE.

§ 295. Scrofulous sores on the neck under the jaw are said to be caused by gophers. These animals can shoot at persons in a magical way with the tip of a species of grass, wounding them very mysteriously, the injured person being unconscious of the harm done till some time has elapsed. The place swells, splits open, and becomes very bad, affecting even the face of the sufferer. Few doctors can cure it. He who can relieve the patient pretends to extract pieces of grass from the neck, and then the person begins to recover. The people are so afraid of gophers that they go around the camp with their hands over their jaws. No one dares to go near a gopher hill except he or she be a mysterious person. Such a one can go near it and even touch it with impunity, as he has different remedies at his command.

CAUSES OF BOILS AND SORES.

§ 296. Whoever gets into the habit of eating the large intestine of cattle, known as the taśiyaka, is sure to "be hit by a śiyaka," *i. e.*, he will have a boil.[1] Śiyaka is the name of the grebe or dabchick, but what connection there is between the bird and the boil has not been learned. The boil will be on some covered part of the body, not on the hands or face. The Teton fear to go outside of their lodges at night lest the cause of boils be blown to them. If a man eats the liver of a female dog, or if a woman eats that of a male dog, the face of the offender will break out in sores.

[1] See Contr. to N. A. Ethn. vol. IX, pp. 146, 149.

RESULTS OF LYING, STEALING, ETC.

§ 297. Warts betray a bad person, one given to stealing. If the skin of the hard palate peels off, it is said that the person is untruthful. When the Teton doubt a man's word, they ask him to open his mouth and let them see his hard palate. He who makes a practice of eating the calves of the legs of any species of animal will have a cramp in the muscles of his own legs. When one wishes to extract the marrow from a bone, he takes care not to split the bone in two, lest his own legs should be in frequent pain, or he should become lame.

SECRET SOCIETIES.

§ 298. The Dakota use "ihaŋbla" or "ihaŋmda" as the Omaha and Ponka do "i¢a'e¢ĕ," to describe the mysterious communications received from the animals and spirits (§§ 8, 43–52).

Among the Siouan family of Indians there are societies, religious in character, which are distinguished by the name of some animal. Each society has a ritual composed of chants and songs to be sung during different parts of the ceremonies, having words describing in simple and direct terms the act which accompanies the music. These musical rituals, it is often claimed, have been received in a mysterious or supernatural manner, and are therefore regarded as possessing a religious power * * * Some societies admit women to membership, through their own visions, or occasionally by those of their husbands', but more generally by means of the visions of male relatives. * * * Membership in these societies is not confined to any particular gens, or grouping of gentes, but depends upon supernatural indications over which the individual has no control. The animal which appears to a man in a vision during his religious fasting determines to which society he must belong.[1]

§ 299. Those having visions or revelations from ghosts are called Wanaġi ihaŋblapi kiŋ. It is such persons who can draw pictures of ghosts with impunity. It is also said that the only persons who have their faces drawn awry by the ghosts are the members of this order. (See § 275.)

§ 300. Bushotter's step-father belongs to the Taŋaŋg ihaŋblapi kiŋ, or the Society of those who have Revelations from the Buffalo, answering to the Omaha ⌊e i¢a'e¢ĕ-ma (§§ 43, 50). In one of his visions he saw a buffalo with cocklebur down in his hair, so the man subsequently put such down in his own hair in imitation of the buffalo. One night he saw (probably in a vision) a bison going toward the south with a hoop on his head. So the man painted a small hoop red all over and wore it on his head, giving his nephew the name Ćaŋgleška waŋyaŋg mani, He Walks In-sight-of a Hoop.

§ 301. Some Dakota belong to the Hećiŋškayapi ihaŋblapi kiŋ, or the Society of those who have Revelations from Goats. Goats are very mysterious, as they walk on cliffs and other high places; and those who dream of goats or have revelations from them imitate their actions. Such men can find their way up and down cliffs, the rocks get soft un-

[1] Miss Fletcher: Elk Mystery of the Ogallala Sioux; in Ann. Rept. Peabody Museum, 1884, pp. 276, 277.

der their feet, enabling them to maintain a foothold, but they close up behind them, leaving no trail. Members of the Wakaŋ waćipi, or the Order of the Mystery Dance, commonly called the medicine dance, are also reckoned among the mysterious or "wakaŋ" people (see §113). One of Bushotter's texts relates to this order. Another of his articles tells of the Miwatani okolakićiye kiŋ or The Mandan Society, which used to be called Ćaŋte ṭiŋza okolakićiye, or Society of the Stout Hearted Ones. It is now known as Kaŋǧi yuha, Keeps the Raven. For a notice of this order, see §§ 194, 195.

§ 302. The report of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology for 1884 contains an article on the Elk Mystery or Festival of the Oglala, a division of the Teton Dakota (pp. 276–288). Those who have visions of the elk are the Heliaka ihaŋblapi kiŋ. Bushotter has recorded articles on different societies as follows: Big Belly Society, Ilioka and Tokala (animal) Societies, Dog Society, Kaṭela or Taniǧa iću Society, Grizzly Bear Dance, and Night Dance; but we have no means of learning whether any or all of them are composed of persons who had visions of animals.

FETICHISM.

PUBLIC OR TRIBAL FETICHES.

§ 303. Among these may be included the Bear Butte, referred to in §137; and any white buffalo hide, such as has been described in "The White Buffalo Festival of the Uncpapas."[1]

Smet gives a description of a gathering of all the Assiniboin, and a religious festival lasting several days:

> Offerings are placed on perches that are fastened to the tops of posts supporting certain buffalo skin lodges. A tall pole is erected in the middle of the circle (it is between 30 and 40 feet high), and to it they fasten the medicine bags, containing the idols, their arrows, quivers, trophies won from their enemies, especially scalps. Men, women, and children join in raising and planting the pole, amid the acclamations of the tribe.[2]

PRIVATE OR PERSONAL FETICHES.

§ 304. Smet also tells us that "A Sioux chief has his war wakaŋ, the colored picture of the Russian general, Diebitsch."[3] In speaking of the Assinniboin, the same author states:

> Each savage who considers himself a chief or warrior possesses what he calls his wah-kon, in which he appears to place all his confidence. This consists of a stuffed bird, a weasel's skin, or some little bone or the tooth of an animal; sometimes it is a little stone or a fantastical figure, represented by little beads or by a coarsely painted picture. These charms or talismans accompany them on all their expeditions for war or hunting—they never lay them aside. In every difficulty or peril they invoke the protection and assistance of their wah-kon, as though these idols could really preserve

[1] Miss Fletcher in Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. II, pp. 260–275.
[2] Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 136.
[3] Ibid., p. 46.

them from all misfortunes. If any accident befalls an idol or charm, if it is broken or lost, it is enough to arrest the most intrepid chief or warrior in his expedition, and make him abandon the most important enterprise in which he may be engaged.[1]

We may also reckon among the personal fetiches the wohduze of each warrior (see the Armor god, §§ 122–5), and perhaps the use of the initipi or sweat lodge, and the wild sage or Artemisia, by each of which personal purification is supposed to be effected.

ORDEALS OR MODES OF SWEARING.

§ 305. While there are no oaths or curses as we have them, the Teton can invoke higher powers. Thus one may say: "The Thunderers hear me" (Waxiŋ'yaŋ namáliuŋwe ló, The Flying one really hears me!), and if he is lying the Thunderers or one of their number will be sure to kill him. Sometimes the man will put a knife in his mouth, and then if he lies he will be stuck by a knife thereafter, and death must follow. Or, he will say, "The horse heard me" (Śuŋ'kawakaŋ' namáliuŋ we ló), knowing that the penalty for falsehood will be certain death from a horse that will throw him and break his neck. When one says, "The Earth hears me" (Maká kiŋ lé namáliuŋ we ló), and he lies, he is sure to die miserably in a short time, and his family will also be afflicted.

Smet says:[2]

The objects by which an Assinniboine swears are his gun, the skin of a rattlesnake, a bear's claw, and the wah-kon that the Indian interrogates. These various articles are placed before him, and he says, "In case my declaration prove false, may my gun fire and kill me, may the serpent bite me, may the bears tear and devour my flesh, and may my wah-kon overwhelm me with misery." In extraordinary and very important affairs, which demand formal promises, they call upon the Thunder to witness their resolution of accomplishing the articles proposed and accepted.

SORCERY AND JUGGLERY.

§ 306. As among the Omaha and other Siouan tribes, so among the Dakota do we find traces of the practice of sorcery, and there is a special word in the Dakota dictionary: "limuŋġa, to cause sickness or death, as the Dakotas pretend to be able to do, in a supernatural way—to bewitch—kill by enchantment." The syllable "limuŋ" seems to convey the idea of humming, buzzing, or muttering.

Jugglery or sleight-of-hand performances are resorted to by the mysterious men and women. (See §§ 64-66, 291-4.) Some of these practitioners claim to possess the art of making love-charms, such potions being sold to women who desire to attract particular men of their acquaintance. When a woman obtains such a medicine, she uses it in one of two ways. Sometimes she touches the man on his blanket with the medicine, at others she persuades the man to give her a piece of chewing gum, which she touches with the medicine. Then she seizes him, and he can not escape from her, even should he wish to leave her. So he is obliged to marry her.

[1] Western Missions and Missionaries, p. 141. [2] Ibid., p. 143.

OMENS.

BODILY OMENS.

§ 307. Ringing in one ear signifies one of two things. Some one will come without his family, and he must be entertained, or you will hear news. The direction whence the person or news will come is shown by the ear that is affected.

If the eye twitches involuntarily some one will weep. If any other part of the body twitches involuntarily some one will hit the person there or he will be stabbed or shot there. If the palm of the hand twitches often he will soon strike some one, or else he will become angry. When a woman has a son sick somewhere, or if he has been killed on the way home, her breasts are often very painful.

If one sneezes once his special friend or fellow, his son or his wife has named him; so the sneezer calls out, "My son." If he sneezes twice he exclaims, "My son and his mother!"

ANIMAL OMENS.

§ 308. When whip-poor wills sing together at night, saying, "Hohiŋ, hohiŋ," one says in reply, "No." Should the birds stop at once it is a sign that the answering person must die soon. But if the birds continue singing the man will live a long time.[1]

The uŋgnaǧíćala (gray screech owl) fortells cold weather. When the night is to be very cold this owl cries out, so the Teton say, just as if a person's teeth chattered. When its cry is heard, all the people wrap themselves in their thickest robes and put plenty of wood on the fires.

The Ski-bi-bi-la is a small gray bird, with a black head, and spotted here and there on the breast. It dwells in the forest, and is said to answer the person who calls to it. When this bird says, "Glí huŋ wó," i. e., "Has it returned?" the people rejoice, knowing that the spring is near. When a boy hears this bird ask the question, he runs to his mother and learns from her that he must reply, "No; it has not yet returned." The reason for giving this reply has not been obtained.

When the people first hear the cry of the night hawk in the spring, they begin to talk of going to hunt the buffalo, because when the night hawks return the buffalo have become fat again, and the birds bring the news, for they never cry in vain.

OMENS FROM DREAMS.

§ 309. There are some animals which are esteemed as bringing better fortunes than others. Hawks are lucky. Bears are not so good, as the bear is slow and clumsy, and apt to be wounded; and although savage when cornered, is not as likely as some animals to escape harm. Among some tribes in this family of Indians to dream of the moon is regarded as a grave calamity.[2] See § 30.

[1] This is also an Omaha belief.

[2] Miss Fletcher, "Elk Mystery of the Ogalalla Sioux," in Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 281 note.

CHAPTER VI.

CULTS OF THE MANDAN, HIDATSA, AND SAPONA.

AUTHORITIES.

§ 310. This chapter contains no original material, but is a compilation made from the following works for the convenience of the reader:

Byrd (Wm.), History of the Dividing line (1729), vol. I. Reprint: Richmond, Va., 1866.

U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877: Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians. By Washington Matthews.

James's Account of Long's Exped., to Rocky Mountains, Phil., 1823, vol. I.

Lewis and Clarke's Exped., ed. Allen, Dublin, 1817, vol. I.

The George Catlin Indian Gallery * * * Thomas Donaldson: Smithson. Rept., 1885, pt. 2, appendix.

Travels in * * * North America, by Maximilian, Prince of Wied. Trans. by H. Evans Lloyd, London, 1843.

ALLEGED BELIEF IN A GREAT SPIRIT.

§ 311. As among the Dakota, so among the Mandan and Hidatsa, we find that some of the earlier writers assert that the religion of the Indians under consideration "consists in the belief in one Great Spirit."[1]

But such assertions are closely followed by admissions which explain the mistake of the writer: "Great Spirit" is synonymous with "Great Medicine," a name applied to everything which they do not comprehend. Among the Mandan, "each individual selects for himself the particular object of his devotion, which is termed his medicine, and is either some visible being, or more commonly some animal."

THE GREAT MYSTERY A MODERN DEITY.

Matthews states of the Hidatsa:

Many claim that the Great Spirit, or, more properly, the Great Mystery, is a deity of the modern Indian only. I have certainly heard some old and very conservative Minnetarees speak of Mahopa as if they meant thereby an influence or power above all other things, but not attaching to it any ideas of personality. It would now be perhaps impossible to make a just analysis of their original conceptions in this matter.[2]

[1] Lewis and Clarke's Exped., ed., Allen, vol. I, p. 174.

[2] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877: Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, p. 48.

POLYTHEISM.

Instead of believing in one Great Spirit, the Mandan and Hidatsa "believe in a multitude of different beings in the heavenly bodies; offer sacrifices to them; invoke their assistance on every occasion; howl, lament, fast, inflict on themselves acts of penance to propitiate these spirits; and, above all, lay very great stress upon dreams.[1]

§ 312. The most sacred objects in the eyes of the Crow or Absaroka, a nation closely related to the Hidatsa, are "the sun, the moon, and tobacco, that is, the leaves of the genuine tobacco (*Nicotiana*); and all their children wear a small portion of this herb, well wrapped up, round their neck, by way of an amulet.[2]

WORSHIP.

§ 313. Full information respecting worship has not been obtained; but we know that among its accessories are the following: prayer, fasting, and sacrifice. The different writers tell us of petitions offered to the gods for help.

FASTING.

§ 314. When a young Mandan wishes to establish his reputation as a brave man, he fasts for four or seven days, as long as he is able, goes to the bluffs, cries to the Omahank-Numakshi, calls incessantly on the higher powers for aid, and goes home at night to sleep and dream. They fast before taking part in the Okipa, before organizing a war party, etc.[3]

SACRIFICE.

§ 315. Said a Mandan to Lewis and Clarke, "I was lately owner of seventeen horses, but I have offered them all up to my medicine, and am now poor." He had taken all his horses to the plain, where he turned them loose, committing them to the care of his "medicine," thus abandoning them forever.[4]

"Around the burial scaffolds of the Mandans were several high poles, with skins and other things hanging on them, as offerings to the lord of life, Omahank-Numakshi, or to the first man, Numank-Machana."[5]

§ 316. *The Okipa.*—That form of self-sacrifice called Okipa by the Mandan has been described in detail by Catlin and Maximilian. It differs in some respects from the sun dance of the Dakota and Ponka, as well as from the Dalipike or Nalipike of the Hidatsa.[6]

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[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, p. 359.
[2] Ibid, p. 176.
[3] Ibid, pp. 369, 374, 386, 388, 400.
[4] Ibid, p. 174.
[5] Ibid, p. 173.
[6] Ibid, pp. 373, 377. O-kee-pa: A Religious Ceremony * * * by George Catlin, Phil., 1867, 25 pp. Smithson. Rept., 1885, pt. 2, pp. 353–368.

§ 317. *The Daḣpike.*—According to Matthews, the most important ceremony of the Hidatsa is that of—

The Daḣpike or Naḣpike, which formerly took place regularly once a year, but is now celebrated every second or third year only. On the day when it is determined to begin this ceremony, some of the men, dressed and mounted as for a war-party, proceed to the woods. Here they select a tall, forked cottonwood, which they fell, trim, and bark; to this they tie lariats, and, by the aid of horses, drag it to the village. In the procession, the man who has most distinguished himself in battle, mounted on the horse on whose back he has done his bravest deeds, takes the lead; others follow in the order of the military distinction; as they drag the log along, they fire guns at it, strike it with sticks, and shout and sing songs of victory. The log, they say, is symbolical of a conquered enemy, whose body they are bringing into the camp in triumph. [See §§ 28, 42, 160.] When the log is set up, they again go to the woods to procure a quantity of willows. A temporary lodge of green willows is then built around the log, as the medicine lodge, wherein the ceremony is performed [see §168.] The participants fast four days with food in sight, and, on the fourth day, submit to tortures which vary according to the whim of the sufferer or the advice of the shamans. Some have long strips of skin separated from different parts of their bodies, but not completely detached. Others have large pieces of the integument entirely removed, leaving the muscles exposed. Others have incisions made in their flesh, in which raw-hide strings are inserted; they then attach buffalo-skulls to the strings and run round with these until the strings becomes disengaged by tearing their way out of the flesh. Other have skewers inserted in their breasts, which skewers are secured by raw-hide cords to the central pole, as in the Dakota sun dance; the sufferer then throws himself back until he is released by the skewers tearing out of the flesh. Many other ingenious tortures are devised.[1]

§ 318. In the narrative of Long's expedition to the Rocky Mountains, we find an account of the latter part of this ceremony, prepared, as Matthews thinks, from the statements of Mr. Dougherty or Mr. Lisa, as the expedition did not go near the Minnetaree country. All the torments there described, and more, are inflicted to this day. That account is as follows:[2]

Annually in the month of July the Minnetarees celebrate their great medicine dance. * * * On this occasion a considerable quantity of food is prepared. * * * The devotees then dance and sing to their music at intervals for three or four days together in full view of the victuals without attempting to taste them. But they do not, even at this time, forego their accustomed hospitality. And if a stranger enters, he is invited to eat, though no one partakes with him. On the third or fourth day, the severer * * * tortures commence. * * * An individual presents himself before one of the * * * magi, crying and lamenting, and requests him to cut a fillet of skin from his arm, which he extends for that purpose. The operator thrusts a sharp instrument through the skin near the wrists, then introduces the knife and cuts out a piece of the required length, sometimes extending the cut entirely to the shoulder. Another will request bands of skin to be cut from his arm. A third will have his breast flayed so as to represent a full-moon or crescent. A fourth submits to the removal of concentric arcs of skin from his breast. A fifth prays the operator to remove small pieces of skin from various indicated parts of his body. * * * An individual requests the operator to pierce a hole through the skin on each of his shoulders, and after passing a long cord through each hole, he repairs to a burial ground at some distance from the village, and selects one

[1] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877: Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, pp. 45, 46.

[2] James's account of Long's Expedition to Rocky Mountains, vol. I, pp. 276–278.

of the bison skulls collected there. To the chosen skull he affixes the ends of his cords, and drags it to the lodge, around which he must go with his burden before he can be released from it. No one is permitted to assist him, neither dare he to put his hands to the cords to alleviate his sufferings. If it should so happen that the horns of the skull get hooked under a root or other obstacle, he must extricate it in the best manner he can by pulling different ways, but he must not touch the cords or the skull with his hands, or in any respect attempt to relieve the strain upon his wound until his complete task is performed.

Some of the penitents have arrows thrust through various muscular parts of their bodies, as through the skin and superficial muscles of the arms, leg, breast, and back.

A devotee caused two arrows to be passed through the muscles of his breast, one on each side near the mammae. To these arrows cords were attached, the opposite ends of which were affixed to the upper part of a post which had been planted in the earth for the purpose. He then threw himself backward into an oblique position, his back within about 2 feet of the ground, so as to depend with the greater part of his weight by the cords. In this situation of agony he chanted and kept time to the music of the gong (sic), until he fainted from long abstinence and suffering. The bystanders then cried out, "Courage! courage!" After a short interval of insensibility, he revived and proceeded with his self-tortures as before, until nature being completely exhausted he again relapsed into insensibility, upon which he was loosed from the cords and carried off amidst the acclamations of the whole assembly.

Another Minnetaree in compliance with a vow he had made, caused a hole to be perforated through the muscles of each shoulder. Through these holes cords were passed, the opposite ends of which were attached as a bridle to a horse which had been penned up three or four days without food or water. In this manner he led the horse to the margin of the river. The horse, of course, endeavored to drink, but it was the province of the Indian to prevent him, and that only by straining at the cords with the muscles of the shoulder, without resorting to the assistance of his hands. And, notwithstanding all the exertions of the horse to drink, his master succeeded in preventing him, and returned with him to his lodge, having accomplished his painful task.

§ 319. In describing the Hidatsa, Prince Maximilian says:[1]

They likewise celebrate the Okippe (which they call Akupehri), but with several deviations. Thus, instead of a so-called ark, a kind of high pole with a fork on it, is planted in the center of the open circle. When the partisans (i. e. war captains) intend to go on some enterprise in May or June, the preparations are combined with the Okippe (i. e., Okipa) of several young men, who wish to obtain the rank of brave. A large medicine lodge is erected open above, with a division in the middle, in which the candidates take their places. Two pits are usually dug in the middle for the partisans, who lie in them four days and four nights, with only a piece of leather around the waist. The first partisan usually chooses the second, who undergoes the ceremony with him. There are always young people enough to submit their bodies to torture, in order to display their courage. They fast four days and nights, which leaves them faint. Many of them begin the tortures on the third day; but the fourth day is that properly set apart for them. To the forked pole of the medicine lodge is fastened a long piece of buffalo hide, with the head hanging down, and to this a strap is fastened. An old man is then chosen, who is to see to the torturing of the candidates, which is executed precisely in the same manner as among the Mandans. The sufferers often faint. They are then taken by the hands, lifted up, and encouraged, and they begin afresh. When they have dragged about the buffalo skull long enough, * * * a large circle is formed, as among the Mandans, in which they are made to run round till they drop down exhausted, when they are taken to the medicine lodge.

[1] Travels * * * in North America, pp. 400, 401.

The medicine man receives from one of the spectators the knife with which the operation is to be performed. The partisan is bound to build the medicine lodge.

During the ceremony the spectators eat and smoke; the candidates take nothing, and, like the partisans, are covered all over with white clay. The latter, when they dance during the ceremony, remain near their pits, and then move on the same spot, holding in their hands their medicines, a buffalo tail, a feather, or the like. None but the candidates dance, and the only music is striking a dried buffalo hide with willow rods. There have been instances of fathers subjecting their children, only 6 or 7 years of age, to these tortures. We ourselves saw one suspended by the muscles of the back, after having been compelled to fast four days. No application whatever is subsequently made for the cure of the wounds, which leave large swollen weals, and are much more conspicuous among the Hidatsa than among the Mandan. Most of the Hidatsa have three or four of these weals in parallel semicircular lines almost an inch thick, which cover the entire breast. There are similar transverse and longitudinal lines on the arms.

Referring to Maximilian's description just given, Matthews observes:

At this time, the Hidatsa call the Mandan ceremony akupi (of which word probably akupehi is an old form); but they apply no such term to their own festival. Maximilian did not spend a summer among those Indians, and, therefore, knew of both ceremonies only from description.[1] If the Minnetaree festival to which he referred was, as is most likely, the Naĥpike, he is, to some extent, in error. The rites resemble one another only in their appalling fasts and tortures. In allegory, they seem to be radically different.

CULT OF THE YONI.

§ 320. An account of the great buffalo medicine feast of the Hidatsa ("instituted by the women") has been recorded by Maximilian. Prayers are made for success in hunting and in battle. When the feast had continued two hours, the women began to act the part, which bore a slight resemblance to what Herodotus tells of the women in the temple of Mylitta.[2]

When the dance of the half-shorn head was sold by its Mandan possessors, they received in part payment the temporary use of the wives of the purchasers, each woman having the right to choose her consort.[3]

Lewis and Clarke have given accounts of two of the Mandan dances, the buffalo dance and the medicine dance, at the conclusion of which were rites that astonished the travelers, but they were told that in the medicine dance only virgins or young unmarried females took part.[4]

ABSAROKA FEAR OF A WHITE BUFFALO COW.

§ 321. The Absaroka or Crow Nation have a superstitious fear of a white buffalo cow. When a Crow meets one, he addresses the sun in the following words: "I will give her (i. e., the cow) to you." He then endeavors to kill the animal, but leaves it untouched, and then says to the sun, "Take her, she is yours." They never use the skin of such a cow, as the Mandan do.[5]

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[1] Yet Maximilian says, "We ourselves saw one suspended, etc."
[2] Travels * * * in North America, pp. 419–422.
[3] Ibid, pp. 426–428.
[4] Ibid, vol. I, pp. 189, 190.
[5] Ibid, p. 175.

MANDAN CULTS.

MANDAN DIVINITIES.

§ 322. According to one of Maximilian's informants, the Mandan believe in several superior beings. (1) The first is Ohmahank-Numakshi, the Lord of Life. He is the most powerful. He created the earth, man, and every existing object. They believe that he has a tail, and appears sometimes in the form of an aged man and, at others, in that of a young man. (2) Numank-Machana, the First Man, holds the second rank; he was created by the Lord of Life, but is likewise of a divine nature. He resembles Nanabush or Manabozho of the Ojibwa and cognate tribes. (3) Ohmahank-Chika, the Lord of Evil, is a malignant spirit, who has much influence over men; but he is not as powerful as Ohmahank-Numakshi and Numank-Machana. (4) Rohanka-Tauihanka, who dwells in the planet Venus, protects mankind on earth. The name of the fifth power has not been gained, but he is ever moving, walking over the earth in human form. They call him, "The Lying Prairie Wolf." (6) Ochkih-Hadda[1] is a spirit that it is difficult to class. They believe that one who dreams of him is sure to die very soon thereafter. This spirit is said to have come once into their villages and taught them many things, but since then he has not appeared. They fear him, offer him sacrifice, and in their villages they have a hideous image representing him.

§ 323. The sun is thought to be the residence of the Lord of Life. In the moon dwells, as they say, the Old Woman who Never Dies. They do not know much about her, but they sacrifice to her as well as to the other spirits. She has six children, three sons and three daughters, who inhabit certain stars. The eldest son is the Day, the second is the Sun, the third is the Night. The eldest daughter is the star that rises in the east, the Morning Star, called, "The Woman Who Wears a Plume." The second daughter, called "The Striped Gourd," is a star which revolves the polar star. The third daughter is the Evening Star, which is near the setting sun.[2]

§ 324. *The Old Woman who Never Dies.*—The cult of this spirit is observed in what Say calls "the corn dance of the Manitaries." Maximilian declares that Say is quite correct in his account of it, and that the Mandan practice it as well as the Hidatsa.

It is the consecration of the grain to be sown, and is called the corn dance feast of the woman. The Old Woman who Never Dies sends, in the spring, the waterfowl, swans, geese, and ducks, as symbols of the kinds of grain cultivated by the Indians. The wild goose signifies corn; the geese, the gourd, and the duck, beans. It is the old woman who causes these plants to grow, and, therefore, she sends these birds as her representatives. It is seldom that eleven wild geese are found together in the spring; but, if it happens, this is a sign that the crop of corn will be remarkably fine. The Indians keep a large quantity of dried meat in readiness for the time in the spring when the birds arrive, that they may immediately celebrate the

[1] O-kee-hee-dee of Catlin. [2] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, pp. 359, 360.

corn feast of the women. They hang the meat before the village on long scaffolds made of poles, three or four rows, one above another, and this, with other articles of value, is considered as an offering to the Old Woman who Never Dies. The elderly women of the village, as representatives of that old woman, assemble about the scaffolds on a certain day, each carrying a stick, to one end of which an ear of corn is fastened. Sitting in a circle, they plant their sticks in the ground before them, and then dance around the scaffolds. Some old men beat the drum and shake the gourd rattles. The corn is not wetted or sprinkled, as many believe, but on the contrary, it is supposed that such a practice would be injurious. While the old women are performing their part, the younger ones come and put some dry pulverized meat into their mouths, for which each young woman receives in return a grain of the consecrated corn, which she eats. Three or four grains of the consecrated corn are put into their dish, and are afterwards carefully mixed with the seed corn, in order to make it yield an abundant crop. The dried meat on the scaffolds is the perquisite of the aged females, as the representatives of the Old Woman who Never Dies. But members of the Dog Society have the privilege of taking some of this meat from the scaffolds without opposition from anybody.

A similar corn feast is held in the autumn, but at that season it is held for the purpose of attracting the herds of buffaloes and of obtaining a large supply of meat. Each woman then carries an entire cornstalk with the ears attached, pulling up the stalk by the roots. They designate the corn as well as the birds by the name of the Old Woman Who Never Dies, and call on them saying, "Mother, pity us; do not send the severe cold too soon, lest we do not gain enough meat. Prevent the game from departing, so that we may have something for the winter!"

In autumn, when the birds migrate to the south, or, as the Indians say, return to the Old Woman, they believe that they take with them the dried meat hung on the scaffolds, and they imagine that the Old Woman partakes of it.

The Old Woman who Never Dies has very large patches of corn, kept for her by the great stag and the white-tailed stag. She has, too, many blackbirds which help to guard her property. When she intends to feed these keepers, she summons them, and they fall on the corn, which they devour with greediness. As these corn patches are large, the Old Woman requires many laborers, hence she has the mice, moles, and stags to perform such work for her. The birds which fly from the seashore in the spring represent the Old Woman, who then travels to the north to visit the Old Man who Never Dies, who always resides there. She generally returns to the south in three or four days. In former times the Old Woman's hut was near the Little Missouri River, where the Indians often visited her. One day twelve Hidatsa went to her, and she set before them a kettle of corn, which was so small that it did not appear sufficient to satisfy the hunger of one of the party. But she told them to eat, and, as soon as the kettle was emptied it was filled again, and all the men had enough.[1]

GUARDIAN SPIRITS.

§ 325. The Mandan undertake nothing without first invoking their guardian spirits, which appear to them in dreams (see § 236). When a man wishes to choose his guardian spirit, he fasts for three or four days, and sometimes longer, retires to a solitary place, does penance, and sometimes sacrifices joints of his fingers. He howls and cries to the Lord of Life, or to the First Man, beseeching him to point out the guardian spirit. He continues in this excited condition until he dreams, and the first animal or other object which appears in the dream is the guardian spirit. Each man has such a spirit. There is on the

[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, pp. 378–380.

prairie a large hill, where they remain motionless many days, lamenting and fasting. Not far from this hill is a cave, into which they creep at night. The choice and adoration of guardian spirits is said to have been taught the people many years ago by the Ochkih-Hadda. It was he who taught them the art of tattooing, and who instituted medicine feasts.[1]

MANDAN BELIEF ABOUT SERPENTS AND GIANTS.

§ 326. The Mandan believe that there is a huge serpent which inhabits a lake three or four days' journey from their village, and to which they make offerings. The tradition relates how two Mandan youths encountered a giant, who carried them to a village of giants. The latter part, which tells how one of the youths was changed into a huge serpent after killing and eating a serpent, resembles a Winnebago tradition.[2]

THUNDER LORE OF THE MANDAN.

§ 327. The Mandan believe that thunder is produced by the wings of a gigantic bird. When the bird flies softly, as is usually the case, he is not heard; but when he flaps his wings violently, he occasions a roaring noise. This bird is said to have two toes on each foot, one behind and one before. It dwells on the mountains, and builds nests there as large as one of the forts. It preys upon deer and other large animals, the horns of which are heaped up around the nest. The glance of its eyes produces lightning. It breaks through the clouds and makes way for the rain. The isolated and peculiarly loud claps of thunder are produced by a large tortoise which dwells in the clouds.

ASTRONOMICAL LORE.

§ 328. The stars are deceased men. When a child is born a star descends and appears on earth in human form; after death it reascends and appears again as a star in the heavens.

The rainbow is a spirit which accompanies the sun. Many affirm that the northern lights are occasioned by a large assembly of medicine men and distinguished warriors of several northern nations, who boil their prisoners and slain enemies in huge cauldrons.[3]

MYSTERY OBJECTS AND PLACES OF THE MANDAN AND HIDATSA.

§ 329. The mystery rock of the Mandan and Hidatsa is thus described by Lewis and Clarke:[4]

> This medicine stone is the great oracle of the Mandans, and whatever it announces is believed with implicit confidence. Every spring and, on some occasions during the summer, a deputation visits the sacred spot, where there is a thick, porous stone 20 feet in circumference, with a smooth surface. Having reached the place, the ceremony of smoking to it is performed by the deputies, who alternately take a whiff

[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, p. 369.
[2] Ibid., pp. 380, 381.
[3] Ibid., p. 361.
[4] Lewis and Clarke, Exped., ed. Allen, Vol. I, p. 205.

themselves, and then present the pipe to the stone; after which they retire to an adjoining wood for the night, during which it may be safely presumed that all the embassy do not sleep. In the morning they read the destinies of the nation in the white marks on the stone, which those who made them are at no loss to decipher.

The same stone, as worshiped by the Hidatsa, is thus described by James:[1]

The Me-ma-ho-pa or medicine stone * * * is a large, naked, and insulated rock situated in the midst of a small prairie, about a two days' journey southwest of the village of that nation. In shape it resembles the steep roof of a house. The Minnetarees resort to it for the purpose of propitiating their Man-ho-pa or Great Spirit by presents, by fasting and lamentation, during the space of from three to five days. An individual who intends to perform this ceremony takes some presents with him, * * * and also provides a smooth skin upon which hieroglyphics may be drawn, and repairs to the rock accompanied by his friends and the magi. On his arrival he deposits the presents there, and, after smoking to the rock, he washes a portion of its face clean, and retires with his fellow devotees to a specified distance. During the principal part of his stay, he cries aloud to his god to have pity on him, to grant him success in war and hunting, to favor his endeavors to take prisoners, horses, and scalps from the enemy. When the time for his * * * prayer has elapsed he returns to the rock; his presents are no longer there, and he believes them to have been accepted and carried off by the Man-ho-pa himself. Upon the part of the rock which he had washed he finds certain hieroglyphics traced with white clay, of which he can generally interpret the meaning, particularly when assisted by some of the magi, who are no doubt privy to the whole transaction. These representations are supposed to relate to his future fortune, or to that of his family or nation; he copies them off * * * upon the skin which he brought with him for that purpose, and returns home to read from them to the people the destiny of himself or them. If a bear be represented with its head directed toward the village, the approach of a war-party or the visitation of some evil is apprehended. If, on the contrary, the tail of the bear be toward the village, nothing but good is anticipated, and they rejoice. They say that an Indian on his return from the rock exhibited * * * on his * * * chart the representation of a strange building, as erected near the village. They were all much surprised and did not perfectly comprehend its meaning; but four months afterward the prediction was, as it happened, verified, and a stockade trading house was erected there by the French trader Jessaume.

Matthews refers thus to this "oracle" of the Hidatsa and Mandan:[2]

The famous holy stone or medicine rock (Mihopas, or Mandan, Mihopinis) * * * was some two or three days' journey from their residence. The Hidatsa now seldom refer to it, and I do not think they ever visit it.

§ 330. According to Maximilian:[3]

The Mandans have many other medicine establishments in the vicinity of their villages, all of which are dedicated to the superior powers. * * * Of those near Mitutahankus, one consists of four poles placed in the form of a square; the two foremost have a heap of earth and green turf thrown up round them, and four buffalo skulls laid in a line between them, while twenty-six human skulls are placed in a row from one of the rear poles to the other, and on some of these skulls are painted single red stripes. Behind the whole two knives are stuck into the ground, and a bundle of twigs is fastened at the top of the poles with a kind of comb, or rake, painted red. The Indians repair to such places when they desire to make offerings or petitions;

[1] James's Account of Long's Exped. to Rocky Mountains, Vol. I, p. 273.

[2] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Pub., No. 7, 1877: Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, pp. 50, 51.

[3] Travels * * * in North America, pp. 381, 382.

they howl, lament, and make loud entreaties, often for many days together, to the Omahank-Numakshi. Another "medicine establishment" consisted of a couple of human figures, very clumsily made of skins, fixed on poles, and representing, as was told to Maximilian, the sun and moon, but in his opinion, probably the Omahank-Numakshi and the Old Woman that Never Dies.

§ 331. If a Mandan possesses a "medicine pipe" (i. e., what the Omaha and Ponka call a niniba weawa[n],) he sometimes decides to adopt a "medicine son." The young man whom he is to choose appears to him in a dream; but it is necessary that he should be of a good family, or have performed some exploit.[1]

DREAMS.

§ 332. Dreams afford the motives for many of their actions, even for the penances which they impose on themselves. They think that all which appears in their dreams must be true. Before they became acquainted with firearms, a Mandan dreamed of a weapon with which they could kill their enemies at a great distance, and soon after the white men brought them the first gun. In like manner they dreamed of horses before they obtained any. In many cases the guardian spirit is revealed to the fasting youth in a dream. If the Lord of Life makes him dream of a piece of cherry wood or of an animal, it is a good omen. The young men who follow such a dreamer to the battle have great confidence in his guardian spirit or "medicine."[2]

ORACLES.

§ 333. The Mandan and Hidatsa consider the large gray owl a mystery bird, with whom they pretend to converse and to understand its attitudes and voice. Such owls are often kept alive in lodges, being regarded as soothsayers. They have a similar opinion of eagles.[3]

FETICHES.

§ 334. The skin of a white buffalo cow is an eminent fetich in the estimation of the Mandan and Hidatsa. The hide must be that of a young cow not over 2 years old, and be taken off complete, and tanned, with horns, nose, hoofs, and tail. It is worn on rare occasions.

When the owner wishes to sacrifice such a skin to the Omahank-Numakshi or to the Numank-Machana, he rolls it up, after adding some artemisia or an ear of corn, and then the skin remains suspended on a pole until it decays.[4]

Besides the white buffalo skins hung on tall poles as sacrifices, there were other strange objects hung on tall poles near the villages of the Mandan and Hidatsa. These figures were composed of skin, grass, and twigs, which seemed to represent the sun, moon, and perhaps the Omahank-Numakshi and the Numank-Machana. The Indians resorted to them when they wished to petition for anything, and sometimes howled for days and weeks together.[5]

For a reference to trees and stones, see § 348.

[1] Travels * * * in North America, p. 370. [2] Ibid, pp. 382, 386. [3] Ibid, pp. 383, 403.
[4] Ibid, pp. 371, 372. [5] Ibid., p. 372.

"Charata-Numakshi (the Chief of Wolves)," a Mandan, had a painted buffalo dress, which was his fetich. He valued it highly as a souvenir of his brother, who had been shot by the enemy.[1]

FOLK-LORE.

§ 335. When a child is born the father must not bridle a horse, that is, he must not fasten a lariat to the horse's lower jaw, otherwise the infant would die in convulsions. Should the wife be enceinte when the husband bridled the horse ill luck would be sure to follow, frequently in the form of a failure to kill any game. If an Indian in such cases wounds a buffalo without being able to kill it quickly, he tries to take the buffalo's heart home and makes his wife shoot an arrow through it; then again he feels confidence in his weapons that they will kill speedily.

The Indians affirm that a pregnant woman is very lucky at a game resembling billiards. If a woman passes between several Mandan who are smoking together it is a bad omen. Should a woman recline on the ground between men who are smoking a piece of wood is laid across her to serve as a means of communication between the men.

The strongest man now living among the Mandan, who has been the victor in several wrestling matches with the white people, always takes hold of his pipe by the head, for were he to touch another part of it the blood would suddenly rush from his nostrils. As soon as he bleeds in this manner he empties his pipe, throwing the contents into the fire, where it explodes like gunpowder, and the bleeding stops immediately. They say that nobody can touch this man's face without bleeding at nose and mouth.

A certain Mandan affirms that whenever another offers him a pipe to smoke, out of civility, his mouth becomes full of worms, which he throws into the fire by handfuls.

Among the Hidatsa, when a certain man smoked very slowly no person in the lodge was allowed to speak nor to move a single limb, except to grasp the pipe. Neither women, children, nor dogs were allowed to remain in the hut while the man was smoking, and some one was always placed as a guard at the entrance. If, however, there were just seven persons present to smoke none of these precautions were observed. When the particular man cleared his pipe and shook the ashes into the fire it blazed up, perhaps because he had put into the pipe some gunpowder or similar combustible. When any person had a painful or diseased place this same man put his pipe upon it and smoked. On such occasions he did not swallow the smoke, as is the Indian custom, but he affirmed that he could extract the disease by his smoking, and he pretended to seize it in his hand and to throw into the fire.[2]

SORCERY.

§ 336. They believe that a person whom they dislike must die, if

[1] Travels * * * in North America, p. 178.
[2] Ibid., pp. 403, 404.

they make a figure of wood or clay, substituting for the heart an awl, a needle, or a porcupine quill, and bury the image at the foot of one of their "medicine poles."[1]

JUGGLERY.

§ 337. The "medicine of one man consists in making a snow ball, which he rolls a long time between his hands, so that at length it becomes hard and is changed into a white stone, which, when struck, emits a fire. Many persons, even whites, pretended they had seen this, and they can not be convinced to the contrary. The same man pretends that, during a dance, he plucked white feathers from a certain small bird, which he rolled between his hands, and formed of them in a short time a similar white stone. * * * A great many Mandan and Hidatsa believe that they have wild animals in their bodies; one, for instance, affirmed that he had a buffalo calf, the kicking of which he often felt; others said that they had tortoises, frogs, lizards, birds, etc. * * * Among the Hidatsa were seen medicine dances of the women, where one claimed to have an ear of corn in her body, which she ejected from her mouth during the dance, and then ate, after it had been mixed with Artemisia. * * * Another female dancer caused blood to gush from her mouth at will."[2]

GHOST LORE.

§ 338. The Mandan believe that each person has several spirits dwelling within him; one of which is black, another brown, and a third light-colored, the last alone returning to the Lord of Life. They think that after death they go to the south, to several villages which are visited by the gods; that their existence there is dependent on their course of life while in this world; that the brave and kind-hearted carry on the same occupation, eat similar food, have wives, and enjoy the pleasures of war and the chase. Some of the Mandan are said not to believe all these particulars, but to suppose that after death their spirits will dwell in the sun or in certain stars.

THE FUTURE LIFE.

§ 339. The Mandan belief in a future state is connected with the tradition of their origin: The whole nation resided in one large village under ground, near a subterraneous lake. Some of the people climbed up to this earth by means of a grape-vine, which broke when a corpulent woman essayed to climb it. Therefore the rest of the people remained in the subterranean village. When the Mandan die they expect to return to the original seats of their forefathers, the good reaching the ancient village by means of the lake, which the burden of the sins of the wicked will not enable them to cross.[3] The concluding clause of the

[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America. p. 382. [2] Ibid, pp. 382, 383, 423, 424.
[3] Lewis and Clarke, Expedition, ed. Allen, Vol. 1, p. 175.

last sentence can hardly be of Indian origin; it is very probably due to white influence.

FOUR AS A MYSTIC NUMBER AMONG THE MANDAN.

§ 340. According to Catlin:[1]

The Okipa invariably lasts four days; four men are selected by the first man to cleanse out and prepare the mystic lodge for the occasion; one of these men is called from the north part of the village, another from the east, a third from the south, and the fourth from the west (see §373). The four sacks of water, in the forms of large tortoises, resting on the floor of the lodge, seem to typify the four cardinal points. The four buffalo skulls and as many human skulls on the floor of the lodge, the four couples of dancers in the buffalo dance and the four intervening dancers in the same dance, deserve our study. The buffalo dance in front of the mystic lodge, repeated on the four days, is danced four times on the first day, eight times on the second, twelve times on the third, and sixteen times on the fourth. There are four sacrifices of black and blue cloths erected over the entrance of the mystic lodge. The visits of the Evil Spirit were paid to four of the buffalo in the buffalo dance. In every instance the young man who submitted to torture in the Okipa had four splints or skewers run through the flesh on his leg, four through his arms, and four through his body.

HIDATSA CULTS.

HIDATSA DIVINITIES.

§ 341. The Hidatsa believe in the Man who Never Dies, or Lord of Life, Ehsicka-Wahaddish,[2] literally, the first man, who dwells in the Rocky Mountains. He made all things. Another being whom they venerate is called the Grandmother. She roams over the earth. She had some share in creation, though an inferior one, for she created the toad and the sand-rat. She gave the Hidatsa two kettles, which they still preserve as a sacred treasure and employ as charms or fetiches on certain occasions. She directed the ancestors of the present Indians to preserve the kettles and to remember the great waters, whence came all the animals dancing. The red-shouldered oriole (*Psaracolius phoeniceus*) came at that time out of the water, as well as the other birds which still sing along the banks of rivers. The Hidatsa, therefore, look on all these birds as "medicine" for their corn patches, and attend to their songs. When these birds sing the Hidatsa, remembering the direction of the Grandmother, fill the two kettles with water, dance and bathe, in order to commemorate the great flood. When their fields are threatened with a great drought they celebrate a "medicine" feast with the two kettles, as they beg for rain. The shamans are still paid, on such occasions, to sing for four days together in the huts, while the kettles remain full of water.

§ 342. The sun, or as they term it, "the sun of the day," is a great power. They do not know what it really is, but when they are about to undertake some enterprise they sacrifice to it and also to the moon,

[1] Catlin, in Smithsonian Rept., 1885, pt. 2, p. 372.

[2] So called by Maximilian, same as the Itsika-mahidis of Matthews.

which they call "the sun of the night." The morning star, Venus, they regard as the child of the moon, and they account it as a great power. They affirm that it was originally a Hidatsa, being the grandson of the Old Woman who Never Dies.[1]

§ 343. Matthews[2] found that the object of the greatest reverence among the Hidatsa was, perhaps, the Itsika-mahidiś, the First Made, or First in Existence. They assert that he made all things, the stars, sun, the earth, the first representatives of each species of animals and plants, but that no one made him. He also, they say, instructed the forefathers of the tribes in all the ceremonies and mysteries now known to them. They sometimes designate him as Itaka-te-taś, or Old Man Immortal.

ANIMISM.

§ 344. If we use the term worship in its most extended sense it may be said that * * * (the Hidatsa) worship everything in nature. Not man alone, but the sun, the moon, the stars, all the lower animals, all trees and plants, rivers and lakes, many bowlders and other separated rocks, even some hills and buttes which stand alone—in short, everything not made by human hands, which has an independent being, or can be individualized, possesses a spirit, or, more properly, a shade.

To these shades some respect or consideration is due, but not equally to all. For instance, the shade of the cottonwood, the greatest tree of the Upper Missouri Valley, is supposed to possess an intelligence which may, if properly approached, assist them in certain undertakings; but the shades of shrubs and grasses are of little importance. When the Missouri, in its spring-time freshets, cuts down its bank and sweeps some tall tree into its current, it is said that the spirit of the tree cries while the roots yet cling to the land and until the tree falls into the water. Formerly it was considered wrong to cut down one of these great trees, and, when large logs were needed, only such as were found fallen were used; and to-day some of the more credulous old men declare that many of the misfortunes of the people are the result of their modern disregard for the rights of the living cottonwood. The sun is held in great veneration, and many valuable sacrifices are made to it.[3]

WORSHIP OF THE ELEMENTS, ETC.

§ 345. This is in substantial accord with what Maximilian was told, as will be seen from the following:

In the sweat bath the shaman, after cutting off a joint of the devotee's fingers, takes a willow twig, goes to the dishes containing food, dips the twig in each and throws a part of the contents in the direction of the four winds, as offerings to the Lord of Life, the fire, and the divers superhuman powers.[4]

SERPENT WORSHIP.

§ 346. The Hidatsa make occasional offerings to the great serpent that dwells in the Missouri River by placing poles in the river and

[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, p. 398.

[2] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877: Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, p. 47.

[3] Ibid., pp. 48, 49.

[4] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, p. 402.

attaching to them sundry robes or colored blankets. The tradition of this great serpent resembles the Mandan tradition, but with some differences.[1]

§ 347. *Daimonism.*—The Hidatsa believe neither a hell nor in a devil, but believe that there are one or more evil genii, in female shape, who inhabit this earth, and may harm the Indian in this life, but possess no power beyond the grave. Such a power or powers they call Mahopamiiś. The Mahopa-miiś dwells in the woods and delights in doing evil. She is supposed to strangle such children as, through parental ignorance or carelessness, are smothered in bed.[2]

FETICHES.

§ 348. Among the fetiches of the Hidatsa are the skins of every kind of fox and wolf, especially the latter; and, therefore, when they go to war, they always wear the stripe off the back of a wolf skin, with the tail hanging down the shoulders. They make a slit in the skin through which the warrior puts his head, so that the skin of the wolf's head hangs down upon his breast.

Tribal fetiches.—Buffalo heads also are fetiches. In one of their villages they preserved the neck bones of the buffalo, as do the Crow or Absaroka, and this is done with a view to prevent the buffalo herds from removing to too great a distance from them. At times they perform the following ceremony with these bones: They take a potsherd with live coals, throw sweet-smelling grass upon it, and fumigate the bones with the smoke.

There are certain trees and stones which are fetiches, as among the Mandan. At such places they offer red cloth, red paint, and other articles to the superhuman powers.[3] (See § 334.)

In the principal Hidatsa village, when Maximilian visited it, was a long pole set up, on which was a figure of a woman, doubtless representing the Grandmother, who first gave them kettles. A bundle of brushwood was hung on the pole, to which were attached the leathern dress and leggins of a woman. The head of the figure was made of *Artemisia*, and on it was a cap of feathers.[4]

§ 349. *Personal fetiches.*—Matthews uses the term amulet instead of personal fetich, in speaking of the Hidatsa:

> Every man in this tribe, as in all neighboring tribes, has his personal medicine, which is usually some animal. On all war parties, and often on hunts and other excursions, he carries the head, claws, stuffed skin, or other representative of his medicine with him, and seems to regard it in much the same light that Europeans in former days regarded—and in some cases still regard—protective charms. To insure the fleetness of some promising young colt, they tie to the colt's neck a small piece of

[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, p. 402.

[2] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ. No. 7, 1877: Ethnol. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, pp. 49, 184.

[3] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America. pp. 399–400.

[4] Ibid, p. 396.

deer or antelope horn. The rodent teeth of the beaver are regarded as potent charms, and are worn by little girls on their necks to make them industrious.[1]

The "Medicine Rock" of the Mandan and Hidatsa has been described in § 329.

§ 350. *Oracles.*—Matthews speaks of another oracle, to which the Hidatsa now often refer, the Makadistati, or house of infants, a cavern near Knife River, which they supposed extended far into the earth, but whose entrance was only a span wide. It was resorted to by the childless husband or the barren wife. There are those among them who imagine that in some way or other their children come from the Makadistati; and marks of contusion on an infant, arising from tight swaddling or other causes, are gravely attributed to kicks received from his former comrades when he was ejected from his subterranean home.[2]

§ 351. James says:

At the distance of the journey of one day and a half from Knife Creek * * * are two conical hills, separated by about the distance of a mile. One of these hills was supposed to impart a prolific virtue to such squaws as resorted to it for the purpose of lamenting their barrenness. A person one day walking near the other hill, fancied he observed on the top of it two very small children. Thinking that they had strayed from the village, he ran towards them to induce them to return home, but they immediately fled from him. * * * and in a short time they eluded his sight. Returning to the village, the relation of his story excited much interest, and an Indian set out the next day, mounted on a fleet horse, to take the little strangers. On the approach of this person to the hill he also saw the children, who ran away as before, and though he tried to overtake them by lashing the horse to his utmost swiftness, the children left him far behind. 'These children are no longer to be seen, and the hill once of such singular efficacy in rendering the human species prolific has lost this remarkable property.[3]

Matthews[4] says that this account seems to refer to the Makadistati, but, if such is the case, he believes that the account is incorrect in some respects.

DREAMS.

§ 352. The Hidatsa have much faith in dreams, but usually regard as oracular only those which come after prayer, sacrifice, and fasting.[5]

BERDACHES.

§ 353. The French Canadians call those men berdaches who dress in women's clothing and perform the duties usually allotted to women in an Indian camp. By most whites these berdaches are incorrectly supposed to be hermaphrodites. They are called miati by the Hidatsa, from mia, a woman, and the ending, ti, to feel an involuntary inclina-

[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, p. 50.

[2] Ibid. p. 51.

[3] James's Account of Long's Exped. to Rocky Mountains, vol. I, pp. 274, 275.

[4] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877: Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, p. 51.

[5] Ibid, p. 50.

tion, i. e., to be impelled against his will to act the woman. See the Omaha miⁿquga, the Kansa miⁿquge, and the Dakota wiŋkta and wiŋkte (§§ 30, 212.)

ASTRONOMICAL LORE.

§ 354. Ursa major is said to be an ermine, the several stars of that constellation indicating, in their opinion, the burrow̃, the head, the feet, and the tail of that animal. They call the milky way the "ashy way."

They think that thunder is caused by the flapping of the wings of the large bird, which causes rain, and that the lightning is the glance of his eye when he seeks prey.

They call the rainbow, "the cap of the water," or "the cap of the rain." Once, say they, an Indian caught in the autumn a red bird that had mocked him, releasing it after binding its feet together with a fish line. The bird saw a hare and pounced upon it, but the hare crept into the skull of a buffalo lying on the prairie, and as the line hanging from the bird's claws formed a semicircle, they imagine that the rainbow is still caused by that occurrence.[1]

FOOD LORE.

§ 355. They have queer notions respecting the effects of different articles of diet; thus: an expectant mother believes that if she eats a part of a mole or shrew, her child will have small eyes; that if she eats a piece of porcupine, her child will be inclined to sleep too much when it grows up; that if she partakes of the flesh of the turtle, her offspring will be slow or lazy, etc.; but they do not suppose that such articles of food affect the immediate consumer.

FOUR SOULS IN EACH HUMAN BEING.

§ 356. "It is believed by some of the Hidatsa that every human being has four souls in one. They account for the phenomena of gradual death where the extremities are apparently dead while consciousness remains, by supposing the four souls to depart, one after another, at different times. When dissolution is complete, they say that all the souls are gone, and have joined together again outside of the body. I have heard a Minnetaree quietly discussing this doctrine with an Assiniboine, who believed in only one soul to each body."[2]

SORCERY.

§ 357. "They have faith in witchcraft, and think that a sorcerer may injure a person, no matter how far distant, by acts upon an effigy or upon a lock of the victim's hair."[3]

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[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, p. 399.

[2] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877: Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, p. 50.

[3] Ibid, p. 50.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD.

§ 358. The Hidatsa always lay their dead upon scaffolds. As the Lord of Life is displeased when they quarrel and kill one another, those who do so are buried in the earth, that they may be no longer seen. In this case a buffalo head is laid on the grave, that the herds of buffalo may not keep away, for, if they were to smell the wicked, they might remove and never return. The good are laid upon scaffolds, that they may be seen by the Lord of Life.[1]

The Crows have no fear of death, but they have a horror of being buried in the ground.[2]

HIDATSA BELIEF AS TO FUTURE EXISTENCE.

§ 359. They think that after death they will be restored to the mansions of their ancestors under ground, from which they are intercepted by a large and rapid watercourse. Over this river, which may be compared to the Styx of the ancients, they are obliged to pass on a very narrow footway. Those Indians who have been useful to the nation, such as brave warriors or good hunters, pass over with ease and arrive safely at A-pah-he, or ancient village. But the worthless Indians slip off from the bridge or footway into the stream which * * * hurries them into oblivion.[3]

Their faith concerning a future life is this: When a Hidatsa dies his shade lingers four nights around the camp or village in which he died, and then goes to the lodge of his departed kindred in the Village of the Dead. When he has arrived there, he is rewarded for his valor, self-denial, and ambition on earth by receiving the same regard in the one place as in the other; for there, as here, the brave man is honored and the coward despised. Some say that the ghosts of those who commit suicide occupy a separate part of the village, but that their condition differs in no wise from that of the others. In the next world, human shades hunt and live on the shades of the buffalo and other animals that have here died. There too there are four seasons, but they come in an inverse order to the terrestrial seasons. During the four nights that the ghost is supposed to linger near his former dwelling, those who disliked or feared the deceased, and do not wish a visit from the shade, scorch with red coals a pair of moccasins, which they leave at the door of the lodge. The smell of the burning leather, they claim, keeps the ghost out; but the true friends of the dead man take no such precautions. * * * They believe in the existence and advisability of human and other ghosts, yet they seem to have no terror of graveyards and but little of mortuary remains. You may frighten children after nightfall by shouting nohidahi (ghost), but will not scare the aged.[4]

SAPONA CULTS.

§ 359½. The following account of the religion of the Sapona, a tribe related to the Tutelo, was given in 1729 by Col. William Byrd, of Westover, Va.[5] While much of it appears to be the white man's amplifica-

[1] Maximilian, Travels * * * in North America, pp. 404, 405.

[2] Ibid, p. 176.

[3] Lewis and Clarke's Exped., edited by Allen, vol. I, p. 280.

[4] U. S. Geol. and Geogr. Surv., Hayden, Miscell. Publ., No. 7, 1877; Ethnog. and Philol. of Hidatsa Indians, p. 49.

[5] Byrd, history of the dividing line (1729), vol. I, 106–108. Reprint: 1866.

tion of the Indian's narrative, it is plain that the account contains a few aboriginal beliefs. For this reason, and because it is the only known account of the Sapona religion, it is now given in full:

"In the evening we examined our friend Bearskin concerning the religion of his country, and he explained it to us, without any of that reserve to which his nation is subject. He told us he believed there was one supreme God, who had several subaltern deities under him. And that this Master-God made the world a long time ago. That He told the sun, the moon and stars their business in the beginning, which they, with good looking after, have faithfully perform'd ever since. That the same Power that made all things at first has taken care to keep them in the same method and motion ever since. He believed God had form'd many worlds before He form'd this, but that those worlds either grew old or ruinous, or were destroy'd for the dishonesty of the inhabitants. That God is very just and very good—ever well pleas'd with those men who possess those God-like qualities. That He takes good people under His safe protection, makes them very rich, fills their bellies plentifully, preserves them from sickness and from being surpriz'd or overcome by their enemies. But all such as tell lies and cheat * * * He never fails to punish with sickness, poverty and hunger, and after all that, suffers them to be knockt on the head and scalpt by those that fight against them. He believed that after death both good and bad people are conducted by a strong guard into a great road, in which departed souls travel together for some time till, at a certain distance this road forks into two paths[1], the one extremely levil, the other stony and mountainous. Here the good are parted from the bad by a flash of lightning, the first being hurry'd away to the right, the other to the left. The right hand road leads to a charming warm country, where the spring is everlasting, and every month is May; and as the year is always in its youth, so are the people, and particularly the women are bright as the stars, and never scold. That in this happy climate there are deer, turkeys, elk, and buffaloes innumerable, perpetually fat and gentle, while the trees are loaded with delicious fruit quite throughout the four seasons. That the soil brings forth corn spontaneously, without the curse of labour, and so very wholesome, that none who have the happiness to eat of it are ever sick, grow old or dy. Near the entrance into this blessed land sits a venerable old man on a mat richly woven, who examins strictly all that are brought before him, and if they have behav'd well, the guards are order'd to open the crystal gate and let them enter the land of delights. The left hand path is very rugged and uneven, leading to a dark and barren country, where it is always winter. The ground is the whole year round cover'd with snow, and nothing is seen upon the trees but icicles. All the people are hungry, yet have not a morsel to eat except a bitter kind of potato, that gives them the dry-gripes, and fills their whole body with loathsome ulcers, that stink and are insupportably painful. Here all the women are old and ugly, having claws like a panther, with which they fly upon the men that slight their passion. For it seems these haggard old furies are intolerably fond, and expect a vast amount of cherishing. They talk much, and exceedingly shrill, giving exquisite pain to the drum of the ear, which in that place of torment is so tender, that every sharp note wounds it to the quick. At the end of this path sits a dreadful old woman on a monstrous toadstool, whose head is cover'd with rattlesnakes instead of tresses, with glaring white eyes, that strike a terror unspeakable into all that behold her. This hag pronounces sentence of woe upon all the miserable wretches that hold up their hands at her tribunal. After this they are deliver'd over to huge turkey-buzzards like harpys, that fly away with them to the place above mentioned. Here, after they have been tormented a certain number of years, according to their several degrees of guilt, they are again driven back into this world, to try if they will mend their manners, and merit a place next time in the regions of bliss."

[1] See the Omaha belief, in § 68.

CHAPTER VII.

CONCLUDING REMARKS.

PEET ON INDIAN RELIGIONS.

§ 360. In the Journal of the Victoria Institute of Great Britain for 1888,[1] is an article containing the following statements, which were not seen by the writer until he had completed the preceding chapters of this paper.

Referring to Mr. Eells, the Nez Percé missionary, and to Mr. Williams, who has been laboring among the Chippewas, Mr. Peet observes:[2]

> There are four or five points on which both missionaries seem to be agreed * * * These four doctrines—the existence of God, immortality of the soul, the sinfulness of man, and the necessity of sacrifice—seem to have been held in various modified forms by all the tribes in North America.

On the next page[3] he gives a classification of native religions, by which he means those of America. He says that these religions may be divided by geographical districts into several classes:

(1) Shamanism, by which he seems to mean the worship of the wakan men and women. "Among the Eskimos, Aleuts, and other hyperborean nations, who subsist chiefly by fishing." (2) Animism, by which he probably means the worship of "souls" or "shades," including ghosts, as every object, whether animate or inanimate, is thought to have a "shade." This belief, he says, is found in its highest stage among tribes that formerly dwelt in British North America, between Hudsons Bay and the Great Lakes. These tribes subsist by hunting. (3) Animal worship, practiced by a class partly hunters, partly farmers, dwelling, say, between 35° and 48° N. lat. (4) Sun worship, the cult of the tribes south of 35° N. lat., and extending to the Gulf of Mexico. (5) Elemental worship, which he defines as "the worship of rain, lightning, the god of war and death," found in Mexico and New Mexico. (6) Anthropomorphism, a religion which gave human attributes to the divinities, but assigned to them supernatural powers. This prevailed in Central America.

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[1] Rev. S. D. Peet, on the tradition of aborigines of North America, in Jour. Vict. Inst., Vol. XXI, pp. 229-247.

[2] Ibid., p. 232.

[3] Ibid., p. 233.

THE AUTHOR'S REPLY.

§ 361. But what do we find prevalent among the tribes under consideration in this paper?

I. *Idea of God.*—The Siouan tribes considered in this paper were not monotheists (§§ 26, 94, 95, 311). The statement recorded in § 21 about a crude belief in a Supreme Being, which the Omaha called Wakanda, was accepted by the author as the belief of his informants; but we must remember that the Omaha tribe has been in a transition state for many years, certainly since 1855, and possibly since the days of Maj. Long's visits to them. (2) That these Indians believed in a Great Spirit who was supreme over all other superhuman powers needs more evidence. The only assertion of such a belief which the author has gained was obtained from an Omaha (see § 22), but this assertion was denied by two other members of that tribe. (3) In those cases alleged as proving a belief in one Great Spirit, a closer study of the language employed reveals the fact that a generic term has been used instead of a specific one, and, in almost every instance, the writer who tells of one Great Spirit supplements his account by relating what he has learned about beliefs in many gods or spirits. (4) These tribes had cults of many powers; everything animate and inanimate was regarded as having a "shade."

II. *Belief in immortality.*—The author finds no traces of a belief in the immortality of human beings. Even the gods of the Dakota were regarded as being mortal, for they could be killed by one another (§ 94). They were male and female; they married and died, and were succeeded by their children. But if for "immortality" we substitute "continuous existence as shades or ghosts" there will be no difficulty in showing that the Siouan tribes referred to held such a belief respecting mankind, and that they very probably entertained it in a crude form prior to the advent of the white race to this continent (§§ 67–71, 91, 338).

III. *Idea of sin.*—The scriptural idea of sin seems to be wanting among these tribes. There have been recorded by the author and others many acts which were deemed violations of religious law, but few of them can be compared with what the Bible declares to be sins. It was dangerous to make a false report to the keeper of the sacred tent of war or to the directors of the buffalo hunt, in the estimation of the Omaha, for the offender was sure to be struck by lightning or bitten by a snake or killed by a foe or thrown by a horse or have some other disaster befall him.[1] It was dangerous to break the taboo of any gens or subgens, or to violate any other ancient custom.[2] (See §§ 45, 68, 222, and 286 of this paper.)

IV. *Idea of sacrifice.*—The idea of sacrifice as atoning for sin has not yet been found by the author among these Siouan tribes. In no

[1] Om. Soc., 3d Ann. Rept. Bur. Ethnol., §§ 136, 137.
[2] Ibid., §§ 19, 21, 31, 97, etc.

instance of sacrifice recorded in this paper has the author detected any notion of expiation for sin against a just and holy Being. But sacrifice, whether in the form of fasting, self-torture, or the offering of property, was made in order to win the favor of a god, to obtain a temporal advantage (§§ 28, 29, 101, 144, etc.), or to avert the anger of demons, as when the people were suffering from famine or an epidemic (§ 144).

V. *Shamanism.*—While there have been shamans and various orders of shamans among these tribes, no trace of a worship of shamans as gods has yet been found. On one occasion the author met a Ponka shaman, Cramped Hand, who exclaimed, "I am a wakanda." But no other Ponka ever said that he or she worshiped Cramped Hand as a wakanda.

VI. The other beliefs named by Dr. Peet have been found, in some tribes, side by side. Animism, or a form of animism, was held by those who worshiped the sun, animals, etc. "Everything had a soul" (§§ 97, 136, 137, 265–288, 344, etc.). Certain animals were worshiped (§§ 24, 43, 78, 92, 326, etc.). The sun was invoked, not only in the sun dance (§§ 139–212), but on other occasions (§§ 28, 43, 73, 312, 323). Stars, too, were regarded as gods (§§ 31, 43). Elemental worship had a wider significance among these tribes than Dr. Peet assigns it (§§ 27, 33–35, 43, 44, 74–77, 363, etc.). And there are traces of anthropomorphism, for some of the gods are in human form (§§ 217, 235); others are supposed to inhale the odor of tobacco smoke, which is pleasant to them; they eat, breathe, use weapons against one another as well as against human beings, and on one occasion an Indian was called on to aid one or the other of two contending gods; they hear, think, marry, die, and are succeeded by their children (§§ 25, 29, 35, 36, 72, 75, 94, 109, 112, 117, 119, 136, 217, 322, etc.).[1]

§ 362. The cults affected the social organization of the tribes that had gentes bearing mystic names (see §§ 57 and 82 of this paper, and Om. Soc., in 3d An. Rept. Bur. Eth., Chap. iii, and pp. 356, 359–361); orders of shamans and other secret societies were intimately associated with them (§§ 43–45, 86, 87, and 89; and Om. Soc., pp. 342–355); personal names still refer to them (§§ 31, 47, 53, 59, 74, 75, and 77; and Om. Soc., pp. 228, 232, 236, 238–244, 246–248, 250, and 251); and almost every act of the daily life of the people was influenced by them (§§ 23, 24, 27, 28–30, 32, 33–36, 39–41, 54, 101, etc.; and Om. Soc., Chap. vi, and pp. 267, 274, 286, 287, 289–291, 293–299, 316, 319–325, 327, 328, 357, 368–370).

CULTS OF THE ELEMENTS.

§ 363. Prior to writing this paper, the author had observed what Dr. Foster stated in his Indian Record and Historical Data respecting the division of the Winnebago tribe into four groups, named after the earth, air, fire, and water, respectively, i. e., Foster claimed that the Winnebago had people named after land animals, others after birds and

[1] See Am. Naturalist, July, 1885, pp. 673, 674, Figs. 3 and 4.

the winds, others after the thunder-beings, and others after the Waktceqi or water monsters.[1] (See § 96.)

During the year 1890 the author obtained from the three principal Ponka chiefs the classification of their gentes by phratries, and the character of the mystic songs peculiar to each phratry.

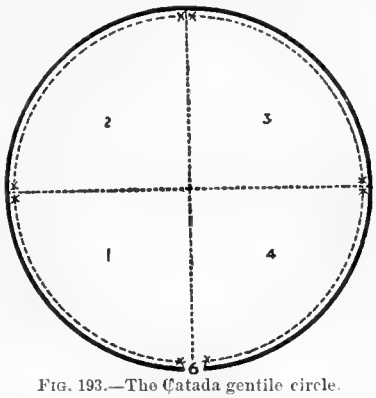


FIG. 193.—The ȼatada gentile circle.

On comparing this information with that which has been related about the Dakota gods, there seemed to be good reasons for inferring that not only the Dakota tribes, but also the Omaha, Ponka, Winne-bago, and others of the same stock, divided their gods into four classes, those of the earth, wind-makers, fire, and water.

§ 364. Among the Omaha, Iowa, and cognate tribes, we find that when a gens assembled as a whole, for council purposes, they sat around the fire in the order shown in the accompanying diagram, Fig. 193:

Legend.—1, Black Bear subgens; 2, Small Bird subgens; 3, Eagle subgens; 4, Turtle subgens; 5, fireplace; 6, entrance.

Places in the circle were assigned according to kinship; thus, the Black Bear and Small Bird people are spoken of as "sitting on the same side of the fireplace," as they are full kin, while they are only partially related to those who sit on the other side (Nos. 3 and 4). That the fireplace was sacred, there being traces of a hearth cult, has been shown in §§ 33 and 40. Furthermore, the ȼatada circle is remarkable not only for its arrangement according to kinship, but for its symbolic character; because the Black Bear people are associated with the ground or earth, as is shown by their personal names; the Small Bird people are Thunder-beings or Fire people; the Eagle subgens consist of "Wind-maker" people; and the Turtle subgens is composed of Water people.

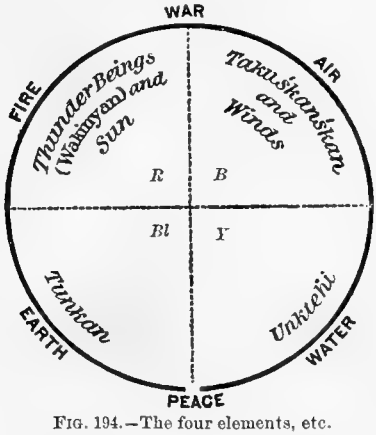


FIG. 194.—The four elements, etc.

§ 365. This suggests another diagram, Fig. 194, in which the author has put the names of four classes of Dakota gods, with what he suspects to be their appropriate colors, *R* standing for red, *B* for black, *Y* for yellow, and *Bl* for blue.

[1] The reader is cautioned against supposing that "air" as used in this section is employed in the scientific sense, because the Indians were ignorant of the nature of the atmosphere. They distinguish between the "Something-that-moves" (which we term the "Wind-maker," "Wind-makers" in the plural) and the winds, and they also had distinct names for the clouds and "upper world." They also had special names for the Four Quarters (Dakota, tatuye topa; ȼegiha, tade uiȼe dubaha).

Earth people serve or assist Fire people (§ 35 and perhaps § 36). Do Water people ever serve Wind-maker people (see address to a stream in time of war, § 23)? The Fire powers are hostile to the powers of the Water (§§ 75, 77, 117–119); we have yet to learn whether, in any gens, a subgens named after the Thunder-being sits on the same side of the gentile fireplace with a subgens named after a power of the Water. Is there a warfare going on between the powers of the Earth and the Wind-makers? The Fire powers and Wind-makers are concerned in all kinds of suffering, including war, disease, and death (§§ 117, 119, 127, 129), and there is no hostility existing between them.[1]

The Kaⁿse gens of the Osage has several names, Wind people, South-wind people, Those who light the pipes (in council), and Fire people.

The powers of the Earth and Water are interested in the preservation of life, and so we may consider them the patrons of peace. "Peace," in Omaha, Ponka, and Ꞁpiwere, means "The land is good," and "to make peace" is expressed by "to make the land good." The words for "water" and "life" are identical in some of the Siouan languages, and they differ but slightly in others.

It is interesting to note what has been said by Mr. Francis La Flesche[2] about water: "Water seems to hold an important place in the practice of this medicine society, even when roots are used for the healing of wounds. The songs say: 'Water was sent into the wound, 'Water will be sent into his wound,' etc." The mystic songs of the doctors of the order of buffalo shamans tell of the pool of water in a buffalo wallow where the wounded one shall be treated.

But we must note some apparent inconsistencies. While the Unktelii created the earth and the human race (§ 112), they are believed to feed on human spirits or ghosts; though ghosts are reckoned among the servants of the Unktelii! And while the powers of the Fire and Water are enemies, one is surprised to observe that in the war gens of the Omaha as well as in the two war gentes of the Kansa, there is the sacred clam shell as well as the war pipe! (See § 36 and Om. Soc., p. 226.)

THE FOUR QUARTERS.

§ 366. According to the tradition of the Iñke-sabe, an Omaha buffalo people, the ancestral buffaloes found the East and South winds bad ones; but the North and West winds were good. From this the author infers that the Omaha associated the East with the Fire powers or the sun, the South[3] with the Air powers, the North with the Earth powers, and the West with the Water powers.

On the other hand, an Iowa man told Mr. Hamilton that the South

[1] See § 33 where there is an account of the invocation of the winds at the consecration of the fireplaces.

[2] The Omaha Buffalo Medicine-Men, in Jour. Amer. Folk-lore, No. x, p. 219, and note.

[3] It is interesting to observe in this connection that the Director of the Bureau of Ethnology, in an address entitled "Outlines of the philosophy of the North American Indians." New York, 1877, (p. 10), spoke of "the god of the south, whose breath is the winds."

wind was a beneficent one, while the Northeast wind was maleficent (§ 74). This variation may have been caused by a difference in the habitats of the tribes referred to.

§ 367. Among the Kansa, Paha^{n}le-gaqli and Ali^{n}kawahu, when they invoked the four winds, began at the left (as they were Yata people) with the East wind (Baza^{n}ta, Toward the Pines), next they turned to the South wind (Ak'a, whence one of the names of the Ka^{n}ze gens), then to the West wind (Ak'a jiñga or Ak'uye), and lastly to the North wind (Hnita, Toward the Cold).[1] (See Fig. 195.)

It should be noted that those Kansa war captains, Paha^{n}le-gaqli and Ali^{n}kawahu, belong to gentes on the left side of the tribal circle. They were facing the South before they began the invocations to the various powers including the four winds. See § 200 for the order (E, S, W, N) observed in felling the tree to be used as a sun pole. The same

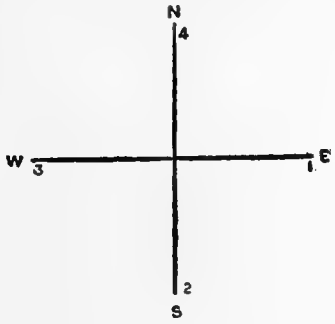


FIG. 195.—Kansa order of invoking the winds, etc.

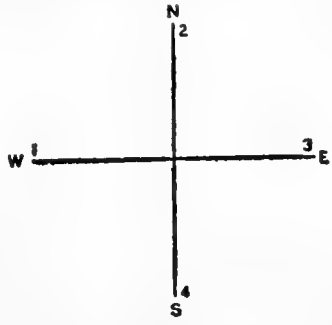


FIG. 196.—Tsiou (Osage) order of placing the four sticks, etc.

order was observed by the Dakota "priest" in the ceremonies pertaining to the White Buffalo festival of the Hunkpapa, as related by Miss Fletcher: in placing cherries on the plate, in pouring water on the piles of cherries, in placing tufts of swan's down on the plate[2], in rotating the plate, in circling the heap of black earth[3], and in giving the four pinches of consecrated meat to the four sons of the owner of the white buffalo hide.[4]

§ 368. The Tciou old man of the Osage tribe consecrated each mystic hearth by placing four sticks in the form of a cross, beginning at the west, as shown in Fig. 196, then laying the sticks at the north, east, and south, as he named the four mystic buffaloes (§ 33). This Tsiou man belonged to the peace side of his tribe, and he began with the quarters referring to the peace elements. But the Pa^{n}qka old man of the same tribe, when he consecrated the mystic fireplaces for his half-tribe, began on the right, with the stick at the east, as shown in Fig. 197. He belonged to the war side of the tribe, though his gens was a peace-making gens!

[1] Am. Naturalist, July, 1885, p. 676.
[2] An. Rept. Peabody Museum, vol. III, p. 267.
[3] Ibid, p. 268.
[4] Ibid, pp. 272, 273.

§ 369. The Maⁿyiñka and Ụpaⁿ gentes of the Kansa tribe consecrated the mystic fireplaces for their people; but we have not obtained the particulars of the Kansa ceremony, which probably resembled that in which the Tsiɔu and Paⁿɳka old men took part.

According to Two Crows and the late Joseph La Flèche, there were four sacred stones in the custody of the Maⁿɸiñka-gaxe or Earth-lodge-makers' gens of the Omaha: red, black, yellow, and blue.[1]

§ 370. Whenever the Osage warriors came in sight of their village on returning from an expedition against the enemy, they were met outside the village by the principal man of the Kaⁿse (the Wind or South wind gens.) This Kaⁿse man walked around the warriors, performing a ceremony as he started from the north, repeating it at each quarter, and ending with the east, as shown in Fig. 198.

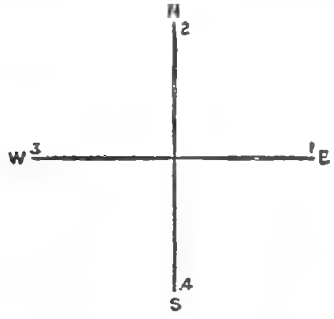


FIG. 197.—Paⁿɳka (Osage) order of placing the four sticks, etc.

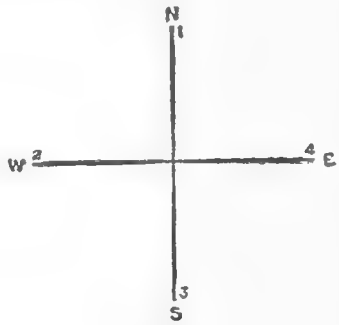


FIG. 198.—Kaⁿse (Osage) order of circumambulation.

§ 371. Assuming that we have a correct grouping of the four elements in Fig. 194, it appears that Pahaⁿle-gaqli and Aliⁿkawahu began with the quarters associated with war; that the Tsiɔu old man began with those referring to peace, and the Paⁿɳka old man with those pertaining to war, and the principal man of the Kaⁿse gens with those on the peace side.

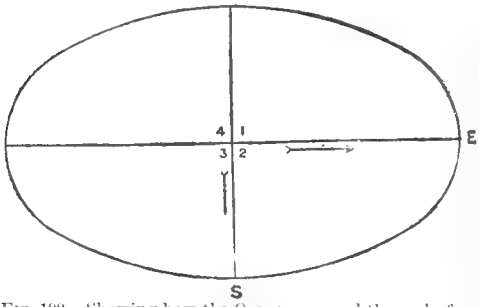


FIG. 199.—Showing how the Osage prepared the scalp for the dance.

§ 372. In cutting off the under skin from a scalp, the Osage war captain—

stood facing the East * * * Holding the scalp in one hand, with the other he placed the knife-blade across it, with the point toward the South (see Fig. 199). Then he turned the knife with the point toward the East. Next, with the blade resting on the scalp, the point to the South, he moved the knife backward and forward four times, cutting deeper into the scalp on each occasion. Then he made four similar cuts, but with the point to the East. After this, the flat part of the blade

[1] Om. Soc., 3d An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 242.

being on the scalp, its edge was put against one of the four corners made by the previous incisions (1, 2, 3, and 4), beginning with No. 1. He cut under each corner four times, singing a sacred song each time that he changed the position of the knife. * * * The scalp was stretched and fastened to a bow, which was bent and formed into a hoop. This hoop was tied to a pole, which was carried by the principal kettle-bearer.[1]

Observe that in this ceremony the South and East were the mystic quarters, answering to the "bad winds" of the Iñke-sabĕ tradition.

When the Dakota "priest," referred to in § 367, wished to rotate the plate containing the cherries and down, he grasped the plate with his right hand (note that the right side of the Osage circle was the war side) between the east and south piles of cherries and his left hand (compare with custom of Tsiȯu gens of Osage, § 368) held the plate between the west and north piles.[2]

In the Hede-watci, the Omaha women and girls danced from the east to the south, and thence to the west and north, while the men and boys proceeded in a different order, beginning at the west, and dancing toward the north, and thence toward the east and south.[3]

SYMBOLIC COLORS.

§ 373. On the tent of Hupeɬa (Pl. XLIV, E), a black bear man, were represented four kinds of lightning—blue, red, black, and yellow. This was a mystery decoration (§ 45), and if the colors were associated with the four quarters, the powers were probably invoked in the order shown in Fig. 200. (See §§ 340, 369.)

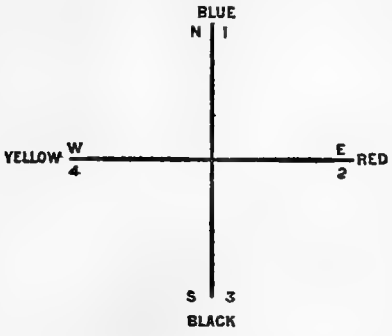


FIG. 200—Omaha lightnings and the four quarters.

§ 374. Blue is assumed to be the earth symbol for two reasons: (1) In the decorations of those who have had visions of bears, there is a broad blue band, representing the earth, out of which the bear is sometimes depicted as issuing; (2) and, furthermore, the Indians seldom distinguish between blue and green, hence, blue may symbolize grass and other vegetation, springing from the earth. In apparent contradiction of this use of blue, we are told by Lynd that "the Tunkan is painted red as a sign of active worship" (see § 132), and by Riggs (§ 133) that large bowlders were adorned with red and green paint, though the use of the two colors may have depended on a composite cult. In this connection attention is called to the battle standards represented on the tent of ɖejequta, an Omaha. These painted standards had red and blue stripes, denoting the stripes of

[1] Osage War Customs, in Am. Naturalist, Feb., 1884, pp. 131, 132.

[2] The west and north are supposed to be the peace quarters, and the east and south the war quarters. See Fig. 194 and § 378.

[3] Om. Soc., p. 299.

Indian cloth, sometimes used instead of feathers on the real standards. The latter were carried by the leaders of war parties, and each standard could be used on four such expeditions. When the warriors approached the hostile camp, the keeper of the standard removed the scarf of blue and red cloth from the shaft and wore it around his neck as he went to steal horses (see Pl. XLIV, A, the name Bowlder Thunder-being in § 390, also § 388).

§ 375. Red is known to be the Omaha color for the east. Among the Dakota the spear and tomahawk, the weapons of war, were said to have been given by the Wakinyan, the Thunder-being or Fire power; hence they are painted red (§ 105).

The late Dr. S. R. Riggs informs us that—

> In the tiyotipi were placed the bundles of the black and red sticks of the soldiers.[1]
>
> Toward the rear of the tent, but near enough to the fire for convenient use, is a large pipe placed by the symbols of power. These are two bundles of shaved sticks about 6 inches long. The sticks in one bundle are painted black and in the other red. The black bundle represents the real men of the camp—those who have made their mark on the warpath. The red bundle represents the boys and such men as wear no eagle feathers.[2]
>
> They shave out small round sticks all of the same length, and paint them red, and they are given out to the men. These are to constitute the tiyotipi. * * * Of all the round shaved sticks, some of which were painted black and some painted red, four were especially marked. They are the four chiefs of the tiyotipi that were made.[3]

§ 376. Black is assumed to be the symbolic color for the Takuśkanśkan, the Wind-makers, whose servants are the four winds and the four black spirits of night. Black as a war color is put on the face[4] of the warrior. The Santee Dakota consider the raven (a black bird) and a small black stone, less than a hen's egg in size, symbols of the four winds or quarters. Among the Teton Dakota, the Takuśkanśkan symbols, are small pebbles of two kinds, one white, and, according to the description, translucent; the other "resembles ordinary pebbles," probably in being opaque.

§ 377. Yellow is assumed to be the color symbolizing water, the west, and the setting sun. The Dakota, Omaha, Ponka, and Ioiwere tribes have been familiar for years with the color of the water in the Missouri river. In a Yankton Dakota legend[5] recorded by the author it is said that when two mystery men prepared themselves to visit a spirit of the water in order to recover an Indian boy, one of the men painted his entire body black, and the other painted himself yellow (this seems to refer to the south and west, the windmakers and the spirits of the waters).

In certain Omaha tent decorations we find that the tent of a Turtle man (Fig. 161) has a yellow ground. A similar yellow ground on the

[1] Contr. to N. A. Ethnol., vol. IX, Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography, p. 193.
[2] Ibid., p. 197.
[3] From Renville's account of the tiyotipi, in ibid., pp. 200, 202.
[4] Om. Soc., p. 317. Osage War Customs, pp. 118, 119, 124, 131.
[5] Contr. N. A. Ethnol., vol. VI, The Çegiha Language, p. 375.

tent of Ma^{n}tcu-na^{n}ba of the Hañga gens (Fig. 174) may be connected with the tradition that the Hañga gens came originally from beneath the water. Too much stress, however, must not be placed upon the colors of such mystery decorations, as they may be found hereafter to have had another origin. It is conceivable, although we have no means of proving it, that he who had a vision, depicted on his robe and tent not only the colors pertaining to the objects seen in the vision, but also the color peculiar to the eponymic ancestor or power that was the "nikie" (§ 53). As some men were members of more than one order of shamans, their tent and robe decorations may refer to the one order rather than to the other, and sometimes there may be a reference to both orders. The yellow on the top of the tent of Frog, an Ictasanda man, was said to refer to a grizzly bear vision (*fide* George Miller, an Omaha—see Fig. 177.) But when we compare it with Pl. XLIV, D, showing the tent of a Hañga man, who was a Buffalo shaman as well as a Grizzly Bear shaman, we find that the top of the latter tent has a yellow band (apparently pointing to the Hañga tradition of an aquatic origin), as well as a blue band at the bottom (referring to the grizzly bear vision).

§ 378. From what has been said respecting the figures 194–199, we are led to make the following provisional coördinations:

Dakota god.	Element.	Quarter.	Color.
Tunkan	Earth	North	Blue
Wakinyan	Fire	East	Red
Takuśkanśkan	Wind-makers	South	Black
Unktehi	Water	West	Yellow

NOTE.—The names of the Dakota gods are given because we have more information about them, and the exact Omaha equivalent for Takuśkanśkan has not been obtained.

§ 379. Miss Fletcher gave, in 1884, a list of symbolic colors, which differs somewhat from that which the author has suggested in the preceding section. She said:

White, blue, red, and yellow possess different meaning, yet are not very clearly determined by all tribes.[1] Among the Dakotas the following interpretation prevails: White is seldom used artificially; when it occurs in nature, as the white buffalo, deer, rabbit, etc., and on the plumage of birds, it indicates consecration. The sacred feathers and down are always white,[2] the former being taken from the under part of the eagle's wing and are soft and downy. This meaning of white holds good with the Omahas, Poncas, etc., and seems to have a wide application among the Indians. Blue represents the winds, the west, the moon, the water, the thunder, and sometimes the lightning. * * * Red indicates the sun, the stone, the forms of animal and vegetable life, the procreative force. Yellow represents sunlight as distinguished from the fructifying power of the sun.[3]

[1] The author accepts this without hesitation.

[2] Yet these feathers and down are often colored: see §§ 112, 116, 132, 239, 242, and 263.

[3] An. Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 285, note 10. Written in 1882.

The author has never observed this use of white as a symbolic color. In speaking of albino animals, we infer that to the Siouan mind they are consecrated because they are rare. In fact, Miss Fletcher says:

> The white buffalo is rare and generally remains near the center of the herd, which makes it difficult of approach. It is therefore considered as the chief or sacred one of the herd; and it is consequently greatly prized by the Indians.[1]

While the author is convinced of the great value of Miss Fletcher's investigations, he inquires concerning the veracity of her interpreters. He would like to see more detailed evidence before he accepts as the Dakota classification one which puts in the same category not only the winds and thunder, but also the water, the west, and the moon. He also asks why should the moon be separated from the sun (see § 138), and why should the west be the only quarter symbolized by a color? Besides, the Dakota shamans say that the Thunder-beings are of four colors, black, yellow, scarlet, and blue (see § 116).

In response to the wish of the author, Miss Fletcher has kindly furnished him with the following letter of explanation, received after the rest of the paper had been written:

> Consecration as applied to the color white in the article you have quoted needs a few words of explanation.
>
> The almost universal appropriation of white animals to religious ceremonies is unquestionable; whether this selection rests wholly upon the rarity of this color is a little doubtful. The unusual is generally wakan; this feeling, however, is not confined to a color, and although the white buffalo and the white deer are not often met with, other white animals, as the rabbit, are not uncommon, nor are white feathers. It is true these white feathers are often colored for ceremonial uses, but the added colors have their particular meanings, and these do not seem to override the primal signification that the feathers selected to bear these symbolic colors are white. The natural suggestion that a white ground would best serve to set off the added lines may have been in the distant past the simple reason why white feathers were chosen; and this choice adhered to for generations would at last become clothed with a mysterious significance. If this were ever true, this reason for choosing white feathers is not recognized to-day. I have been frequently told, the feathers must be white.
>
> While I should now hesitate to say that white symbolizes consecration, still, after continued study, I find the idea clinging about the color, which, as I said then, is seldom artificially used.
>
> Various symbolic colors are not infrequently placed upon one object, so that the combining of symbols,[2] or even their occasional exchange, does not seem discordant to the Indian mind; this fact among others renders it difficult to draw a hard and fast line about any one color or symbol.
>
> Further research has shown me that green and blue and black are related and that to a degree green and blue are interchangeable. Blue is regarded as a darkened green; that is, green removed from the light, not deepened in hue. Blue, therefore, stands intermediate between green which has the light on it, and blue shaded into black, which has no light on it. In some ceremonies green typifies the earth; in others blue is the symbol. The sky is sometimes represented by green, and again blue is used, while blue darkened to black stands for the destructive elements of the air.

[1] An. Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 260.

[2] As it was customary for gentes of the same phratry to exchange personal names, a (Kansa) Deer name, for instance, being given to a (Kansa) Buffalo man, and *vice versa*, the author thinks that an exchange of symbolic colors might be expected. Compare what Matthews tells about the exchange of white and black among the Navajo, in § 380.

I have found a subtle connection between the elements of earth and air that answers somewhat to the blending of the symbolic colors just spoken of. This connection is revealed in the reciprocal or complementary functions of gentes belonging to these two great divisions represented in the tribal structure, as well as in the reactionary character of the elements themselves as portrayed in the myths and typified in some ceremonies. For instance, the eagle mythically belongs to the air, and is allied to the destructive powers of the element and to wars upon the earth, yet the Eagle gens, although connected with the air division of the gentes, is in some tribes a peace gens. An enemy escaping to the tent of an Eagle man is safe and can not be molested. In symbols eagle feathers are not only the pride and emblem of the warrior but they are essential in certain ceremonies of amity and peace-making.

A study of the position of gentes belonging to the divisions of earth and air, their tribal and ceremonial duties, together with their mythological significance, shows lines connecting the gentes of the earth with the gentes of the air which are vertical, so to speak, and might be represented as running north and south on the tribal circle, and indicating mediating offices as between contending or opposite forces.

It would occupy too much space to fully set forth my reasons for thinking blue-black to be the symbol of the thunder rather than red and yellow. Although thunder is allied to the four quarters, to the four elemental divisions and partakes of their symbolism, still a study of thunder myths, thunder-names, and the tribal offices of thunder gentes seems to me, at my present understanding of them, to indicate the blue-black as the persistent symbol.

I would not at this date make any unqualified statement giving green, blue, or black as the symbol of the west, the water, or the moon; and although in some instances these colors occur in connection with these objects of reverence, I am now inclined to class these as incidental rather than as representative of the color symbols.

One word regarding red and yellow. Red not only represents the sun and the procreative forces (yet black is sometimes used in the latter), but the color carries with it the idea of hope, the continuation of life. The dawn of the day, the east, is almost without exception in these tribes denoted by red. This red line, forceful, aggressive, yet life-giving and hope-inspiring, starts from a war division of the tribal circle and fades into yellow as it passes into an opposite peace division in the west. Red and yellow bear to each other a relation somewhat resembling that of blue and black, only reversed; the red loses its intensity in yellow, the aggressive force symbolized in the red is not expressed in the yellow. If the Indian's world were arched with his symbolic colors, we should see a brilliant band of red start from the east and fade to yellow in the west; while the green-blue line from the north would deepen to the black of the south. In the first the intense color would rush from war into the mild light of peace; the second bright hue would spring from peace to be lost in the darkness of war. Thus the two hold the tribe within the opposing yet complementary forces which constitute the mystery of the relation between life and death.

I will not go further into this interesting subject nor revert to the revolution of these symbolic colors as throwing light on tribal migrations and history.

Thanking you for this opportunity to modify some of my statements written nine years ago,

I remain, cordially yours,

ALICE C. FLETCHER.

PEABODY MUSEUM,
Cambridge, Mass., January 3, 1891.

In the Word Carrier of November, 1890, published by A. L. Riggs, at Santee Agency, Nebr., is an article on page 30, from Mary C. Collins, who is evidently one of the mission workers. She says: "I went into the sacred tent and talked with Sitting Bull. He sat * * * opposite the tent door. Hands and wrists were painted yellow and green;

face painted red, green, and white." (Did the four colors refer to the elements?) "As I started toward him he said, 'Winona,[1] approach me on the left side and shake my left hand with your left hand.'" (Does the gens of Sitting Bull camp on the left side of the tribal circle, occasioning the use of the left in all ceremonies, as among the Tsiou gentes of the Osage? Or is the left the war side among the people of Sitting Bull, as among the Kansa? See §§ 33 and 368.)

§ 380. The following are the symbolic colors of the North Carolina Cherokee, the Ojibwa, the Navajo, the Apache, the Zuñi, and the Aztec:

Quarter, etc.	Cherokee. (a)	Ojibwa.		Navajo.		Apache.		Zuñi. (h)	Aztec. (i)
		(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	(g)		
East	Red, 1	White	Red	White, 1	Yellow	Black	Yellow	White, 4	Yellow.
South	White, 4	Green	Green	Blue, 2	Red	White	Green or Blue	Red, 3	White.
West	Black, 3	Red	White	Yellow, 3	Blue	Yellow	Black	Blue, 2	Blue.
North	Blue, 2	Black	Black	Black, 4	White	Blue	White	Yellow, 1	Red.
Upper world				Blue				All colors, 5.	
Lower world				White and black in spots.				Black, 6.	
Sunlight				Red					

a Mooney, in Jour. Am. Folklore, Vol. III, No. 8, Jan.-Mar., 1890, pp. 49, 50.

b Hoffman, in Am. Anthropologist, July, 1889, pp. 217, 218; from Sicosige, a second-degree Mide of White Earth, Minn.

c Hoffman, in ibid., p. 218; from Ojibwa, a fourth-degree Mide, from another locality.

d Matthews, in 5th An. Rept. Bur. Eth., p. 449.

e Mallery, from Thos. V. Keam's catalogue of relics of the ancient buildings of the southwest table-lands—quoted in Trans. Anthrop. Soc. of Washington, Vol. III, 141, 1885.

f Gatschet, on Chiricahua Apache sun circle, in Trans. Anthrop. Soc. of Washington, Vol. III, 147, 1885.

g Capt. J. G. Bourke, in a letter to the author, Dec. 4, 1890. In Nov., 1885, he obtained from a San Carlos (Pinal) Apache green as the color for the north.

h Mrs. M. C. Stevenson, in 5th An. Rept. Bur. Eth., p. 548. According to Dr. J. Walter Fewkes the Hopi or Moki have a similar order of colors, the west having green (or blue).

i Kingsborough, Antiquities of Mexico, Vol. VII (*fide* Capt. J. G. Bourke).

According to Gatschet the Chiricahua Apache call the sun, when in the east, "the black sun," and a tornado or gust of wind also is called "black." (See § 378.)

Matthews says that in rare cases white is assigned to the north and black to the east, and that black represents the male and blue the female among the Navajo. (See § 105 of this paper.)

§ 381. The author calls special attention to the colors of the four sacred stones of the Omaha Wolf gens, red, black, yellow, and blue i. e., E., S., W., N.; see § 369), and to those on the tent of an Omaha Black Bear man (see § 373, and PL. XLIV, E, where the colors are given in the order N., E., S., W.). He has not yet gained the colors for the upper and lower worlds, though the Omaha offer the pipe to the "vener-

[1] Winona, name of the first child if a daughter, not "first daughter."

able man sitting above" and to the "venerable man below lying on his back." (§ 27.)

In the tradition of the Tsiɔu wactaɣe gens of the Osage there is an account of the finding of four kinds of rocks, black, blue or green, red, and white. And from the left hind legs of four buffalo bulls there dropped to the ground four ears of corn and four pumpkins.[1] The corn and pumpkin from the first buffalo were red, those from the second were spotted, those from the third were cade, i. e., dark or distant-black, and those from the fourth were white.

Green, black, white, and gray are the traditional colors of the ancestral wolves, according to the Wolf people of the Winnebago, though for "green" we may substitute "blue," as the corresponding name for the first son in that gens is Blue Sky. Among the personal names in the Thunder-being subgens of the Winnebago are the four color names, Green Thunder-being, Black Thunder-being, White Thunder-being, and Yellow Thunder-being (instead of Gray). James Alexander, a member of the Wolf gens, said that these four Thunder-being names did not refer to the four quarters. This seems probable, unless white be the Winnebago color for the east and gray or yellow that for the west.

In November, 1893, more than two years after the preceding sentence was written, a Winnebago told the author that among his people white was associated with the north, red with the west, and green with the south. Of these he was certain. He thought that blue was the color for the east, but he was not positive about it.

COLORS IN PERSONAL NAMES.

§ 382. The following shows the color combinations in a list of forty-six objects taken from the census schedules of the Dakota, Hidatsa, and Mandan tribes (U. S. Census of 1880), the lists of Dakota names given in the Fourth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, pp. 175, 177–180, and the list of Winnebago names collected by the author. Blue or green (chiefly blue), 26; red, 25; black, 31; yellow, 30; scarlet, 38; white, 37; gray, 18; san or distant-white (whitish), 4; rusty-yellow or brown (ġi), 18; spotted, 17; and striped, 8. Objects combined with two colors, 7; with three colors, 7; with four colors, 4; with five colors, 5; with six colors, 5; with seven colors, 6; with eight colors, 6; with nine colors, 5; with ten colors, 1; with all eleven colors, none. It should, however, be remembered that the lists consulted did not contain all the personal names of the Siouan tribes which have been mentioned, and that it is probable there would be found more color combinations if all the census schedules were accessible. We can not say whether each of the colors (including spotted and striped) has a mystic significance in the Siouan mind. Perhaps further study may show that red (śa) and scarlet (duta, luta) have the same symbolic meaning, and rusty-yellow (ġi) may be an equivalent of yellow (zi).

[1] Osage Traditions, in 6th An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 379.

THE EARTH POWERS.

§ 383. The Tunkan or bowlder, the Dakota name for the Earth powers, is also called the Lingam by Riggs (§ 132), as if connected with a phallic cult (§§ 164, etc.). The Earth powers (Tunkan) and the Wind-makers (Takuśkanśkan) are said by the Dakota to have a common symbol; but is not the symbol of the Takuśkanśkan a pebble (§ 376)? In the Kansa war chart (see § 127) does the large (red) rock refer to the Earth powers? And does the small rock refer to the Wind-makers? The Earth powers and the Wind-makers seem to be associated in some degree: (*a*) In the use of the rock symbol (if the Takuśkanśkan symbol be a true rock), and (*b*) in the use, among the Omaha, of eagle birth-names in the social divisions called "Keepers of the pipes." This latter rests upon the assumption that the Iñke-sabĕ is a buffalo gens which should be regarded as having some connection with the Earth cult. When the Omaha chiefs assembled in council the two sacred pipes were filled by the Ictasanda keeper (a member of a Fire and Water gens); but they were carried around the council lodge by the Iñke-sabĕ and ⌊e-da-it'ajĭ keepers. The Iñke-sabĕ keeper started around the lodge with one of the pipes; when he had gone halfway (i. e., as far as the entrance) the ⌊e-da-it'ajĭ keeper started from the back of the lodge with the other pipe, taking care to keep behind the Iñke-sabĕ keeper just half the circumference of the circle.[1] The ⌊e-da-it'ajĭ man belonged to the Eagle or Wind-makers subgens and the Iñke-sabĕ man to one that we term provisionally an Earth gens. (See Fig. 194.) The Iñke-sabĕ, it is true, have a tradition that they came originally from the water; but the buffalo is specially associated with the earth. Among the Dakota the buffalo and the earth are regarded as one. (§ 239.)

EARTH GENTES.

The Earth gentes, as far as we can judge, are as follows: Iñke-sabĕ and Hañga (?), two Buffalo gentes, and the Wasabe-hit'ajĭ, a Black bear subgens, among the Omaha; the Wacabe and Maka^{n} (Buffalo gentes,) among the Ponka; the Ma^{n}yiñka (Earth) and Wasabe (Black bear), of the Kansa; the Earth and Black bear of the Osage; Black bear, and perhaps Wolf, among the Iowa and Oto; Black bear, of the Missouri; and Black bear and Wolf of the Winnebago. The Black bear people of the Winnebago were the only men of that tribe who enforced discipline in time of war and acted as policemen when there was peace. The tradition of the Winnebago Wolf gens names four brothers that were created. The first was green [sic] and was named Blue Sky (referring to day). The second was black, and his name referred to night. The third was white and the fourth was gray. The green, black, and white wolves have remained in their subterranean

[1] Om. Soc., in 3d An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 223, 224.

abodes. They are never seen by mankind. The gray wolf was the ancestor of all the wolves which are seen above ground. (See § 90.) These four colors are evidently symbolic; but the author has not yet learned whether they have any reference to the four quarters. (See § 75.)

THE FIRE POWERS.

§ 384. Among these were the Thunder-beings and the Sun. The former were usully considered maleficent powers, as distinguished from the Sun, the beneficent Fire power; but occasionally the Thunder-beings were addressed as "grandfathers," who could be induced to gratify the wishes of the suppliants by granting them success in war (§§ 35, 36). It was probably with reference to the Sun that the East was considered the source of light and life, the West being associated with the taking of life in the chase or on the war path (see § 28). Red among the Omaha is the color symbol of the East, but red is also symbolic of war. The "fire paint" among the Tsiȯu gentes of the Osage tribe is red. It is applied when the fire prayers are said. Red is a war color among the Dakota, Omaha, Kansa, and Osage. The Tsiȯu crier received in his left hand a knife with the handle painted red. The Hañꞑa crier received in his right hand a hatchet with the handle reddened. On the death of a comrade the surviving Osage removed the bark from a post oak, say, about 5 feet from the ground, painted the blazed tree red, broke four arrows and left them and some paint by the tree.[1] Whenever the author saw Paha^{n}le-gaqli, one of the war chiefs of the Kansa, he noticed that the man's face was painted red all over. In the middle of the war chart of Paha^{n}le-gaqli was a fire symbol; but the chief feared to represent it in the copy which he made for the author. It probably consisted of the four firebrands placed at right angles and meeting at a common center. The Omaha must have had such a symbol at one time (see § 33). The Osage had it, according to their tradition (see §§ 40, 365). The successful warriors among the Omaha could redden their weapons when they joined in the dance.[2]

The Dakota give the following as the sentinels for the Wakinyan: The deer at the north, the butterfly at the east, the beaver at the south, and the bear at the west (§ 116). If these were arranged to conform to the order of Fig. 194 the bear would be at the north, the beaver at the west, the deer at the east, and the butterfly at the south. But there may be a special order of grouping the servants of each class of powers differing from the order of the four powers themselves. The Dakota wakan men say that the Wakinyan are of four colors, black, yellow, scarlet, and blue (§ 116). The Thunder men of the Omaha legend had hair of different colors, the first having white hair, the second red, the third yellow, and the fourth green hair.[3]

[1] Osage war customs, in Am. Naturalist, Feb., 1884, pp. 118, 126, 132.
[2] Om. Soc., in 3d An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 329, 330.
[3] Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VI, p. 187.

FIRE GENTES.

The following appear to be the Fire gentes: Thunder-being people of the Omaha tribe, Elk gens, Small-bird subgens, Deer, and Ictasanda (Reptile and Thunder-being) gentes; the Hisada and Black bear gentes of the Ponka; the Lų or Gray hawk people (also called Thunder-being people) of the Kansa tribe, with whom are associated the Deer and Buffalo gentes in the singing of the Thunder songs (§ 36); the ꓘ𐌡ŭⁿ[1] or Thunder-being gens, on the Tsiǫu, Buffalo, or Peace side of the Osage tribe (!!), perhaps the Tcexiąa, a bird gens of the Iowa tribe; part of the Tcexiąa gens of the Oto and Missouri tribes; and the Wakaⁿtcară or Thunder-being subgens of the Winnebago.

Four Thunder-beings were invoked by the Ictasanda gens (§ 35): ₡ig₡ize-maⁿ₡iⁿ, ₡iaⁿba-tig₡e, ₡iaⁿba-gi-naⁿ, and Gaagig₡edaⁿ. Was each of these supposed to dwell at one of the four quarters?

Among the Osage and Kansa tribes there is a gens known as the Miⁿ k'iⁿ (from miⁿ, the sun, and k'iⁿ, to carry a load on the back), rendered "Sun Carriers." Some of the Osage insisted that this name referred to the buffalo instead of the sun, as that animal carries a robe or plenty of hair on his back; and they maintained that the Miⁿ k'iⁿ was a buffalo gens. That there is some connection in the Indian mind between the sun and the buffalo is shown in the sun dance, in which the figure of a buffalo bull (§ 164) and buffalo skulls (§§ 147, 173, 176, 177, 181, and 198, and Pl. XLVIII) play important parts.

THE WIND-MAKERS.

§ 385. The Takuśkanśkan of the Dakotas has been described in a previous chapter (§§ 127–131). The Omaha tribe has the order of the Iⁿ-kug₡i or the translucent stone, in which order the Wind-makers were probably invoked. The Tsiǫu old man addressed the four winds and as many mystic buffaloes when he laid down the four firebrands. And at a similar ceremony the old man of the Paⁿqka gens addressed the four winds and as many mystic deer (§ 33). The Omaha evidently had a prayer, "Ho, ye four firebrands that meet at a common point!" (§ 40.) With this there may have been addresses to the winds. Four firebrands were used in a Winnebago ceremony (§ 84).

The Iñke-sabĕ (Omaha) belief as to the four winds has been related in § 366.[2] The winds and the sun were associated in the ceremony of raising the sun pole, judging from what Bushotter has written (§ 167). There was also some connection in the Dakota mind between the winds and the buffalo. Compare the figure of the winds on a buffalo skull as described by Miss Fletcher[3] in her account of the sun dance.

[1] A Kansa saying: Lų, Tcedũñga, Taqtci aba cki wanaxe kinukiye, abe au, *They say that the Thunder-being, Buffalo, and Deer gentes cause a ghost to "kinu,"* referring to some effect on a ghost which can not be explained.

[2] Om. Soc., in 3d An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., p. 229.

[3] Am. Assoc. Adv. Sci. Proc., Vol. 31, p. 583. See, too, An. Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. III, p. 262, lines 15–18.

WIND GENTES.

The following social divisions are assigned to this category: The Ɪaⁿze, or Wind people, and the ⊥e-da-itʻajĭ, Touch-not-a-buffalo-skull, or Eagle people, of the Omaha tribe; the ɸixida and Nikadaɔna gentes of the Ponka; the Kaⁿze (Wind or South Wind people), Qüya (White eagle), Ghost, and perhaps the Large Hañga (Black eagle), among the Kansa; the Kaⁿse (also called the Wind and South Wind people), and perhaps the Hañꞯa utaɸanꞯse (Black eagle) gens of the Osage; the Pigeon and Buffalo gentes of the Iowa and Oto tribes; the Hawk and Momi (Small bird) subgentes of the Missouri tribe; the Eagle and Pigeon, and perhaps the Hawk subgens of the Winnebago Bird gens.

EACH QUARTER RECKONED AS THREE.

Each wind or quarter is reckoned as three by the Dakota[1] and presumably by the Osage (see § 42), making the four quarters equal to twelve. Can there be any reference here to a belief in three worlds, the one in which we live, an upper world, and a world beneath this one? Or were the winds divided into three classes, those close to the ground, those in mid air, and those very high in the air? The Kansa seem to make some such distinction, judging from the names of the divisions of the Kaⁿze or Wind gens of that tribe.

NAMES REFERRING TO OTHER WORLDS.

References to a world supposed to be above that one in which we dwell occur in some of the personal names of the Dakota, in the U. S. Census list of 1880. There we find such names as, Wolf Up-above, Hawk Up-above, Grizzly-bear Up-above, and Buffalo-bull Up-above. Grizzly-bear Up-above should be taken in connection with the tradition of the Black-bear people of the Osage tribe. These people tell how their ancestors descended from the upper world, bringing fire.[2] The tradition of the Wolf people of the Winnebago tribe tells of the creation of their ancestors as wolves in a subterranean world, and of a belief that many wolves remain there still. The Winnebago have, too, the name, Second Earth Person, referring to a waktceqi or watermonster, as the waktceqi are supposed to dwell in the world beneath this one. They call this world The First World, and the subterranean one The Second World.

THE WATER POWERS.

§ 386. The Unktelii of the Dakota answers to the Wakandagi of the Omaha and Ponka, and the Waktceqi of the Winnebago. One of the Omaha myths relates to a Wakandagi with seven heads. The Waktceqi have the Loon as a servant, and in this respect they resemble the tyrant

[1] Compare An. Rept. Peabody Museum, Vol. 3, p. 289, note 1.
[2] Osage War Customs, in Amer. Naturalist, Feb. 1884, p. 133.

U-twa′-ɮe of the Ⱡoiwere myth. The name utwaɮe is now given to the muskrat. The male Water powers inhabit streams, and the females dwell under the ground, presumably in subterranean streams. According to Winnebago belief, they support the weight of the hills. Some of the Omaha thought that these powers dwelt under the hills (§§ 77, 107). The monsters supposed to inhabit bogs were probably a species of water spirits (§ 254). Streams were invoked as "Wakanda" by the Omaha (§ 23). Though the natural habitat of the buffalo is the surface of the earth, and the Dakota believe the animal to be of subterranean origin, he is of subaquatic origin according to the traditions of the Iñke-sabe and Hañga gentes of the Omaha.[1] But no traces of such a belief have been found among the buffalo gentes of cognate tribes. "One day, when the principal man of the people not known as the Waɸigije subgens of the Iñke-sabe, was fasting and praying to the sun-god,[2] he saw the ghost of a buffalo, visible from the flank up, arising from a spring."[3]

WATER PEOPLE.

The Water people among the Omaha are the Turtle subgens, parts (if not all) of the Iñke-sabe and Hañga (Buffalo) gentes, and perhaps a part of the Ictasanda gens. Those among the Ponka have not yet been ascertained; but they may be the Wajaje and part of the Hisada. Among the Kansa they are the Turtle people. In the Osage tribe are the Turtle Carriers, Ke ɮatsü (said to be a turtle, but probably a Water-monster), Fish, Beaver, and, perhaps, the Tsewaɸe or Pond Lily people. Among the Iowa and Oto are the Beaver gentes. And the Winnebago have the Water-monster gens.

CAUTIONS AND QUERIES.

§ 387. There are many gentes and subgentes which can not be assigned to any of the four categories of elemental powers for want of evidence. It is unsafe to argue that, because two buffalo gentes of the Omaha claim a subaquatic origin, all buffalo gentes should be regarded as Water people. Certain cautions should be kept in mind.

§ 388. The power of each of the four classes of elemental gods extends beyond its special element. For instance, the Unktehi, who rules in the water, has for his servants or allies, the black owl in the forest (Query: Has this any connection with the fire or thunder?), eagles in the air, and serpents in the earth. And the Thunder-beings have as their servants, the bear, whose abode is in the ground, the beaver, who is associated with the water, the butterfly, who lives in the air; and the deer.

§ 389. The servants of a class of elemental gods do not necessarily belong to that element which those gods regulate. Thus, the Black

[1] Om. Soc., in 3d. An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 229, 233.

[2] Symbolizing the fire.

[3] This seems to point to a subaquatic origin. See Om. Soc., p. 231.

bear people of the Omaha, an earth people, assist the Elk people in the worship of the Thunder; and among the Kansa, the Buffalo people perform a similar service for the Lų or Thunder-being people (§§ 35, 36).

Those who belong to the same phratry, belong to the same social division; but while they "sing the mystery songs together," they need not be assigned to the same elemental category.

§ 390. As the order of Thunder shamans is composed of those who have had dreams or visions of the sun, moon, stars, Thunder-beings, or some other superterrestial objects or phenomena, may not all superterrestial beings, including those of the "upper world," be regarded as Thunder-beings by the Indians? (See § 45 and the Thunder-being names in § 393.)

That is to say, may not the eagles, and other birds of the "upper world" be Eagle Thunder-beings, Crow Thunder-beings, etc., though their special element is not the fire but the "wind-makers," and the grizzly bears who reside under ground in that upper world, have given rise to the personal name, Grizzly-bear Thunder-being? If this be correct, then Bowlder Thunder-being may refer to a bowlder in the upper world, unless the supposition respecting composite names (in § 392) be true.

§ 391. The following appears at first sight to be the proper classification of the subgentes of a Bird gens in a few of the Siouan tribes: Thunder-bird, Eagle, Hawk, and Pigeon. But a study of personal names has led to a modification of this grouping: for we find such names as Eagle Thunder-being, Hawk Thunder-being, and Pigeon Thunder-being, as distinguished from ordinary eagles, hawks, and pigeons. Hence, we may find on further study that in some tribes there are eagle, hawk, and pigeon names for gentes and subgentes whose patron gods are Thunder-beings. For instance, the Lų gens of the Kansa tribe has two names for itself, Leda^{n} nikaci^{n}ga, Gray hawk People, and Lų nikaci^{n}ga, Thunder-being People.

COMPOSITE NAMES.

§ 392. There are other composite names, most of which are found in the census lists of the Dakota tribes, whose gentes are said to have no animal names, and a few have been obtained from the personal name lists of the Omaha, Ponka, and Kansa, and the census lists of the Mandan, and Hidatsa, that give animal names to some or all of their gentes. In the Winnebago name list no such personal names have been found, though that people has animal names for its gentes.

Each of these composite names may refer to a vision of a composite being, who was subsequently regarded as the guardian spirit of the person who had the dream or vision. Or the bearer of such a name may have had a dream or vision of two distinct powers. In the pictograph of such a name, the powers (or symbols of the two powers) represented in the name are joined (see § 374).

§ 393. The following is a list of composite names which may be found to symbolize the four elements. The elements are designated by their respective abbreviations: E for earth, F for fire; A for air, and W for water. The interrogation mark after any name denotes a provisional or conjectural assignment.

Turtle Grizzly-bear (W+E).
Grizzly-bear Small-bird (E+A).
Cloud Grizzly-bear (F?+E).
Grizzly-bear Buffalo-bull (E+?).
Fire Grizzly-bear (F+E).
Sun Grizzly-bear (F+E).
Ghost Grizzly-bear (?+E).
Grizzly-bear Weasel, given as "Weasel Bear" in 4th An. Rept. Bur. Eth., Pl. LXIX, No. 174.
Iron Grizzly-bear ("Iron" is generally denoted by blue in the Dakota pictographs. See § 107.)
Bald-eagle Grizzly-bear (A?+E).
Shield Grizzly-bear. (The shield is on the bear's side, 4th Eth., Pl. LXIII, No. 62.)
Crow Grizzly-bear.
Whirlwind Grizzly-bear. (The whirlwind precedes in the pictograph, 4th Eth., Pl. LVIII, No. 77.)
Hawk Thunder-being.
Pigeon Thunder-being. (A Loiwere name —not yet found in Dakota.)
Buffalo-bull Thunder-being.
Grizzly-bear Thunder-being (E+F).
Fire Thunder-being (F+F).
Elk Thunder-being.
Pipe Thunder-being. (4th Eth., Pl. LXXI, No. 179, a winged pipe.)
Cloud Thunder-being.
Horse Thunder-being.
Iron Thunder-being. (See § 107.)
Earth Thunder-being (E+F.)
Black-Bird Eagle.
Eagle Hawk. (4th Eth., Pl. LVI, No. 53.)
Eagle Small-bird. (4th Eth., Pl. LXVI, No. 116.)
Grizzly-bear Eagle. (4th Eth., Pl. LXIX, No. 170; a bear with an eagle's tail.)
Horse Eagle. (4th Eth., Pl. LXVIII, No. 153; horse body and eagle's tail.)
Dog Eagle. (4th Eth., Pl. LII, No. 9; dog with eagle's tail.)
Eagle Swallow. (4th Eth., Pl. LXXIX, No. 282; eagle with forked tail of a swallow).
Cloud Eagle.
Iron Deer.
Cloud Dog.
Buffalo-bull Small-bird.
Mountain Buffalo-bull.
Crow Buffalo-bull.
Buffalo-bull Dog.
Cloud Buffalo-bull.
Buffalo-bull Man (i. e., Indian).
Buffalo-bull Ghost.
Stone Buffalo-bull.
Buffalo-bull Buffalo-cow (the only name in which both sexes are given).
Iron Buffalo-bull. (See § 107.)
Buffalo-bull Wind.
Buffalo-cow Eagle.
Iron Buffalo. (N. B.—It is uncertain to which element the buffalo should be assigned. He seems to be associated with all of them.)
Sun-dog (F?+E?).
Eagle Thunder-Being (A?+F).
Elk Eagle. (4th Eth., Pl. LXX, No. 178; an elk's horns and eagle's tail.)
Sun Eagle (F+A).
Star Eagle (F?+A).
Stone Eagle (E?+A).
Iron Eagle.
Crow Eagle.
Owl Eagle.
Weasel Eagle.
Grizzly-bear Hawk.
Fire Hawk.
Scarlet Hawk Whirlwind.
Hawk Ghost.
Iron Hawk. (4th Eth., Pl. LVI, No. 47; the hawk is blue.)
Iron Wolf.
Wolf Ghost.
Fire Wind (F+A).
Fire Lightning.
Iron Lightning.
Iron Star.
Iron Boy. (4th Eth., Pl. LVIII, No. 81; a boy painted blue.)
Iron Crow. (4th Eth., Pl. LVI, No. 47; a crow painted blue.)
Crow Ghost.
Iron Elk.
Female-elk Boy. (4th Eth., Pl. LVII, No. 66; the head and shoulders of a boy joined to a female elk.)

Iron Dog.
Dog Ghost.
Bowlder Thunder-Being (E+F).
Iron Whirlwind.
Iron Beaver.
Small-bird Beaver.
Iron Owl.
Cloud Hail.
Iron Cloud.
Fire Cloud.
Iron Wind.
Stone Ghost.
Cloud Black-bear.
Hermaphrodite Ghost (!)
Iron Kingfisher.
Cloud Horse.
Iron Horse.
Lightning Horse.
Earth (or Ground) Horse.
Wind Horse.
Fire Horse.
Black-bird Horse.
Small-bird Man (or, Indian; 4th Eth., Pl. LIV, No. 28; bird's head and wings on a man's body).
Dog Rattlesnake.

There are several "Waśićun" names: Cloud Waśićun, Fire Waśićun, Night Waśićun, and Iron Waśićun. The last one has for its pictograph a man with a hat, i. e., a white man, and can hardly have any mystic significance. The name, Waśićun, originally meant "guardian spirit," but it is now applied to white people (§ 122). In the absence of the pictographs, we can not tell whether Cloud Waśićun, Fire Waśićun, and Night Waśićun refer to guardian spirits (in which case they are mystic names connected with cults) or to white men.

Most of the above names are taken from the Dakota census lists. The Iowere lists furnish only two composite names of this character: Iron Hawk Female, and Pigeon Thunder-being. The Kansa list has Moon Hawk and Moon Hawk Female, the latter name, which is found in the Omaha and Ponka list, suggesting the Egyptian figure of a woman's body with a hawk's head, surmounted by a crescent moon. Horse Eagle appears to be a sort of Pegasus. Buffalo-bull Eagle may refer to the myth of the Orphan and the Buffalo-woman, in which we learn that the Buffalo people ascended through the air to the upper world.[1]

PERSONAL NAMES FROM HORNED BEINGS.

§ 394. The Dakota lists have several names of horned beings, as follows: Horned Grizzly-bear, Horned Horse (4th Eth., Pl. LIV, No. 29, and Pl. LXXI, No. 193), Horned Dog, Horned Eagle, Gray Horned Thunder-Being, Horned Deer, Black Horned Boy, and Snake Horn. No attempt to explain these names has been made. Among the Winnebago, the following names refer to water monsters, and belong to the Waktceqi or Water-monster gens: Horn on one side (equivalent to the Dakota, He-saŋnića), Horns on both sides, Two Horns, Four Horns, and Five Horns.

The Winnebago list has the name Four Women (in one), with which compare what has been said about the Double-Woman (§ 251).

[1] Contr. N. A. Ethn., Vol. VI, pp. 142, 146.

NAMES DERIVED FROM SEVERAL HOMOGENEOUS OBJECTS OR BEINGS.

An examination of the personal name lists reveals such names as First or One Grizzly-bear, Two Grizzly-bears, Three Grizzly-bears, Four Grizzly-bears, Many Grizzly-bears; One Path, Two Paths, Four Paths Female, Many Paths; One Cloud, Two Clouds, Three Clouds, Many Clouds; One Crow, Two Crows, Three Crows, Four Crows, Many Crows. The author suspects that these names and many others of a similar character are symbolic of the four quarters and of the upper and lower worlds, and that the Indian who was named after the larger number of mystic objects enjoyed the protection of more spirits than did he whose name referred to the smaller number. This accords with the Cherokee notion described by Mr. Mooney in his article on the Cherokee theory and practice of medicine:[1] The shaman is represented as calling first on the Red Hawk from the east, then on the Blue Hawk in the north, the two hawks accomplishing more by working together. Still more is effected when the Black Hawk from the west joins them, and a complete victory is won when the White Hawk from the south joins the others.

Compare with this the Osage opinion that the man who could show seven sticks (representing seven brave or generous deeds) was of more importance than he who could show only six sticks.

RETURN OF THE SPIRIT TO THE EPONYM.

§ 395. In two of the buffalo gentes of the Omaha (the Iñke-sabĕ and Haũga) there is a belief that the spirits of deceased members of those gentes return to the buffaloes. Does the abode of the disembodied spirit differ in the gentes according to the nature of the eponymic ancestor? For instance, is there a belief among the Elk people that their spirits at death return to the ancestral Elk?

FUNCTIONS OF GENTES AND SUBGENTES.

§ 396. In several tribes there seems to have been a division of labor among the gentes and subgentes, that is, each social division of the tribe had its special religious duties.

In the Omaha tribe we find the following: the Elk gens regulated war; it kept the war tent, war pipes, and the bag containing poisons; it invoked the Thunder-being, who was supposed to be the god of war, and it sent out the scouts. The Iñke-sabĕ and Haũga gentes were the leading peace gentes; they regulated the buffalo hunt and the cultivation of the soil. The Haũga gens had the control of the peace pipes, and a member of that gens lighted the pipes on all ceremonial occasions except at the time of the anointing of the sacred pole.[2] The Iñke-sabĕ gens kept the peace pipes, and a member of that gens acted as crier on

[1] Jour. Am. Folk-lore, Vol. III, No. VIII, pp. 49, 50.
[2] Om. Soc., in 3d An. Rept. Bur. Ethn., pp. 222, 223.

many occasions, the other crier being a member of the ꞯaⁿze or Wind gens. An Ictasanda man usually filled and emptied the pipes; but a Hañga man filled them when the sacred pole was anointed. The ꞮLe-đa-it'ajĭ keeper of a sacred pipe really kept instead the sacred tobacco pouch and buffalo skull. The Iŋke-sabĕ and ꞮLe-đa-it'ajĭ keepers carried the two pipes around the circle of chiefs. The Black bear people aided the Elk people in the worship of the Thunder-being in the spring of the year.

§ 397. The following division of labor existed in the Ponka tribe: The Wasabe-hit'ajĭ and Hisada gentes led in the worship of the Thunder-being. The ɸixida and Nikađaɔna gentes led in war. The Wacabe, Makaⁿ, and Nuqe, all buffalo gentes, regulated the buffalo hunt. The Wajaje (Reptile people) with whom used to be the Necta or Owl people, appear to have been servants of the subaquatic powers.

§ 398. In the Kansa tribe we find that the Earth Lodge and Elk gentes consecrated the mystic fireplaces whenever a new village was established; that the Earth Lodge people consecrated the corn, and regulated the buffalo hunt as well as farming; that the Elk people directed the attack on the buffalo herd; that the Ghost people announced all deaths; that the two Hañga gentes led in war and in mourning for the dead; that the Tciju wactage was a peace-making gens; that a member of the Deer gens was the crier for the tribe; that the member of the Lu or Thunder-being gens could not take part in the waqpele gaxe (§ 28) and must remain in the rear of the other warriors on such an occasion; and that the Wind people, who had to pitch their tents in the rear of the other gentes had a ceremony which they performed whenever there was a blizzard (§ 55).

§ 399. In the author's account of Osage war customs he relates the following incidents: On the first day of preparation for the warpath the Black bear people bring willows and kindle a fire outside the war tent. On the same day some other Hañꞯa people deposit branches of dried willow in some place out of sight of the war tent, and the ɸuqe men (part of the Buffalo-bull gens) bring in those branches. On the next day men of the Night gens (a sort of Black bear people) set the willow branches on fire, and they and the Elder Osage people say prayers. After this there is a struggle to secure pieces of the charcoal. An Elk man and a Kaⁿse man act as criers. On the third day an Osage man brings in the sacred bag for the Hañꞯa or Waɔaɔe mourner (the gens of each man is not specified, but both men belong to the right or war side of the tribe), and a SiuꞱsaꞯɸe man brings in a like bag for the mourner belonging to the Tsiɔu or peace side of the tribe. On the fourth day a woman of a Buffalo gens on the right or Hañꞯa side of the tribe lays down two strips of buffalo hide so that the warriors may take the first step on the warpath. After the warriors start, a ɸuqe man is taken ahead of them in order to perform some ceremony which has not been recorded.

On the return of the war party the warriors are met outside of the village by an old man of the Ka^{n}se or Wind gens. He performs certain ceremonies as he walks around the party (beginning at the north and ending at the east), and then he tells them whether they can enter the village. The clothing of the returning warriors becomes the property of the old Ka^{n}se man and his attendant.

The Ka^{n}se gens of the Osage tribe is called the Idats'ĕ, because it devolves on a member of that gens to fill the peace pipes. The corresponding gens of the Ka^{n}ze tribe is called Ibatc'ĕ or Hañga-jiñga.

THE "MESSIAH CRAZE."

§ 400. Since the present article was begun there has arisen the so-called "Messiah craze" among the Dakota and other tribes of Indians. The author does not feel competent to describe this new form of Indian religion, but he suspects that some features of it are either willful or accidental perversions of the teachings of the missionaries.

§ 401. In presenting this study of Siouan cults to the scientific world the author has a painful sense of its incompleteness, but he hopes that the facts here fragmentarily collated may prove helpful to future investigators. The inferences, provisional assumptions, and suggestive queries in this chapter are not published as final results. Even should any of them prove to be erroneous the author's labor will not be in vain, for through the correction of his mistakes additional information will be collected, tending to the attainment of the truth, which should be the aim of all mankind.

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